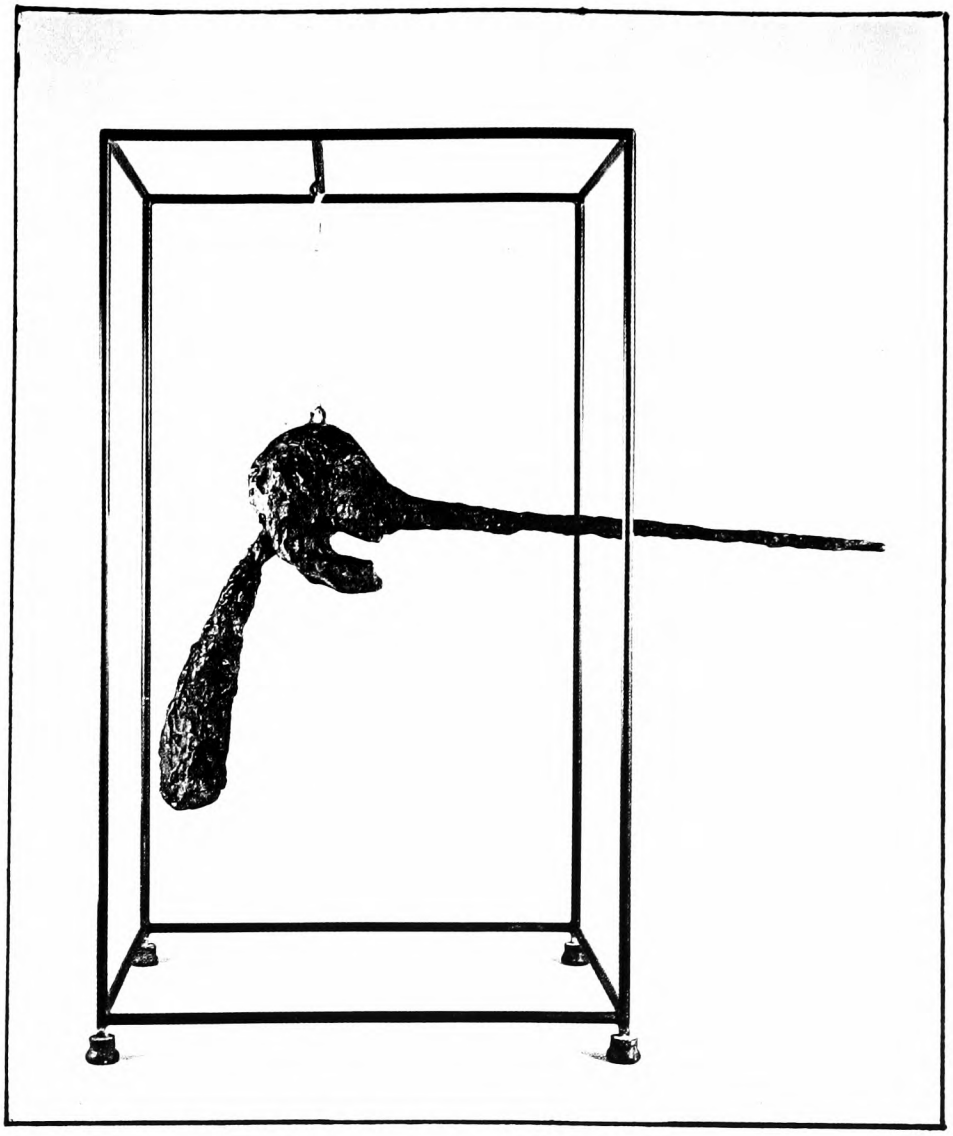

"Trial By Jewry": The Jewish Figure as Subversive Critic in the Plays of the Public Theatre, 1580-1600

by

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SYNOPSIS

This thesis sets out to analyse the role of the Jewish figure on the late Elizabethan public stage. To do this, an historical approach is used. The first chapter charts generally the movements of the Jews on the Continent in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries, showing how some Jews were to find their way to England, and where those Jews lived; but also painting a picture of the Jews' situation in various key European locations, a picture from which many images found their way onto the English stage.

The second chapter analyses the place of the public theatre in the suburbs around London, and surveys the English arena into which the Jews were received. Chapters three to seven follow the estimated early performances of the plays involving Jewish or 'Jew-ish' figures, and analyse the social, cultural, religious and political significance of the interest in a race of people officially absent from the country since 1290.

These analyses are concerned with how the Jewish figure is used through the 1580s and 1590s to comment on such issues as political power: its fragility and defence; religious fidelity; material and sexual greed and lust; and the individual's reaction to suppressive and oppressive authority. These are not just powerful tropes of the drama, but provide a satirical, sometimes playful, and often subversive critique of both the manner in which princes ruled realms, and the ways in which authorities policed their cities and population.

The eternally transient figure without geographical nationality, the Jew, provided a potent cocktail that mixed the universal banes of rejection, prejudice, alienation, and oppression, to produce a bitter-tasting draught of the very ideology in which the playgoers lived; it was a product which they consumed avidly.

This thesis contains approximately 50,000 words.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude is due to Dr. Martin Wiggins for his valuable criticism during the past year, and also to Dr. Susan Brock for extending the library facilities from Stratford-upon-Avon to my Birmingham outpost. The co-operation of administrative staff makes no small difference to the academic state of mind, and for their cheerful help, I thank Daphne Ingram and Etta Mahon at the Shakespeare Institute office. I am also grateful for the generosity of Mr. Richard Gross and Mrs. Pamela Gross, who provided me with money to visit Washington D.C., where I was able to use the Folger Shakespeare Library and bring to a hasty conclusion the seemingly eternal first chapter of the thesis.

My debt to my parents is unfathomable. What is certain, however, is that the debt has deepened by several thousand pounds during the past year.

To Mum and Dad this work is dedicated.

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PREFACE

The editing, transcribing, and citation practices adopted in this thesis are aimed at providing both a sense of the documents quoted from as historical artefacts, and at making their reading and identifying as easy as possible. Titles of early printed books and manuscripts have the initial letters of significant words capitalized; titles of plays are modernized, e. g. The Famous TRAGEDY OF THE RICH IEVV OF MALTA becomes The Jew of Malta. Plays will be cited by title alone after the first reference.

The footnotes list short titles for the first reference to a work in the chapter, and the author surname thereafter. (The exception here is the full citing of "Henslowe, Diary".) Short titles continue to be used if two works by the same author are referred to in the same chapter. If the work is referred to in a later chapter, it will again receive the short title to avoid the need to look back through previous chapters. Works mentioned for further reading and as sources for quoted secondary sources, and which are not in themselves fully relevant to the thesis, are given full reference in the footnote and not included in the bibliography. I have included a few works in the bibliography that are not directly referred to in the thesis, but which probably influenced the ways in which I approached my work.

Place names have been modernized, unless within quotations, and the spelling of names of persons have been standardized using the Dictionary of National Biography as the authority. The spelling of names of the play characters, however, depend on the text being used (e. g. in The Three Ladies I talk of **Lady Lucar** as opposed to **Lady Lucre**). The signature, line and page references for early printed books depend on the nature of the text being used; use has been made of the advantages of reprints with extra references.

In transcriptions of extracts from early printed books or manuscripts, the following practices have been observed:

1. u/v/w, i/j (as letters and as numbers) have been silently modernized, but the spelling or capitalization remains (e. g. "ievv", or "iew" is transcribed "jew", and "Iewe" becomes "Jewe").

2. Marks of abbreviation have been silently lengthened, and omitted letters have been replaced, within square brackets, if the addition aids reading; [sic] is used where the word in the source is understandable, but misprinted.

3. The German "ß" becomes "ss", although I acknowledge the distinction between the two forms in the original language.

4. Short quotations receive double quotation marks, and quotations within quotations receive single quotation marks.

In my own text double quotation marks indicate a quotation from another source, and single quotation marks represent a slang term, a neologism or newly-introduced technical term, an unquoted proverb, etc. Foreign words commonly used in English are accented according to the Oxford Dictionary of Current English.

The following abbreviations appear in the footnotes; their full documentation can be found in the bibliography:

DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
APC	Acts of The Privy Council ed. J. R. Dasent.
CSP Dom	Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)
H&L	Tudor Royal Proclamations eds. P. Hughes andJ.Larkin.
L&H	Stuart Royal Proclamations eds. J. Larkin andP.Hughes.
E. S.	The Elizabeth Stage E. K. Chambers.
TJHSE	The Transactions of the Jewish Historical SocietyofEngland
S. Q.	Shakespeare Quarterly

C. Elis.	Cahiers Elisabethains
MSC	Malone Society Collections

All other historical sources and periodicals have been referred to in full where applicable. All annual publications have been dealt with as periodicals.

INTRODUCTION

Myth lives a more potent life than fact. It is a point I touch on more than once during the course of this thesis. Myth can have a basis in fact, but it runs away with itself. Stories develop from historical events, or sometimes only from ideological climate. The perpetuation of myth involving the Jews speared the lives of city-dwellers all over Europe in the middle ages and the sixteenth century. The development of printing, and the inter-relationships between two-dimensional images and scenes on stage, contributed to a trans-European spread of myth and memes, some of which were to prove extremely popular on the late Elizabethan public stage.

The play called The Jew, which Stephen Gosson tells us played at the Bull (probably between 1575 and 1579), concerned "the greedinesse of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of Usurers", and was one of two rare exceptions to his general damnation of the theatre.[1] This is the earliest example we know of the early modern drama involving the figure of a stage Jew. It would make a profound addition to the texts we have, since it might throw some light on the apparent incompatibility of the portrayal of the Jew in The Three Ladies of London with those of the other plays. This usurer is simply too nice for his own good. The other significant

[1]This is one of the plays, according to Stephen Gosson, that are "without rebuke...never a woorde without wit, never a line without pith, never a letter placed in vaine". See The Schoole of Abuse p. 40.

work absent from consideration here is the Oxford University play, Machiavellus (anon., 1597). Written in Latin and played 'behind closed doors', it does not strictly belong in this study of English drama in the public theatre.[2]

We begin our dramatic study, then, in 1581, with The Three Ladies of London, and end our journey in 1600, with Marston's Jack Drum's Entertainment. Only four of our plays actually claim to have a Jew on stage: The Three Ladies, Selimus, The Jew of Malta, and The Merchant of Venice. The remaining two plays under study depict usurers with interesting features.[3]

As we look into these plays, we can see both the establishment of the recognizable stock stage Jew, and also the stylizing, stereotyping, attributing of stage trappings, to the figure that moves, as the sixteenth-century ages, from being Jewish to being 'Jew-ish'. We are left, in the later

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[2]Although I effectively ignore this play, it does suggest that certain parallel interests existed--and were being discussed through dramatic display--between the academic institutions and the general public in the latter part of the 1590s, around the time of The Blind Beggar of Alexandria and The Merchant of Venice.

[3]The admission of Nathaniel Menda to the Domus Conversorum, the London house of converts for Jews, in 1578, after his 1 April, 1577 conversion by John Foxe, may have initiated a new interest in the topic of Jews. From 1551-1578 the Domus was probably void of Jews, but housed the occasional pagan convert. This new Jewish arrival may date The Jew quite late, or may just be seen as a marker in a new phase concerning the Jewish influence in England. See John Foxe, A Sermon Preached at the Christening of a Certaine Jew; Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England pp. 133-5; A. M. Hyamson, A History of the Jews in England chapter XIV, esp. pp. 130-133.

plays, not with a Jew, but with an image of moral and physical attributes personified. Harping back to the morality plays, the usurers at the turn of the century become sets of vivid signifiers attached to human form.

Not quite. The situation is more complex, because the Jew is not necessarily a human being. He is the "devil incarnation", Lancelot will tell us in the second act of The Merchant of Venice, and he is a fox, a lustful mammon; the devourer of monarchies, Jack Drum will tell us.* He is the evil Jew because the female Jews are gentle (gentile-like). The Christian quest for conversion of the Jew, and the male sexual fantasy behind the conversion of the Jewish female, ensure this distinction between the sexes.

As an outsider, in terms of religion, nationality, and (often enforced) professional occupation, the Jew becomes the centre of a larger critique. He becomes both the criticizer of the state of the city and of the ruling class at large, and also the target of the audience's--both on stage and off--judgement against him. These plays together reveal a "trial by jewry", a use of the Jew and 'Jew-ish' figure, whereby the disagreement inherent in the conflict between the Jew and almost any other nationalistic society, presents a trial between the sides on stage in which the Jew is the 'enemy' of the state, and produces the subversive solutions to the

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*See The Merchant of Venice 2. 2. 25; Jack Drum's Entertainment B1v.

problems of an oppressed outsider.

It is this idea of the oppressed outsider that appealed to the apprentices of London. We will see this appeal in action in the discussions of The Jew of Malta, Sir Thomas More, and to an extent in the chapter on The Blind Beggar of Alexandria. This image-making of the oppressed on the stage could reflect on the stability and safety of that city.

I use The Jew of Malta as a sort of touchstone, off which we can 'test' the mettle and metal of the other plays. This is somewhat anachronistic, when The Three Ladies precedes it by some eight or nine years, but I think Marlowe's play is the most powerful in the genre, with two major runs in this period, divided by a serious period of plague, and helped in its success by significant historical events. I am concerned in this thesis with the power of the theatre, with questioning the whole point of an author writing about his contemporary issues, and essentially with how that writing is activated and received (how effective it is in performance).

For it is performance of the words that makes history. I will show how the words of The Jew of Malta were turned into action in the space of the stage-world, and how the Rose theatre, or rather the ideological situation (location) of the playgoers at that theatre, suggested a subversive freedom and contra-authority power. We will then see how the very process of making perlocutionary speech-acts happen (ones where desired action follows chosen words) was not completed on the

sort of scale necessary for the kind of rebellion (and revolution) shown in the final act of The Jew of Malta, or even to influence the government and the Queen in favour of the English artisan- and apprentice-classes.

Or at least, this is how the apprentices saw their place, down-trodden from both abroad and at home. The Three Ladies, The Jew of Malta, and a brief excursion into the play of Sir Thomas More, will highlight some of the 'working-class' grievances of the 1580s and early 1590s. They will also begin to show a strange tendency in the public theatre audience to use the Jewish stage figure as a stalking-horse, from under which to shoot their damnation of foreigners and infidels. It is largely this use of the Jew that led to the 'setting-up' of a non-human figure, the 'Jew-ish' figure.

We are entering the period when, moving away from the Jew-centred hatred of the Middle Ages:

> spiritual blindness is no longer presented as a phenomenon specific to the Jews, but as a flaw which the 'Hebrews' share with pagans and Catholics. And if some Protestant authors continued to regret the error in which the Jews stood, they no longer denounced it as deliberate and irretrievable. Their blindness was now defined as an incapacity for which the Jews were to be pitied and from which they must be cured.[5]

But although this is certainly true of non-dramatic history,

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[5]Daniele Prudhomme, "The Reformation and the Decline of Anti-Judaism", p. 10.

the mode of stage-practice, as it moved into the seventeenth-century and Jacobean taste, did not willingly allow such "pity" on the stage.

Paul Yachnin is right to say that concern about the dangers of the theatres seems to have eased later in the 1590s (although our evidence is a long way from perfect),[6] and I use the plays after 1595 to highlight reaction to particular social issues, rather than the en masse dissatisfaction discussed in the analyses of the earlier plays. Thomas Platter believed of England that:

> The inhabitants of this island are almost all prosperous, both because of the sea and the shipping, and of the air and fertility of the soil, for it is a fairly temperate climate[.][7]

The continuation of a dissatisfied populace is undoubted, however, with 1596-7 being a terrible agricultural year, and it is a note of credit that the 'working-class' did not, it seems, massacre the immigrant population, despite their threats to do so.[8] They did riot but, as I point out in the thesis, our records are unclear in defining just how serious particular instances of violence were.

Distinction of rank by apparel must have been of serious importance at a time of economic dearth. The privileged wanted to retain their image of place in these dangerous years. A Henrician act for apparel was modified and supported by several Elizabethan proclamations, and held to be a serious issue.[9] We have records of arrest and censure for the wearing of "monstrous hose", and the like. In the early sixteenth-

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[6]Paul Yachnin, "The Powerless Theater".

[7]Thomas Platter, Platter's Travels in England p. 184.

[8]See the discussion of "The Dutch Church Libel" and Sir Thomas More in Chapter four, part one.

[9]See Chapter Five, on The Blind Beggar of Alexandria.

century play, Fulgens and Lucrece, two characters, named A and B, emerge from the audience and present themselves on stage, B being confusing in his rank by wearing "flashy clothes", despite being a masterless servant.[10]

In the early 1596 play, The Blind Beggar of Alexandria, which seems to have been very popular at its opening, and was still involved in the Henslowe machine in 1600, one character's wearing of incorrect apparel leads to his ability to take over the monarchy. Also played at the Rose theatre, this is another example of a play with subversive potential, which lost its way in the semiotic-cultural confusions of the play-world and power-illusions that are the theatre and the theatrical performance. I use this chapter's study to take an excursion into a historical survey of Jews' enforced apparel in Europe. This examination expands on the study of the treatment of Jews in the first chapter, and relates the intentions of such compulsory clothing with the fears of the London authorities concerning transgression of the apparel laws on the street, and, I argue, on the stage as well.

English interest in the subject of usury was at one of its zeniths in the late sixteenth-century, especially to traders and producers affected by the practice. The increase in the practising of usury in London is apparent by the thorough treatises of the 1590s. Since so much socio-cultural criticism has been written about The Merchant of Venice I have concentrated my examination of the play on its contribution to the debate on usury current at the time. I consider specifically the trial scene in act four and Portia's winning of the legal argument, and although I must reflect to some extent on the social and cultural concerns of the performance in 1596-7, those considerations come out of an analysis of the technicality of the usury bond. This takes us temporarily

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[10]See Jonathan Haynes, "The Elizabethan Audience on Stage", p. 62.

away from the action of the previous plays and into the working with words and the making of 'speech-acts'. However, a major underlying concern is that 'judaizing' by usury was undermining the English and world trade economy.

Our final play, Jack Drum's Entertainment, takes us indoors, with the Paul's boys company. The play is cut, and the 'Jew-ish' figure is instantly recognizable as such. The production, for an audience, it seems, that was starved of their particular brand of theatre for much of the 1590s, takes us right back to the damned Jew as animal and killer. Right back to Barabas, the rich Jew of Malta, back again (we suppose) to the Jew of The Jew, and further to the German broadsheets of the despicable race. This play eventually re-evicts the Jew; as a sort of new-century resolution it imitates the 1290 expulsion of the Jews from England, foreshadows the Jacobean plays with their vulgar usurers, and makes a statement about the survival, and more than that the self-perpetuation and growth, of the Jew-creature.

Although I have dealt with these plays in chronological order of their (probable) earliest appearances, the evidence of their variously lasting popularity shows that simple one-to-one relationships between the plays and history, and between one play and another are not enough to paint the entire picture of the place of the Jew and of the performance itself in the Elizabethan public theatre, 1580 to 1600. The topic is a large one, and each chapter here aims to introduce the historical and ideological sparks that inspired writing and performance, and to suggest how those sparks could have lit fires of unrest in the earliest months of each play's life.

The appendices are intended both to provide artefacts of history and also (particularly in the travelogues) to provide additional evidence for the points raised concerning social treatment and the economic state of the Jews on the Continent. Edwyn Sandys' comments in particular suggest several new

aspects of intra-Jewish and inter-religious life in Italy, which text cannot be given space in the main body of the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: The Jews Across Europe

The Spanish-Portuguese Connexion

In 1481 the implementation of the Spanish Inquisition sent Jews fleeing over the border into the immediate haven of Portugal as well as on the long eastward haul across Europe. Ferdinand and Isabella's expulsion order in 1492 again sent perhaps 150,000 Jews out of Spain, mainly to Portugal.[1] The safety of the Sephardim exodus' destination, on these occasions as on so many others, was to be temporary.[2] Soon afterwards a match between Manuel I of Portugal and the Infanta of Spain was made dependent on the total Christianization of Portugal; this meant converting the Jews. Leon Poliakov records a Catholic memory of the event:

> "I have seen," the bishop of Algarve related thirty years later, "many dragged to the font by the hair, and the fathers clad in mourning, with veiled heads and cries of agony, accompanying their children to the altar, to protest against the inhuman baptism. I have seen still more horrible, indescribable violence done them".[3]

This was Portugal's solution to the fact that they could not

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[1]Leon Poliakov's figure, The History of Anti-Semitism II, 199.

[2]James Parkes writes, "The Iberian Jews call themselves Sephardim, from a Hebrew word Sepharad originally applied indiscriminately to distant exiles, and so to those from Spain", A History of The Jewish People p. 116.

[3]Poliakov, op. cit. p. 201-2.

afford to follow Spain by expelling the Jews, who had established themselves within the infrastructure of Portugal's economy.[4]

The next phase of the eastward and northward migration of the Jews of the sixteenth-century, and one of great importance to the contact of the Jews with England, was initiated in 1540 with the setting up of the Portuguese version of the Inquisition. It was to prove a more vicious and sustained organization than its Spanish predecessor, and was initiated just as an unofficial Inquisition was being set up in Zeeland. In 1580 the Portuguese Inquisition intensified and it was then that the great northward migration took Jews through the ports of Southampton and into London, in search of sanctuary.[5]

Lucien Wolf records a specific event in the 1540 migration as a key element in starting a significant Jewish community in London (and Bristol, the second most important centre of Jewish activity). He says:

> In 1540 a flotilla of fourteen spice ships arrived in Zeeland from Portugal with many New Christians on board. When the officers came to examine the refugees two of the ships precipitately weighed anchor and returned to London, where the New Christians landed and apparently became permanent

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[4]Godfrey Wettinger records a similar fear of depopulation when, on 18 June, 1492, Malta being under Spain's dominion, the Jews were ordered to leave. See The Jews of Malta in the Late Middle Ages p. 117.

[5]Southampton was known as the port of Hampton in the sixteenth-century.

> residents. This appears to have been the chief source of the Marrano immigration in the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.*

After the second wave of northern migration the Jews began to prove their usefulness. The lack of a geographical homeland for the Jews made them strangers everywhere; it also made them politically neutral figures for international affairs. It is partly for this reason that many Jews were employed as foreign ambassadors and messengers. Lucien Wolf points out a possibly crucial Jewish contribution to English intelligence:

> The espionage system thus established by Nunez proved extremely valuable in 1587 and 1588, when Philip was preparing the Invincible Armada for the invasion of England. According to Pedro de Santa Cruz it was through a despatch received by Nunez from Jeronimo Pardo that the English Government first learnt of the arrival of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in Lisbon, and the great military and naval parades which followed. It was in this way, he says, that "the English finally concluded the destination of the Spanish Armada, and they began to take precautions with greater care and

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*Lucien Wolf, "Jews in Elizabethan England", p. 4. Although Wolf seems to treat the terms 'Marrano' and 'New Christian' as synonymous in this passage, 'Marrano' is used by many writers to mean those 'crypto-Jews', who practised Judaism secretly, having only accepted baptism to avoid political and religious persecution. 'New Christians', on the other hand, is often used to refer to the Jews who actually believed in their conversion.

earnestness."[7]

In between the official war zones and expeditions of the Anglo-Spanish hostilities, which were to include Jews to the very highest level, there was room for privateering skirmishes, and plenty of places on the ships for unemployed men.

> Amateur privateers may have done more to relieve domestic disorder than to expand trade,...Many professionals, on the other hand, were much more successful, and in the 1590s privateering was accounting for between 10 and 15 per cent of English imports.[8]

We should consider in more detail the state of war between Spain and England. English anti-Spanish feeling, and anti-Catholicism in general, will turn up in our stage analyses several times, and it would be useful to lay the political foundations here for such an inquiry.

By the 1590s it was acceptable, of course, to steal Spanish treasure because it was an act defending trade routes or, more often, reacting against Spain's restrictive trade claims. It was before war, however, in the 1560s, 70s and 80s that some of the best remembered privateering and tactical military maneouvring was acted out.

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[7]Ibid. p. 23. Pedro de Santa Cruz was a Spanish prisoner of war in England, released in the Spring of 1588. Jeronimo Pardo was a spy working between London and Lisbon at this time. (Ibid. pp. 5-6.)

[8]Conrad Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments p. 193.

Attempts to end the dog-fighting in 1573 meant that an embarrassing royal sanction for Drake's Panama raid was hushed up for a couple of years. Two years after Drake thought it safe to resurface he set off with three ships on what was to be the single most important English sea-faring achievement to date, and for years to come: the circumnavigation. He was to return to England with mixed news. Only the Golden Hind made it home, but the loss of the other vessels was a fair price for taken treasure and significant new geographical discovery, asserting the non-existence of both a north-west passage and a southern Pacific continent. Other expeditions were to come home with equally solid geographical and scientific discovery, however, and it was undoubtedly the capture of the Spanish ship Cacafuego in March 1579 that secured the esteem of the voyagers upon their return home.*

The ability of the English professional caste of naval privateers validates the view that Elizabeth should have heeded Hawkins' (and Drake's) suggestions that the way to cripple Spanish war-waging was to cut off their New-World supplies. The Queen, however, kept her main force in the channel. The low population of England may lend even more weight to the blocking of supplies theory, since the English armies on land were limited in size, but also in training and leadership.

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*This paragraph uses G. R. Elton, England Under the Tudors pp. 346-8.

Money would continue to be the determining factor in the war, however, and Elizabeth, unable to finance all plans at once, plumped for the home guard. In retrospect she may have been wise. Despite her axiom, "Afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt" ("God blew and they were scattered"), it is clear that it took the persistent defence of the south coast as the Spanish Armada of 1588 slowly made its way east toward its rendezvous location. Further, it took the initiative of combined English forces to organize the attack on the anchored Spaniards on the Calais sands to scatter their ships and cause them to flee north before God could get his chance to blow them onto the rocks of the North Sea and Scottish coastline.

There certainly was some luck on England's part, in so far as the 1597 and 1599 Armadas were beaten back largely by the weather (and also a lack of technology, which made sailing into wind impossible while keeping the masts intact). Local strikes were deemed the preferable method of demoralizing Spain. Drake's Cadiz expedition is probably the best illustration of how effective a surprise attack in the enemy's own back yard can be. In April 1587 he destroyed thirty Spanish ships, tarried and harried near Cape Vincent for a few months and then moved on to the Azores to intercept trans-Atlantic trade. This destruction probably delayed the first Spanish attack for a year, during which Jeronimo Pardo's information made its way to England, but it is a mark of the riches pouring into Spain that they were able to muster such

a force by the following year.

It contrasts markedly with the English crown, which delayed the mobilization of an army in defence until the last moment to keep funds in the Exchequer for as long as possible. More money was spilling from the crown coffers:

> In the last twelve years of her reign, Elizabeth's ordinary income was about £300,000 yearly. Parliamentary taxes raised £135,000, sales of Crown lands £40,000, and prizes taken at sea some £15,000, making an annual average of almost £500,000. However, the war cost about £3.5 million, half of which had to be met by parliamentary taxes or by 'benevolences' or forced loans.[10]

The 'war years' are not so simply defined either. England was under threat both before and after the battles. Mary, Queen of Scots was a sore point leading up to conflict. Elizabeth delayed Mary's execution until the proven plot against her life; Mary was set up, but she was guilty. It was a touchy situation with war so probable, and Conrad Russell comments on the anger Elizabeth openly showed to Secretary Davison who put the death warrant into effect without proper procedure:

> Whether the queen's apparent anger represents her real feeling about the execution of Mary, or whether it was simply designed to impress the Scots and the French, we do not know.[11]

Mary's death in February 1587 led to Philip II's claim to the

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[10]D. M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth p. 109.

[11]Russell, op. cit. p. 242.

throne of England, which contention the Pope did not support.

With the Mary, Queen of Scots episode, the Cadiz raid two months later, and Elizabeth's sending to the Netherlands of an army under Leicester to support the rebellion against the Catholic oppressors, Philip felt he had no alternative but to attack. He began at home by ordering the seizure of all English ships in Spanish waters. By August Elizabeth had accepted the protectorship, but refused offers of sovereignty, over the Netherlands. William of Orange, the Protestant prince in the Netherlands, had been assassinated in June 1584, leaving the resistance without a leader. Again this strand of the web of war was to drain funds away from the central fight.

Spain's threatening occupation of Brittany in 1590 proved to be less significant than at first feared, despite Henry IV of France changing his faith in 1593. Then, in 1598, just as English ships were being spared to cover the supply routes to Spain, slowing Spanish trade through the Azores noticeably, Henry made peace with Spain. A scramble back to the channel was unnecessary, though. Philip died in the Autumn of that year and neither side wanted large-scale war. Intermittent sparring sparks at sea did not flare up into new international conflict, and were eventually all but extinguished by James' accession.

England's war resources were stretched in one other direction. The final stages of the tale of Irish resistance

could have involved Spain.[12] All through the various skirmishes the Irish had been waiting for Spanish support. And it had been sent. But the weather in 1596 and 1597 was as destructive as it had been for the invincible Armada to the mainland. They could not land until finally, in 1601, de Aguila's force docked at Kinsdale.

By this time Essex's farcical command of troops, which had begun and ended in 1599, had been taken over by Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He was a tactician and besieged Ulster during the already hard winter months. By 1602 de Aguila saw the splitting up of the Irish factions he had come to support, and he surrendered. England's slow overcoming of Ireland had something to do with the concern for a zenith reached in the war with Spain, succession and loyalty battles in the Netherlands and in France, involving Mary, Queen of Scots' house of Guise, the great international trade wars, and the financial resources required to deal efficiently with all these matters.

Essex's story is a sad one. On his return to London he failed to convince Elizabeth of the validity of his actions in Ireland when he had blatantly disobeyed orders. He went through over a year of trying to reconcile a parliamentarian tendency with a sensitivity for the monarch. He and the Queen

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[12]See the engaging account of the Irish problem in "the Conquest of Ireland", in G. R. Elton, op. cit. pp. 384-94; or the shorter account in Roger Lockyer, Tudor and Stuart Britain, which includes precursory notes on the state of Ireland under Henry VII and Henry VIII, pp. 155-161.

could not find a satisfactory middle-ground, and finally, at the end of his tether, he led an armed march through the streets of London. Despite the Queen's concern for the public support Essex possessed, the protest was pre-empted, quelled, and ended inevitably in the Earl's death, executed for treason.

The French Connexion

In November, 1574, Henry III of France issued lettres patentes protecting Jews in his kingdom from the intensification of the spreading Inquisition. From 1579 there was a marked increase in the number of Jews entering France, first at Bayonne, St. Jean de Luz and Bordeaux, and in the 1580s and 1590s at Nantes, Rouen, and Paris. And with the reintroduction of Jewish influence came a renewed interest in Hebrew studies:

> Just as some immersed themselves in the new astronomy, others began to ransack languages and literatures which had never been studied or taken seriously before. Especially in France and in the Netherlands, there was now a marked resurgence in Hebrew and Aramaic studies, a systematic exploration of Talmud and rabbinic literature and the beginnings of Arabic, Turkish, and Koranic studies.[13]

As this interest grew, so the immigrant community of Jews in these countries began to communicate with the native

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[13]Jonathan Israel, European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism p. 54.

population. The interest in the Turkish and Arab studies would promote increased connexion between intellectuals and humanists of northern Europe and the Mediterranean north-east coast.

Extant records seem to show that most of the nationalistic feeling in London was against the infiltration of the Dutch and the French Huguenots. The large numbers of these nationalities would have brought some literature with them, which may well have passed through the hands of London's native population. But as well as being a source of its own migrants, France was also a gateway for the northward-travelling Sephardim. Jonathan Israel summarizes the geographical and religious movement involved:

> The push to dislodge belief in Christ was intensified by the curious situation which arose in the 1570s and 1580s when, for the first time, there was a sizeable emigration from Portugal of New Christians who were either sincere Catholics or (more often) religiously indifferent alongside those who were crypto-Jews. Most of the more Christianized 'New Christians' settled in France or Italy, showing little inclination toward Judaism. They had fled the Peninsula for one reason only--to escape suspicion and to secure their property from the threat of confiscation by the Inquisition. Thus, whereas the pre-1579 emigration from Portugal was mainly directed towards Ottoman territory and was overwhelmingly crypto-Jewish in character, the growing stream of New Christian refugees, stampeded by the increasing powers of a ruthless and none too

> fastidious Inquisition, was more mixed in allegiance. Furious divisions arose amongst the émigrés in France, Italy, and at Antwerp, sometimes even within one family. The outcome was that, for the first time since the early Middle Ages, a Jewish proselytizing movement, albeit clandestine, aimed at winning over whole groups from Christianity, took root in western Europe. And this movement was quite a potent one. According to the great Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira, who was in a position to know, the pressure brought to bear by the Jewish proselytizers, even in France (where in theory Judaism was forbidden), was so intense that only the most committed Catholics among the émigrés were able to withstand being sucked into Judaism and a Jewish milieu.[14]

Fears of such a movement had to be countered. Jews and the Spanish were conflated in the French mind. In the 1590s many anti-Spanish pamphlets appeared. L'Anti Espagnol called Spaniards "...cads of Castille, bastard Catholics, half-Jews and half-Moors scarcely removed from the synagogue and Koran".[15]

The Low Countries Connexion

The Netherlands was practically cleared of Jews by 1549 except

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[14]Ibid. p. 82. See Antonio Vieira, Obras Escolhidas ed. A. Sergio and H. Cicade, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1951-4) iv, 30; and Maximiano Lemos, Zacuto Lusitano: a sua vida e a sua obra (Oporto, 1909) pp. 360-1. For similar trend in the Germanic states, see Israel, op. cit. p. 82.

[15]Arturo Farrinelli, Marrano p. 54, note 1. (See Poliakov, op. cit. p. 219.)

for a trading sector in Antwerp, the important distribution port at the end of the long Westerschelde estuary. It is probable that the expulsion order of that year sent some Jews on the short journey to England's coast; whatever the number of persons in contact between London and Antwerp, the link was significant enough to support two organizations of defiance against the Spanish oppressors in the Low Countries.

It is recorded that trading ships carrying Marrano merchants and escapees from Portugal often harboured at south English ports to assess the situation in the estuary, and the port of Antwerp. A Marrano called Christopher Fernandes was instrumental in setting up this 'warning system'.[16] It is of course conceivable that a number of those disembarking at English ports, primarily Southampton, thought the option of remaining in England a better one than risking a journey to uncertain territory.

The second organization was a network of support for, and funding of, a secret synagogue in Antwerp. Letters and official records confirm its active existence in 1579, 1583, and 1594.[17] Although a going concern, Lucien Wolf points out, the synagogue was apparently known about by the Portuguese Inquisition in whose records of 1585 we find a list

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[16]Wolf, op. cit. p. 4.

[17]For evidence in our period, for instance, see CSP Dom 1591-4, p. 434 (entry 69). A letter of 18 February, 1594, reveals the existence of a "sumptuous and devout house".

of suspected congregation members.[18]

If, as Jonathan Israel writes, the 1576 sack of Antwerp scattered most of the Portuguese Jews remaining in that city, then this synagogue was a small affair. It seems quite possible that the Jews of Antwerp were not all scattered far from the city this early in the century, but instead went underground in the vicinity. In 1595, ten years after the Spanish conquest of Antwerp, the Dutch blockaded the Flemish ports and inland waterways used by Portuguese Jews. It was this latter move which caused the relocation of the Jewish trading community to Amsterdam, and also the rise of Marrano communities in Hamburg, Emden, and Rouen.[19]

> At Amsterdam, (and Hamburg) in contrast to Venice and Florence, the local bourgeoisie was burgeoning at this time, and yet there was the same lack of resistance to the rapid Jewish penetration, essentially because the Jews who settled there--mainly Marranos who came direct from Portugal--were bringing new trade which the city had previously lacked. As the freight-contracts drawn up before Amsterdam notaries reveal, in the period 1595-1620 nearly all Dutch Jewish commerce was with Portugal and the Portuguese colonies[.][20]

This "new trade" was important also to the Jews, as a sign of their legitimacy and permanency in a new location. This

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[18]Wolf, op. cit. pp. 19-20.

[19]Israel, op. cit. p. 51.

[20]Ibid. p. 62.

importance is revealed in part by the efforts made by the English Jews to ensure the safe travel of their Dutch and Portuguese co-religionists between the two trading locations.

England's own tendency to limit itself in terms of market helped in this one way: the trading partners knew each other well and built a rapport to deal with financial problems. But the routes were too limited. Lawrence Stone has estimated that "two-thirds of traffic concentrated on Antwerp".[21] It is probable that significant contact was made between the English traders and the Jews at this port. Spain's restrictive trade practices during the 1560s and 1570s and war from 1585, which included their taking Antwerp in August and closing the sea route, left England with only Germany and the Netherlands, to which they were exporting perhaps 70 per cent. of shortcloths by 1597-8, and to an extent France, in the immediate trading area.[22]

Of course desperate times call for new markets and the English merchants and Elizabeth seemed to work well together to open new trade routes during this time of restriction.[23]

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[21]Lawrence Stone, "Elizabethan Overseas Trade", p. 41. (See also pp. 39-40 for this figure's trade context.)

[22]The following page makes use of "Traffics and Discoveries", chapter 9 in D. M. Palliser, op. cit.

[23]Lawrence Stone, op. cit. shows a trend away from merchant ship-building subsidies between the boom years of the 1570s and the early 1580s--1571-82 177 one hundred ton or over ships entered London's ports--to a slump after 1585, when "it is unlikely that more than about twenty-five were constructed in the decade 1581-91". Recovery came in 1593. See p. 52.

Once the Sultan of Turkey, Murad III, had agreed on trading terms for English lead and tin in 1580 Elizabeth set up permanent links. This Turkey company expanded to merge with the Venice company in 1592, forming the Levant company. By 1599 there were twenty English trading vessels in Italian waters alone.[24]

Some merchants were ahead of the official game in seeking new markets. The Moroccan sugar trade, sanctioned by Elizabeth as the Africa company in 1588, had in fact been active since the early 1550s. By the end of the sixteenth-century England had itself built up a significant sugar refining industry.[25] While these new trade products and places were being developed the traditional cloth industry was failing. It may have experienced stagnation relative to its boom years of 1475-1550 and 1630-1689. D. M. Palliser tends to see this condition as a reflection on the total state of the country.

We must remember, however, that England was a country, by the 1580s, at war with foreign and domestic foes. To maintain normal trade and economic stability at such a time is not to be expected. What we see is a search for economic survival further from home than ever before, a search that was to bring England alongside the great sailing, venturing nations of

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[24]This paragraph, and the one following, uses Palliser, op. cit. pp. 289-90.

[25]See, for instance, Conrad Russell, op. cit. p. 184.

Spain, Portugal (and Italy)--the English were landing in Virginia in the 1580s, although it was 1607 before permanent settlement of North America took place. In wartime there would also have been significant unrecorded trade, either by smuggling through the provincial ports, or through official channels that saw no need to worry unduly with paperwork during a state of emergency.

The German and Central European Connexion

In 1573 the Jews were finally expelled from the whole of Brandenberg. The hope that some Jews had placed in the Reformists (because of their simple practice) was definitively crushed. The change of Luther from the 1523 That Our Lord Jesus Christ Was a Born Jew where he talks of the cruelty of "Our fools, popes, bishops, sophists, and monks" toward Jews, to his ascerbic Table-Talks and On the Jews and Their Lies left the hopeful with no refuge. They had rejoiced at Luther's attack on Rome, but the Reformation would now only bring a gateway for anti-Jewish Puritanism.[26]

The relatively long history of the Jews in Germany meant that their final expulsion was a unique event. It caused what Israel has called the "Germanization of east European Jewry".[27] He aligns this effect with that of the earlier migrations of Spanish Jews to the Levant, stating that this

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[26]See Poul Borchsenius, Behind the Wall p. 117-9.

[27]Israel, op. cit. p. 33.

migration of language with the Jews outside of its own country "created a Jewish world in which the sort of intellectual interaction between Christians and Jews characteristic of Renaissance Italy, and pre-1492 Spain, became much more difficult".[28] Such interaction in Renaissance Italy is shown in a work like Selomoh Usque's translation of Petrarch's sonnets into Spanish in Venice in 1567.[29]

The breaking up of the established German communities dissipated much of the significant Jewish economic influence in Germany, pushing it out toward the Netherlands, Denmark, and east into Bohemia. What was left behind in the Germanic states was the memory of the Jewish myths, the medieval tales and images that took a leading role in shaping the way in which the Jew fitted into the Christian ideology of north-central Europe in the sixteenth-century.

The instability of Jewish settlement locations through the sixteenth-century is demonstrated by two examples: that of the laws and actions of the various Italian states, and that of the contrasting attitudes of successive Holy Roman emperors. Charles V's connexions with Italy are mentioned in the Italian section. His successor, Ferdinand I, expelled Jews from all Bohemia except Prague in 1541, and in 1557 included Prague in the expulsion order. When Maximilian II took the position in 1564 his sympathy was apparent in his

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[28]Ibid. p. 73.

[29]Ibid. p. 76.

order to cease expulsion and to allow the remainder of Jews to live in Bohemia. Rudolph II (1576-1612) acted quickly to provide Jews with new privileges in 1577. Under Rudolph's reign Jews returned to Prague, Innsbruck, and Vienna.

This movement back to Prague marked the semi-return of the continuing eastward migration. During the 1570s and 1580s Jews were slowly being let back into various German towns. Many of these Jews were those who had moved east after the expulsion of 1492 and had not taken advantage of the Ottoman accommodation. This resettlement of Jews, in legal communities with certain limited privileges of lifestyle and professional mobility,[30] along the overland trade routes with the Antwerp distribution centre, made Jewish connexions with England more likely. Before the port blockades and pseudo-Inquisition in the Netherlands, the route through the English Channel was busy with Portuguese vessels trading with their former countryfolk in central Europe, via Antwerp.

Another connexion could come directly from the German towns. The shift of English trade to Germany after the start of the Anglo-Spanish war increased the chances of merchants seeing anti-Jewish images in the towns, and taking home the ubiquitous anti-Jewish German broadsheet prints. An anti-Jewish reaction from the Germans in the form of spreading the medieval stereotype is not surprising when we consider the

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[30]Israel notes that Rudolph allowed the Prague Jews to engage in new crafts such as the working of Jewellery, gold and silver, p. 40.

fact that a centre such as Frankfurt by 1570 contained a Jewish community larger than any in Poland-Lithuania. The Frankfurt ghetto had in fact been increasing in population from the middle of the century.[31]

Germany can take much of the blame for the perpetuation of the medieval myths of the Jewish partiality for ritual murder of Christians. The plays of the English stage will relocate either the German image of the evil Jew into a military context, or will include the embittered Jew in an ever-alien surrounding. In the Germanic lands the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries saw more ritual murder persecutions against Jews than in the twelfth, and fourteenth-centuries, and possibly as many as in the fervent thirteenth-century, when similar cases in England peaked before the expulsion in 1290.[32]

This particular anti-Jewish battle was fought with pictures. "The broadsheet relating alleged Jewish crimes against Christianity was peculiar to Catholic Eastern Europe:

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[31]Ibid. p. 41.

[32]R. Po-Chia Hsia, The Myth of Ritual Murder p. 3. Records of the English Jews and Christian mutilations or murders are scattered throughout the various calendars covering the reign of Edward I. An undated mid-thirteenth-century entry in the Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions 1, p. 141, no. 428, lists "Seynoretus the Jew of Norwich...is a fugitive for circumcising Odard the son of Master Benedict". On June 21, 1290 the Calendar of Patent Rolls (Edward I, 1281-1292), p. 402, records one "Isaac de Pulet, Jew of London, detained there [the Tower] for the death of a Christian boy killed in the king's Jewry of Oxford, and of Coradinus le Furbur and Joan daughter of Stephen de la Marche killed in the city of London".

Habsburg Germany, Bohemia, and Poland".[33] The increasing tension in the sixteenth-century was to end in Jewish riots in Frankfurt in 1614.[34] It was on the arch of the 'Brückenturm', the principal gate to the city, that the 'martyrdom' of St. Simon had been painted "as a reminder to returning residents, and as a warning to visitors".[35] The two-and-a-half year old boy, Simon, had been canonized in memory of his alleged killing by Jews.

Although Frankfurt might be seen as the centre of potential trouble due to the large number of Jews in and around the city, the forms of anti-Jewish practise that were mobile and could influence England--the broadsheets and carnival plays--were concentrated in Nuremberg. David Kunzle says:

> The lesser citizens of Nürnberg suffered from all the disadvantages attendant upon precocious capitalism, especially the swindling and the usury. In Nürnberg, Erasmus tells us, a man could become rich in three years merely by lending on interest; and in Nürnberg the Jew was the universal scapegoat[.][36]

The vivid broadsheets of the St. Simon murder were produced in Nuremberg in the 1490s (fig. 1.1), encouraging the permanence

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[33]David Kunzle, The Early Comic Strip p. 179.

[34]A contemporary print of the Jewish riots is reproduced in Alfred Rubens, A History of Jewish Costume p. 118.

[35]Kunzle, op. cit. p. 181.

[36]Kunzle, op. cit. p. 21.

of the memory of the alleged event of 1475 by placing the very images into individuals' hands. In 1499 the Jews were expelled from Nuremberg and the town was free to continue its anti-Jewish drive. The child being killed by Jews (fig. 1.2), and the Judensau (fig 1.3), were the most popular stock images that reappeared in German prints of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries.

Another favourite of the German printers was the theme of crucifixion. The Nuremberg Chronicle depicts and records such a murder of the child Gwilhelmus by Jews in Medieval Norwich on Good Friday (fig. 1.4). A more widespread piece of propaganda was the emphasis on the Jews' responsibility for the most important crucifixion. David Kunzle has noted that:

> Semitic physiognomies [are] given to Roman executioners, and in the accent placed in Passion sequences on the mocking of Christ by villanous-looking Jews. Art is here reflecting existing social sentiment.[37]

This tendency is illustrated in fig. 1.5, a painting from Flanders, where Christ is depicted amid a sea of 'great noses'.[38] Note also the figure habited like a monk in the top

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[37]Ibid. p. 21.

[38]G. K. Hunter points out an alternative tendency, which is to depict the Jew-taunters as black. ("Elizabethans and Foreigners", plate VIII, A-D.) This is a good reminder that what we are dealing with here is just one area of the idea of 'foreignness' and Elizabethan cultural attitude. Examples of trends in one area serve to prove its existence among other trends, and we should not emphasize the Jewish concern disproportionately.

right of the composition; it is another common feature of our period to show monks and friars as corrupt and evil.

The Nuremberg broadsheet entitled A Horrible Deed Committed by The Jews in Passau (fig. 1.6) is important for a number of reasons. It is another example of the attempt to revive and make more permanent the memory of a past event; this 1490s print tells a story of 1477. The act of stealing the host from the church and stabbing it to make it bleed has the magical connotations of witchcraft and evil that were used in talk of Jewish vampires in Trent (Northern Italy) at the time of the St. Simon murder.

An important notion is also that portrayed in the final frame of this 'comic strip'. The Jews have been executed and as a sign of the total eradication of the Jewish influence, a "gotzhauss" is built on the site of the old "juden synagog". We will come across the ideas of replacing Jewish buildings with Christian ones and of the Christian superseding the Jewish residence, as ways of disposing of the Jew or of taking advantage of their temporary absence, in the plays of the late sixteenth-century London stage.[35]

The final very noticeable element is the inclusion of the

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[35]This trope of the synagogue-church progression is widely seen in Medieval English church art. Cecil Roth points out the Lincoln Cathedral statue figures "of the type very common in medieval churches" where an angel happily holds up the church building, and in contrast, the synagogue is held up by a male Jew with the tabular English badge (see my fig. 5.2 for badge). See Roth, Essays and Portraits p. 25, and his fig. 9, between pp. 82 & 83.

Jewish identity badges, which Kunzle finds a contrast to in another "Profanation of the host" picture-story, this time by Paolo Uccello in Urbino:

> The altarpiece for which this predella was made is well-documented and datable to very near 1468, that is, the year when the first Christian Monte di Pietà was opened in Urbino in an effort to break the Jewish monopoly on credit. Yet there followed no immediate persecution in the town, a well-governed and stable community famous for the arts, where the Jewish merchants had contributed so much to economic improvement, and where sermons of the anti-Semitic Franciscan faction were comparatively unsuccessful. It is noteworthy that Uccello's painting, compared to the German broadsheet, indicates that the Jews of Urbino were not compelled to wear shameful insignia, such as the hood and the circular yellow badge which we see on the Nürnbergers.[40]

It is a strange twist of the theme of Christian building over and hiding the Jewish existence that this painting demanded the insertion of a Jewish existence into the Christian church.

Hsia and others note the importance to the perpetuation of the myth of the Jew as devil and antichrist in a Shrovetide dramatic entertainment centred in Nuremberg and Lubeck. Hanz Folz wrote such carnival burlesques, full of obscenity, which were played from tavern to tavern by travelling troupes of players in the cities. "Most of these [plays] were very

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[40]Kunzle, op. cit. p. 25. See below, p. 30, for the Monti di Pietà.

short; a great number mocked the stupidity of rustics, others provided obscene humor at the expense of women, while a few of the longer pieces targeted the Jews".[41]

Joshua Trachtenberg points out the plays' referential contemporaneity, one play "referring especially to the recent expulsion of the Jewish communities along the Rhine and the Danube".[42] And all the old stereotypes were kept up:

> In the end [of "The Play of The Duke of Burgundy"], a sow was led into the room, and the actors playing the Antichrist and the Jews...pretended to suck milk and eat feces to the merriment of the audience.
>
> ...
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> Folz skillfully presented all the stereotypes of Jews in this carnival play. Dramatic representations of the Jewish messiah, the demonic nature of the Jews, the Judensau, ritual murders, and Jewish magic occurred in the context of slapstick comedy and scatalogical humor. In two other anti-Semitic plays, "The Carnival of the Antichrist" and "Emperor Constantine," Folz again ridiculed the Jews as children of the Antichrist and enemies of Christians.[43]

Arguments in non-dramatic literature, as well as images and plays, continued to be important among the more learned, or culturally aware. The cause may have been a fear of

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[41]Hsia, op. cit. p. 62.

[42]Joshua Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews p. 37.

[43]Hsia, op. cit. p. 64.

Christians considering conversion; Jonathan Israel notes that:

> Luther several times expressed anxiety over sporadic 'Judaising' tendencies among Germans. In Poland, a report of 1539 tells us that the Reformation disputes had inter alia led to a wave of Christian conversions to Judaism, the converts fleeing to Ottoman territory to escape torture and death".[44]

The alternative foremost argument concerned the nature of the relationship between Christians and Jews. One Johann Pfefferkorn, a New Christian, for instance, sought to destroy the Talmud and enforce Christianity on Jews. (The earliest extant prints of Jewish ceremonies appear in his books.[45]) He had an axe to grind since he was a criminal who had had to flee from the Moravian Jewish community in which he lived. An opponent of his, Johann Reuchlin (who employed a Jewish physician) wrote:

> This baptized Pfefferkorn says that we are forbidden by the Divinity to have dealings with the Jews. That is false. On the contrary, a Christian should love the Jew like a neighbour. That alone is right.[46]

Erasmus commented ironically during this feud: "If it is

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[44]Israel, op. cit. p. 81-2.

[45]Alfred Rubens lists this as the earliest of such prints in A Jewish Iconography p. 5; the Pfefferkorn books are Libellus de Judaica Confessioe and his book beginning Ich Heys ein Buchlijn (both Cologne, 1508).

[46]See Borchsenius, op. cit. p. 116. The previous paragraph uses this same source. Unhelpful quotation marks in Borchsenius have been removed from this passage.

Christian to hate Jews, then we are all very good Christians indeed".[47] The Pfefferkornian idea of complete elimination of any trace of Jewish existence did not agree with the rising humanist movement in later sixteenth-century Germany, Italy, Holland, or England.

The Italian Connexion

While central Europe started to pull itself out of the anti-Jewish 'campaign' of the previous century, the Mediterranean coast continued to creep ahead with its relative sense of cosmopolitanism. Jewish religious texts began to be printed at Ferrara and Venice in the early 1550s in both Spanish and Italian to provide for the Jews for whom Hebrew was not a familiar language, either because they had lost contact with Jewish texts through restriction and punishment, or more often because they were the children and grandchildren of the first generation of Spanish migrants and had been assimilated in their new home. The Marrano printer Abraham Usque published the Ferrara bible in Spanish "which diverged markedly from, and was an outright challenge to, the Catholic Vulgate".[48] And in the arts M. J. Landa notes that "There was a troupe of Jewish actors directed by Leoni di Somma in Ferrara and Mantua

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[47]Ibid., p. 116.

[48]Israel, op. cit. p. 21.

about 1578".[49]

More than the rulers of any of the other Italian states Duke Ercol II of Ferrara seems to have been more accommodating to the incoming Jews, and to the established 'New Christian' community with a tendency to revert to 'judaising'. The Marranos were expelled from Venice in 1550, but Ercol refused to comply with Pope Pius IV's demands for expulsion of the Jews. The Spanish rendering of Jewish prayers affected Christian practice "with a tendency toward crypto-Judaism. On this issue, Duke Ercol did comply with the Pope's wishes, and, in 1555, the printing of Jewish books in European languages ceased for over a quarter of a century".[50] By the 1580s, however, Jewish books in vernacular languages resumed publication in Venice.

The situation for the Jews in any particular part of Italy was not stable, and although we can pinpoint individual apparent acts of sympathy or economically and politically motivated accommodation for the Jews, it is not possible to say that any particular ruling body treated the Jews with a consistent respect. Alvise Sanuto, a member of the Venetian board of trade, could by 1604 state that there were at that time:

more 'perfidious' Jews doing business on the Rialto

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[49]M. J. Landa, The Jew in Drama p. 18. Landa also notes the earlier dramatic works of the Jews in Spain in the fifteenth-century.

[50]Israel, op. cit. p. 21.

> than Christians and that the policy of the state since the 1570s had, in effect, favoured Jews at the expense of Christians, which he regarded as intolerable in a Christian Republic. Nor were Venice's Jews performing any indispensable function. As he saw it, there were Christians enough who could handle the merchandise the Jews dealt in.[91]

William Thomas, writing in 1549, saw the other side of the coin:

> It is almost incredible what gain the Venetians receive by the usury of the Jews, both privately and in common. For in every city the Jews keep open shops of usury, taking gages of ordinary for fifteen in the hundred by the year, and if at the year's end the gage be not redeemed it is forfeit, or at the least done away to a great disadvantage, by reason whereof the Jews are out of measure wealthy in those parts.[92]

He paints a larger picture of liberal Venice a few pages later, under the heading "The liberty of strangers":

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[91]Ibid. p. 61. But Israel calls this attitude "a minority stance", and says that the Jews were largely regarded "as an indispensable prop of the Venetian economy", p. 57.

[92]William Thomas, History of Italy (1549) p. 69. An important indicator of the interest in Italy pervading England late in the sixteenth-century is the success of John (Giovanni) Florio's books, A Worlde of Wordes, an English-Italian dictionary (1598), and his First Fruits (1578), containing simple dialogues in Italian and English. If Londoners were learning Italian at this time, the works of such influential writers as Cesariano (trans. Vitruvius, De Architectura) and Guicciardini The History of Italy (1560), written in Italian, may have received a readership of some sorts.

All men, specially strangers, have so much liberty there that though they speak very ill by the Venetians, so they attempt nothing in effect against their state, no man shall control them for it. And in their Carnevale time (which we call Shrovetide) you shall see maskers disguise themselves in the Venetians' habit and come unto their own noses in derision of their customs, their habit, and misery.[33]

Further, he that dwelleth in Venice may reckon himself exempt from subjection. For no man there marketh another's doings, or that meddleth with another man's living. If thou be a papist, there shall thou want no kind of superstition to feed upon. If thou be a gospeler, no man shall ask why thou comest not to church. If thou be a Jew, a Turk, or believest in the devil (so thou spread not thine opinion abroad), thou art free from all controlment. To live married or unmarried, no man shall ask thee why. For eating of flesh in thine own house, what day soever it be, it maketh no matter. And generally of all other things, so thou offend no man privately, no man shall offend thee, which undoubtedly is one principal cause that draweth so many strangers thither.[34]

Brian Pullan has pointed out the activity of the Monti di Pietà, however, the scheme set up to push the Jewish money-

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[33]"To come unto one's (own) nose" is not listed as proverbial in Tilley. The sense seems to be concerned with precociousness or presumptuous behaviour, as in the phrase, "to hold up one's nose at anything" (Tilley N232, p. 502), or "to look down one's nose at...". A sense of mocking imitation, at least, is clear.

[34]Thomas, op. cit. p. 83.

lenders out of business, by replacing them with a Christian free or preferable-rate lending service. The similarity of Shylock's complaint against the lending gratis by Antonio, which brings down the rate of usury, suggests that such methods were well known of in late sixteenth-century London.[35]

At the beginning of his book William Thomas points out the huge market area and sphere of commercial influence of the major Italian cities, showing up a trade isolation of England and also a concentration of Anglo-Italian trade:

> For like as with us in England the most merchants of the realm resort to London to utter their own wares...[whereas]...they of France, of Spain, of Germany, and of all other westerly places that covet the merchandise of Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, Candia, Constantinople...resort most commonly into Italy...and there, meeting with Jews, Turks, Greeks, Moors, and other easterly merchants....[36]

Thomas Platter would say that the isolation of the English was largely self-imposed by the English humour, which did not like to venture abroad. Venice is, of course, something of a marvel in itself. William Thomas notes the "unwholesomest" of

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[35]See Brian Pullan, Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice p. 540 ff. See also Norman Nathan, "Belmont and the Monte di Pietà in The Merchant of Venice".

[36]Thomas, op. cit. p. 9. The Calendar of Patent Rolls (Edward I, 1281-1292), reveals illegal carriage by Florentine merchants in England at this early date. Three merchants were fined heavily for carrying "concealed goods of condemned Jews" (p. 173).

locations upon which this praiseworthiest of states is built.[37]

The Turkish Connexion

> ...there are many Jewes in Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, Babylon, Grand Cayro, and every great Citie and place of Marchandise throughout all the Turkes dominions, who are knowne by their hatts: for they were accustomed to weare red hatts without brimmes at my first comming: But lately (the head Vizier being their enemy) they are constrained to weare hatts of blewe cloth, because red was accounted too stately and princelike a colour for them to weare....And to this day they have no king nor country proper to themselves, but are dispersed throghout [sic] the whole world, and in every place where they come, they are contemptible and of base account, according to the cry of those crucifiers. His blood bee upon us and our children, which is fulfilled this day in our eares and eies.[38]

Despite making acute observations, and writing as late as 1611, this English man's travelogue still writes of the Turkish Jews that:

> They observe still all their old Ceremonies and feasts, Sacrifices only excepted, which the Turkes will not suffer them to doe: for they were wont amongst them to sacrifice children, but dare not

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[37]Thomas (Ibid.) p. 63.

[38]William Biddulph, The Travels of Certaine Englishmen p. 72-3 (M3v-M4r). Compare the note on hat colour with Appendix B (Sandys and Coryate).

> now for feare of the Turkes. Yet some of them have confessed, that their Physitians kill some Christian patient or other, whom they have under their hands at that time, in stead of a sacrifice.[58]

Such inconsistencies between experience and ideological stance were widespread in England in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries. William Parry, for instance, made a comparison a decade earlier in The Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley:

> we had bin very grievously distressed, but that certaine Persians (though Pagans by profession) being in the ship well vittailed, and seeing the impious and dogged disposition of those Italians, supplied all our wants for that seaven dayes gratis.[59]

Such a display of withholding judgement a few pages past the book's cover does not stop William Parry recording this observation of the 'infidel' while in Aleppo:

> I will speake somewhat of the fashion and disposition of the people and country; whose behaviours in points of civilitie (besides that they are damned Infidells and Zodomiticall Mahomets) doe answer the hate we christians [sic] doe justly holde them in.[60]

The Ottoman Empire was the destination for Jews at the beginning and at the end of the great European migrations of

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[58]Ibid. p. 74 (Nr).

[59]William Parry, A New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley Knight p. 5 (Br).

[60]Ibid. p. 10 (B3v).

the late fifteenth- and the sixteenth-centuries. It gained a reputation as the land of free expression, a place where one could proclaim one's true faith in a cosmopolitan society of equitably treated creeds and nationalities. William Biddulph wrote of the tradition of Turkish accommodation of foreigners, who were:

> [...] permitted there to live according to the institutions and precepts of such Religion as it pleased them to observe, and to exercise with all safety, their handicrafts and merchandises; which ministred an occasion unto an infinite multitude of Jewes and Marranes, driven out of Spaine, for to come and dwell there: By meanes whereof, in very short time the City began to increase in trafficke, riches, and abundance of people.[62]

This impression of the Empire was well-established. In 1550 a community of Jews living in Salonica sent a letter to their brethren in Provence encouraging them to come to this new Promised Land after a revived expulsion order in their region. The fact that the letter was written in Hebrew contrasts with the growing vernacularization of the second generation of Jews in Italy, and can probably be seen as fairly firm proof of the relative ease with which the Jews of Salonica and the Ottoman Empire in general could use their original texts and openly teach the younger generations to uphold tradition. They said of their new-found homeland:

> It is entirely open to you, settle here, our

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[62]Biddulph, op. cit. p. 23 (E4r).

brethren, in the best of the land! If there are among you mighty men on whom the Lord has bestowed fortune and reputation, they may establish themselves where they like and acquire new property; the poor and needy, however, who do not possess any resources, will find here in any case a place where their feet can rest, and they will be able to exercise a suitable profession; they will suffer neither hunger nor thirst, they will not be afflicted by the burning fire of oppression and of exile, because the Lord has bestowed upon us His mercy, and He has made us find favour, grace and pity in the eyes of the nations in the midst of which we are living, to such a degree that it would almost be proper to give us a new name and call us 'the captives ransomed by the Lord' because the Turk does not let us suffer any evil or oppression."[66]

The relatively magnanimous Turkish treatment of the Jews contained lessons for the rest of Europe, where Jews seemed to live a strange existence of limited high profile. Although publicly restricted in almost all countries, Queen Elizabeth's doctor was the Marrano Jew, Ruy Lopez; Pope Leo X, and Johann Reuchlin, the German humanist, employed New Christian Jews as physicians; Alvaro Mendez was the Sultan of Turkey's Jewish councillor. Letters and official documents are extant showing long-standing links between Mendez and the English government,

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[66]Kobler, op. cit. p. 345 (letter 52); taken from a French translation by Isidor Loeb in "La correspondence des Juifs d'Espagne avec ceux de Constantinople", Revue des Etudes Juives XV (1887) pp. 270-272 (Hebrew text); pp. 272-275 (French). The biblical reference is from Isiah 35: 10.

particularly through the mediator, Ruy Lopez.[64]

The Levantine Jews, largely descendants of those who had moved east to Turkey with the great fifteenth-century migrations of the Sephardim, established early significant trading positions with the Jews of Italy. In Venice, restrictions on moneylending to five per cent. interest necessitated the practising of some foreign trade by the Sephardic Jews forced into the unfamiliar line of work of 'usury'. The decision to sacrifice trade for the sake of religious 'correctness' meant the expulsion of the Jews from Venetian territories. War with the Turk caused trade with Italian ports to be boycotted by the Turkish traders.[65] With the end of hostilities, however, the Italian Jews were actively encouraged to return.[66]

Despite the awareness of the Jews' usefulness to the economy, no one seems to have taken advantage of the situation in quite the way the Turks did. It is clear, in fact, that such 'useful' Jewish communities outside the Ottoman Empire were protected largely in so far as it was in the interest of the host country. The Jews of Venice had been given

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[64]Sources for this list: Wolf, op. cit. p. 16; Borchsenius, op. cit. pp. 116, 138.

[65]Israel, op. cit. pp. 45 ff. Protests against the burning of Jews in Ancona led to a boycott there in 1555. (Ibid. p. 19.)

[66]For a detailed survey of the intricate movements of the Jews between Italy and the Levant see Israel, (ibid.) pp. 45 ff.

protection in 1508 when they were allowed to move from their previous community in the mainland city of Mestre and over the water to Venice. Here they enjoyed relative protection from the advancing Inquisitors of the Bohemian Emperor Rudolph, sweeping south toward the Papal states and northern Italy. But once an alien community is established and contained, advantage can be taken. Between 1541 and 1633 the Venice Ghetto was not expanded to cope with population increase, and the Ghetto Vecchio, the 1541 addition to the original Ghetto Nuevo, became "a den of thieves and harlots".[47]

The main Jewish link between Turkey and England was a very significant one. Alvaro Mendez had lived in England, was loyal to the Queen, and moved to Constantinople in 1579 to serve the Sultan Murad III as a professing Jew. A letter dated 19 September, 1581 reveals the effectiveness of Mendez's (alias Solomon) bargaining. Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, writes to Philip:

> I have a letter in my hands from Alvaro Mendez who went as a Jew to Constantinople and writes to Don Antonio, signing the letter Solomon. He also writes to the English ambassador and some heretic acquaintances here (Paris) attached to his mistress, saying that your Majesty's truce with the Turk would have been concluded but for him. Your Majesty, he says, demanded the inclusion therein of

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[47]Brian Pullan, The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice p. 157, and note 58; source, Archivio di Stato, Venice (Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia): "Papers of the Venetian board of trade" (3 Jan, 1575).

> the Pope, the duke of Florence, and other princes of Italy, and he used influence with Luch Ali to demand, on the part of the Turk, that the queen of England also should be included. Juan Stephano objected to this on the ground that she was at open war with your Majesty, but he, Mendez, had great hopes of being able to induce Luch Ali not to conclude the agreement without her inclusion. He is on very bad terms with the French ambassador (in Turkey) who treats him with contempt, as he knew him here as a professed Christian, whereas now he is a Jew....[88]

Alvaro Mendez was rewarded for his service. When the Portuguese Jew's name was discredited the Queen herself wrote a character reference to the Sultan, and on June 24, 1587 a letter was issued instructing William Harborne, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, to acquaint Mendez with the Queen's mind:

> to the end he may think his kindness towards our nation the better bestowed, you may make him acquainted how by order from her Majesty Sir Francis Drake in this his present exploit upon Spain doth set free all Portugals with money in their purses which come into their hands, where he selleth the Spaniard to the Moors.[89]

Behind all the service of the Jews, however, there was a necessary concern for their co-religionists' communities across Europe. When the Sultan proposed war against Hungary

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[88]Letter reproduced in Wolf, op. cit. p. 57.

[89]Ibid. p. 57.

and the extended powers of Spain in 1594, Mendez's primary concerns were made clear in England:

> [...] the warre wh[i]ch the Turk hath begun and intendeth against Hungary on the Kinge of Spaines Domynions and especially towardes Naples. He [Mendez] setteth downe for reasons the Care he hath, beinge a Jewe, of his Brethren and kynsffolkes, whereof he saieth there are more in Germanie and those p[ar]tes then in Christendome, and he sheweth the reason of Salamon's [Mendez's] hate to the K. of Spaine because he dothe burne and prosecute the Jewes.[70]

Running through the early modern period there is a latent frustration in the contradictions of the Christian attitude toward the Jews. Both Protestant and Catholic realized that they must respect and study the language of the Old Testament historians. As long before as 1312, a bull of Pope Clement V demanded the inclusion of Hebrew in the educational curriculum.[71] Theodore K. Rabb makes the point, however, that such interest in England at about 1540 was confined to the ineffectual enclaves of the two universities.[72] It was ultimately the "theological rifts within western Christendom [that] caused an upsurge of perplexity and questioning which significantly increased the pull of Old Testament notions and,

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[70]Ibid. p. 85. Letter dated 19 March, 1594. William Waad, clerk of the Privy Council, to Lord Burghley.

[71]Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England p. 145.

[72]Theodore K. Rabb, "The stirrings of the 1590s and the return of the Jews to England", p. 26-7.

occasionally, of Judaism".[75]

A published report of a 1597 letter to the Privy Council from a Rabbi of Constantinople shows partly a concern for the importance of the Hebrew tongue, but concentrates on the proposal of a massive task: the conversion of the Ottoman Jews![76] By this time the interest in Hebrew and Judaism was more widespread and liberal-minded, but significant published investigations into the Jews of Europe and their practices were not to be available in England to encourage this trend until two years later.[77] The Anglican Richard Hooker was an important scholar of Greek and Hebrew in circles concerned with theology. The activities that led to his suspension for a short time from Oxford may have been to do with his Hebrew interests.[78]

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[75]Israel, op. cit. p. 81.

[76]Hugh Broughton, An Awnswear unto the Righte Honorable the Lordes...Concerning an Ebrew Epistle of a Rarely Lerned Jew... (Basel, 1597); I use the term "Ottoman" Jews instead of Turkish, because we are also concerned with Jews elsewhere in the Empire; Thrace, for instance (see STC 3857, ¶¶iv).

[77]Significant Jewish references are in Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations (Laurence Aldercey's relation, written 1581) first book published in 1598, V. 204-5 & II. 172-3; and Edwin Sandys A Relation of the State of Religion written in 1599. Hakluyt's observation that the Venice Jews wore white garments over their clothes does not seem to have come to the attention of history-seeking actors of Shylock. See appendix B.

[78]Richard Hooker, Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie (1594-7). Hooker was suspended from Oxford along with John Rainolds, both men being moderate Puritans; a firm conclusion about the reason for the incident is not attainable with extant information. See DNB IX, 1184.

The first request in the "Epistle of an Ebrew willinge to learne Christianity"[77] is for "the Quene to send a scholer requested to rule all the scholes of divinity in Constantinople".[78] Within all the writer's praise of the Rabbi making this petition, however, is the fear of the necessity of proving the Christian superior. The English were determined that the answer to the Rabbi "should be in his owne tongue, and as eloquent as his owne style, and from London whether he endorsed his epistle".[79] Only with this show of at least equality in learning can they hope to bring Jews to the Christian religion:

> The other poinct of request standeth, for performance, upon a scholers lerning: all Ebrew skill...for answear to all the grounds & branches of the Jewes cabala & traditions, how it fayleth: and what in theyr studies can be allowed.
>
> ...
>
> The demaund of the constantinopolitane Ribbin Lappeth in it a discourse and declaration for all these poinctes: in any of which he that fayleth shall beare small sway with Jewes who will require to mete with better Lerned then them selves before they change religion.[80]

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[77]The Epistle of an Ebrew is the title of one of Broughton's letters of 1598 (STC 3860).

[78]Broughton, An Answear unto the Righte Honorable the Lordes A2r.

[79]Ibid. A4r.

[80]Ibid. A2r-A2v.

They need to be told convincingly "how Bibles unwowelled caused them somet[i]me of purpose to put one word for an other, oftener of errour".[81]

Due partly to the lack of response from the Lords and the Queen, the petitioner for the Rabbi, Hugh Broughton, confirmed that an answer in Greek would be sufficient.[82] Broughton's conversion dream, if it could come true, would create a strong ally to Christendom in the Levant. Broughton's fanaticism for his own power at home and influence abroad probably retarded his case, and even under the more enthusiastic James I support remained only partial.[83]

London: A Head Too Big

> London is not said to be in England, but rather England to be in London.[84]

With a late sixteenth-century population of about 200,000 persons London was twenty times larger than most provincial

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[81]Ibid. A2v.

[82]Broughton, An Epistle (STC 3860) Aiiiiv.

[83]Appendix C charts the sequence of relevant letters printed by Broughton which, although running into a later period than that under study here, provide a relevant comment on the apparent differences of interest beteen Elizabeth and James. It also paints a picture of a potentially peaceful 'Holy War' that was missed by the English government, an especially tantalizing situation due to the apparent seniority of the Rabbi-who-wished-to-be-converted in Constantinople, and the increasing contacts being made between Jews and merchant travellers, including those from England. The works are listed in the Bibliography, ordered by STC number.

[84]Thomas Platter, Platter's Travels in England p. 153.

towns and over 12 times as populous as the next largest English city, Norwich, with a figure of 15,000 in 1600--its population in fact decreased slightly from the middle of the century. The health dangers soared in the conditions found in London. Plague visited seriously in 1583, in 1592-4 and again in the year of James' accession. It is difficult to determine any more than contemporary intention to introduce hygiene proposals in English towns. In the city of York, for instance, proposals for piped water in 1552 were not put into successful practice until 1616, and then abandoned in 1634, only to be reintroduced as late as 1677.

The population figures quoted above are for metropolitan London and may therefore be slightly misleading in so far as the relatively limited communicative horizons surrounding communities would mean that a proportion of those people included in this catchment area would not consider themselves residents of London, but rather of the surrounding shires, using London as one market place of several available.

> It is important not to fall into the opposite errors of exaggerating the isolation and self-sufficiency of Tudor communities or of anticipating their fusion into a national market.[85]

The actual situation and possible consequences of London's sorry turn-of-the-century state are recorded in Measure for Measure:

Pompey..../You have not heard of the proclamation,

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[85]D. M. Palliser, op. cit. p. 5.

have you?

Mistress Overdone. What proclamation, man?

Pompey. All houses in the suburbs of Vienna must be plucked down.

Overdone. And what shall become of those in the city?

Pompey. They shall stand for seed. They had gone down too but that a wise burgher put in for them.[66]

(1. 2. 85-92)

John Stow's survey of London (1598 and 1603) noted the religious houses and mansions that had been left to "stand for seed" since the Reformation of the 1530s and 1540s. They had been converted into tenements, increasing the density of the population. Avoiding the city building regulations terraced housing was erected just outside the city walls, soon to become slum. Elizabeth's proclamation of July 7, 1580 attempted to deal with all these problems by forbidding multiple occupation of existing buildings and the erection of new houses within three miles of the city walls.[67] There was a stricter clause demanding that "[l]odgers who had arrived within the past seven years were to leave....A similar proclamation followed in 1602....It is doubtful whether their enforcement was effective":[68] it could not have been easy

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[66]William Shakespeare, The Complete Works eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor. All Shakespeare quotations are from this edition unless stated otherwise.

[67]22 Elizabeth I, H&L II, 466.

[68]Palliser, op. cit. p. 215; 1602 proclamation, 44 Elizabeth I, H&L III, 245. An act was passed in between these proclamations, against new buildings in and around London: 35 Elizabeth I c. 6 (1592).

removing residents who had established themselves in the capital city several years earlier.

Immigration from abroad and migration from the provinces was certainly a major aggravation to the population problem in London. D. M. Palliser records a bright side to this phenomenon, however, in his conclusion to The Age of Elizabeth. He calls the contribution to the English economy by foreigners in the period 1550 to 1650 a "crucial" one, and quotes Thomas Johnson who, in 1596, asked "[w]hat countrie...is there at this presente that nourisheth so manie aliens from all parts of the world as England doth?" and points out that "Edmund Howes in 1615 compiled a list of inventions and innovations, of which the great majority were attributed to immigrants".[88]

Thomas Johnson could have been right. Surveys early in that one-hundred-year period reveal startling results. The figure of 4,534 "strangers" in metropolitan London in 1563 was emended by 1567 to 4,851 excluding the area of Southwark and, most alarmingly, increased to 6,704 in the single year following. "This would suggest that by 1568 immigrants numbered some 7-8 per cent of the total population of the metropolis. The great majority in that year were Netherlanders (5,225) and French (1,119)".[89] This is an early

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[88]Ibid. p. 382.

[89]Ibid. p.57. G. K. Hunter also records the findings of two censuses: in 1567 there were 140 Italians in London, and in 1580 the figure was 116. "See "Elizabethans and Foreigners", p. 45.

date and some historians argue for a significant drop in the proportion of foreigners living in London toward the end of the century.[51]

Some provincial towns were also affected: the ports of Bristol and Southampton were gateways to immigration, and by 1579 one third of the population of Norwich was immigrant. A very small proportion of these foreigners were living in England legally.[52] Roger Lockyer records the vast influx to the city from the provinces, going as far as to say:

> The increase in the city's population was caused entirely by immigration, for among the residents deaths outnumbered births, and even to maintain a stable level an inflow of 7,000 settlers was needed every year.[53]

The population increase was not to be curbed. Conrad Russell estimates a population approaching half a million by the end of the seventeenth-century.[54]

With the 'brains' of the body politic located in this distant, crowded south-eastern corner of the country, the provinces saw it as an oversized head, "too big for the body"

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[51]For example see Steve Rappaport, Worlds Within Worlds p. 56, and below, p. 153.

[52]Palliser, op. cit. p. 57.

[53]Roger Lockyer, The Early Stuarts p. 7.

[54]Conrad Russell, op. cit. p. 172.

of the country.** The self-concerned nature of such a city, acting as a 'funnel' for the rest of England when it came to international trade and negotiation, was blamed for poverty in the provinces. With the end of the Spanish war in 1604 the provincial ports feared again the resurgence of London as the all-powerful trade-centre it had been under Elizabeth.

With apparent dissatisfaction in the provinces it is interesting that there were not more reactions against the might of London due to economic strain and desperation. Protests against the enclosure laws were evident, but they tended to be directed locally against the knights and landlords of the shire who implemented laws locally on behalf of the London statutes. Disturbances that reached London itself tended to be those concerned with political machinations, the constantly fluctuating religious climate, and the economic shortages.** There was not the "political fragmentation" in England that existed on the Continent in the

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**There were, however, Councils in the north and the Marches of Wales. For a compact analysis of the powers and effectiveness of these bodies in "the more remote and lawless parts of the realm", see A. G. R. Smith, The Government of Elizabethan England pp.46-47. R. R. Reid is a major authority on the North under the Tudors; see especially The King's Council in the North (1921). Smith also cites P. Williams, The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I (1958).

**This is not to belittle what were certainly dire straits for "those on the margin of subsistence everywhere". Abandoning the anti-enclosures legislation in 1593 caused civil unrest during crucial years of the period under study. "[I]n Kent alone there were as many as eleven food riots between 1585 and 1603". See Robert Ashton, Reformation and Revolution 1558-1660 p.181. See also Derek Hirst, Authority and Conflict pp. 49-51, for a contextualizing within patriarchal social structures of the food riots.

sixteenth-century to prevent the formation of a nationally recognized ruling centre; by 1561, however, Madrid took a similar status.[87]

Certain areas outside London did thrive peacefully, however, without the support of the capital. These were notably coastal towns, or those areas producing fuel and 'industrial' materials. The bulk of coastal trade, by weight, was provided by the Tyneside coal industry. The Mendip hills were later to flourish as a lead mining centre. In 1596 wool still accounted for 90 per cent. of English exports, and areas of specialization still worked quite satisfactorily without the capital. Palliser notes that "Southampton, Poole, Exeter, Bristol and Chester dominated the coasting trade of the south and west coasts, distributing a wide range of goods and taking only a limited part in trade with London. Chester and Bristol especially distributed goods to North and South Wales respectively, and dominated English trade with Ireland".[88]

THE INFLATION: Freezing Assets

The population's lack of comprehension of the concept of inflation made its imposition a dangerous phenomenon. As Continental markets were increasingly closed off by Anglo-Spanish hostilities, England experienced a consistently large balance of trade deficit. By this time, however, England had established a system of credit. The London Royal Exchange

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[87]Palliser, op. cit. p. 209.

[88]Ibid. p. 277.

opened in 1571 and perhaps it is naïve to think that there was too much concern to pay off trading debts when the defence of the nation was at stake. Six Parliaments were called during the war years: 1584-5, 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1597-8 and 1601. They all provided Elizabeth with money, taken out of circulation in the form of taxes and impositions on the capital and provincial population. The stock-piling of goods could partly be blamed on uncertainty about natural forces on the economy.

Records show that the weather in Elizabethan London was far worse than it is today, and this was a major factor in producing the agricultural dearth. The Thames froze over in 1565 and 1595, according to records;[99] it would seem probable that many winters in Elizabethan England were cold enough for this to happen. The population of the provinces could only guess whether their sheep would survive each night and whether their crops would suffocate in ice-solid earth. A bad growing season would most affect the labourers who, unhired, concerned themselves with avoiding prosecution under the many vagrancy statutes and supporting proclamations of the late 1580s and the 1590s.[100]

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[99]Ibid. p. 3.

[100]**Acts**: 14 Elizabeth I c. 5 (1572); 35 Elizabeth I c. 7 (1592-3, revives 22 Henry VIII c. 12 for the whipping of vagabonds); 39 Elizabeth I c. 4 (1597-8); 43 Elizabeth I c. 9 (1601, enforcing a variety of statutes). **Proclamations**: 29 Elizabeth I (1587), H&L II, 539; 31 Elizabeth I (1589, against vagrant soldiers), H&L III, 46; 33 Elizabeth I (1591, against unlawful assembly: "because these routs are compounded of sundry sorts of base people, some known apprentices such as are of base manual occupation, and some others wandering idle

The 1590s seems to have been the worst decade of them all. This dearth preceded the decade of war-ending, both at home and abroad, and it is probable that the position of the individual in terms of spending power and wage earning did not recover significantly until after 1610. 1596-7 had been a pitiful growing season, and caused a famine year. Palliser quotes Henry Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, "'The lowest point we record in seven centuries was in 1597', they concluded, 'the year of the Midsummer Night's Dream', Do we not see here a Malthusian crisis...?"[101]

H. S. D. Mithal points to a proclamation made on 8 October, 1590, against the exportation of grain from the country, as proof that "the Government and the people had become fully alive to the evil in the years preceding the said proclamation".[102] By this terrible year of 1597, however, there are indications of the misunderstanding by central government of the presence of provincial civil unrest due to

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persons of condition of beggars and vagabonds, and some coloring their wandering by the name of soldiers returned from the war" (v.3, 82) H&L III, 82; 33 Elizabeth I (1591), H&L III, 83; 33 Elizabeth I (1591), H&L III, 96; 34 Elizabeth I (1592, examination of vagrant soldiers), H&L III, 105; 36 Elizabeth I (1594), H&L III, 134; 37 Elizabeth I (1595, against unlawful assembly), H&L III, 143; 38 Elizabeth I (1596), H&L III, 157; 38 Elizabeth I (1596, against forged credentials), H&L III, 159; 40 Elizabeth I (1599), H&L III, 196; 42 Elizabeth I (1601), H&L III, 204; 42 Elizabeth I (1601), H&L III, 232.

[101]Palliser, op. cit. p. 157. See Henry Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins in Essays in Economic History ii, 189; MND is now commonly dated 1594-5.

[102]See Mithal's "Introduction" to his edition of Robert Wilson, The Three Ladies of London p. xxxvii, note 2.

grain shortage and producer stock-piling. On January 30, 1594, for instance, the State Papers record a:

> Warrant for an order to permit Giovanni Bassadora, of Venice, to transport thither 4,000 quarters of wheat, rye, or beans, from those parts of the realm where, for cheapness, it may well be spared, there being a great dearth of corn in Venice".[103]

If people really were outstripping resources, then the effect was localized, and communications seem to have broken down. London was becoming too big and larger provincial towns were overburdening their local suburban suppliers. It should be remembered that the hardship was not confined to London or England, the trend being "broadly comparable to...wages in sixteenth-century Alsace, Valencia, Vienna, Augsburg and Göttingen [present-day western Germany]".[104]

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[103] CSP Dom 1591-4 p. 419.

[104] Palliser, op. cit. p. 157.

Wage Rates and their Purchasing Power, 1540-1609[105]
(1450-99=100)

	AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS			BUILDING CRAFTSPERSONS
Decade	Money wage Rate	'Cost of living'	Purchasing power of wage rate	Purchasing power of wage rate
1540-9	118	167	71	70
1550-9	160	271	59	51
1560-9	177	269	66	62
1570-9	207	298	69	64
1580-9	203	354	57	57
1590-9	219	443	49	47
1600-9	219	439	50	46

London's Jewry[106]

"Jews Garden", just outside the walls in Cripplegate ward, marks the medieval Jewish cemetery.[107] It lies north of the wards of Cheap and Coleman Street where most of the London Jews of the thirteenth-century lived. Shortly before the expulsion of 1290[108] there was a westward shift into Cripplegate within the walls, and a few Jews moved east to

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[105]Source: P. J. Bowden, 'Statistical Appendix' in J. Thirsk ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales p. 865. Reprinted in Palliser, op. cit. p. 158.

[106]See London street maps (figs. 1.9A & 1.9B) for the extent of the medieval and Elizabethan Jewries, and for the location of important events and sites relating to the Jews and foreigners in London.

[107]See Marjorie B. Honeybourne, "The Pre-Expulsion Cemetery of the Jews in London".

[108]The Calendar of Patent Rolls (Edward I, 1281-1292) p. 378, records an order of 27 July, 1290, for "Safe-conduct for the Jews quitting the realm with their wives, children and goods".

Aldgate--to the 'Poor Jewry'.[108] There are several phases to the return of small Jewish communities to England in the late fifteenth- and mid-sixteenth-centuries.[110] A very few Spaniards probably came straight to London after the 1492 expulsion, but more Portuguese arrived five years later. The family of George Añes is one of the earliest settled in London, at least as early as 1521.

By this time, the Mendez family of bankers had set up an extended international network, and their influence in England made a London location at least passingly attractive. In 1532 when "Diogo Mendes, the head of the important Antwerp branch, was threatened with prosecution on a charge of Judaizing, the king of England, Henry VIII, himself intervened and helped to free Mendes from the threat".[111] When the Jews began to return to London in significant numbers from 1540, they were concentrated in Tower Ward and Aldgate.

We have records of Jewish activity in Seething Lane (Sydon Lane), in Crutched Friars, Hart Street, Fenchurch, and

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[108]A fair picture of the extent of the thirteenth-century Jewry can be drawn from the records of houses owned by the Jews, one of the most comprehensive single entries being in the Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions vol. 1, p. 62, no. 185, showing residences in both north and east London. See also the Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem vol. 1, Henry III, p. 62., entry no. 249. The Calendar of Charter Rolls 2 (1257-1300) indicates the existence of Jews in the east of London. The entry, for 16 March, 1262, situates "Master Moses, a Jew of London, his heirs and assigns, a messuage in the city of London in Colchurch Street in the parish of St. Olave in the Jewry" (p. 41).

[110]The following summary uses Albert M. Hyamson's summary in The Sephardim of England pp. 4-9.

[111]Ibid. p. 4.

Duke's Place."[112] The small distances between some of these locations seem to have made a difference in the lifestyle of the Jews. Since the small parishes all attempted to impose their own particular strictures or leniency on their local population, Jews with the means to could move a short distance for greater freedom.

Like Lancelot in The Merchant of Venice, one Thomas Wilson (not the writer on usury) was a Christian working for a Jewish family. He left the service of Ferdinand Alvares in 1594, "the year of the trial and execution of Lopez. And it is difficult not to see in this action some reflection of a sense of insecurity in the mind of this young Londoner serving in a Jewish family at the time of these events".[113] Wilson noted the clandestine Jewish ceremonies that occured in this household. He confirmed that such practices were general knowledge to the authorities who turned many a blind eye in some parishes. Wilson records the ease with which these Jewish observances were continued:

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[112]The character Simony, in Robert Wilson's Three Lords and Three Ladies of London says to Usury, "thy parentes/were both Jewes, though thou wert borne in London" (l. 1441-2). In the fiction of the play, the attributions of stereotype nationalities to vices seem to be intended quite literally. Dissimulation is "a mongrel, half an Italian, halfe a Dutchman", for instance. Thomas Coryate records meeting a Jew in Constantinople who was born in Crutched Friars in his Purchas his Pilgrimes II, x, 1824-5. J. L. Cardozo says of Simony's words: "This is evidently slander, nor indeed could anything but lies be expected from so black a character as Simony", in The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama p. 95. Cardozo's general thesis is to deny the existence of Jews in England in this period.

[113]C.J. Sisson, "A Colony of Jews in Shakespeare's London", p. 45.

> because they have not been troubled about their Relygyon or use of superstycyous ceremonyes since they came to dwell there as they now do, where before they were constrayned to come and heare servyce at Fanchurche when they dwelt in Fanchurch streete[.]'"[114]

C.J. Sisson expands this point, and shows the concern of Hector Nunez--the Elizabethan spy of Mark Lane--for his own people. This reminds us of the dual role of Mendez, working hard to secure political advantage for his employer and favourers against Philip II, but also most concerned for his fellow Jews. It should be noted in passing that Nunez also had a Gentile servant. "It may well be believed", says Sisson,

> that the whole colony of Portuguese Jews, and not only those whose customs are here called into question, did in fact practise their true religion in secret, throughout the Tudor period. It was Hector Nunez who, in the reign of Mary, being then resident at Bristol, where a similar colony flourished, sent out to the faithful in Portugal a correct calendar of dates for the chief Jewish ceremonies....No better instance of the tenacity of Jewish tradition could be found than the striking fact that at this day the chief Synagogue of London Jewry stands in Duke Street, it may be upon the very site of the secret synagogue described by Thomas Wilson.'"[115]

Bristol was in fact the location of a larger Jewry than

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[114]Ibid. p. 45-6.

[115]Ibid. p. 49.

London for significant periods in the fifteenth-century and in the first half of the sixteenth-century.[116] Spanish Jewish merchants were trading in cloth with the port of Bristol in the early fifteenth-century, and Nunez's style of sustaining a Jewish 'community' was surpassed, it seems, by the efforts of one Beatriz Fernandez. The newly arrived Marranos of the turn of the century were taught by her the Bristol community's observances of Jewish ceremony and law.[117]

With the accession of the Catholic Mary in 1553, the Jews of Bristol dispersed and those of London went underground, to resurface around the family of the relocated Hector Nunez when Elizabeth succeeded. The probable date of The Merchant of Venice, 1596, coincides with the next stage of decline for the Jewry of London. At the centre of that decline was the Marrano doctor, Ruy Lopez.

Entering England in about 1559, under the relative safety of the new Queen, he was the first trained physician to be appointed at St. Bartholomew's hospital.[118] He took up the post in about 1567, where he remained until at least 1579, when he was granted permission to move inside the city from

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[116]Robert Fitzharding, Mayor of Bristol, opened a house for converts in 1154. The London house of convertites was opened by Henry III in 1232. The site of the Domus Conversorum, in Chancery Lane, is to the west of our map of London in Faringdon Without ward. See A. M. Hyamson, A History of the Jews in England p. 126.

[117]Rubens, A Jewish Iconography p. 6.

[118]This paragraph draws on Claire Hilton, "St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and its Jewish Connections", pp. 23-25.

his house in Little Britain. Evidence that he was harbouring Don Antonio at a house in Holborn in 1585, however, may suggest that he exercised his right to let his city property to tenants and moved back into the suburbs. A year later he was appointed personal physician to the Queen. He was held in high esteem at court; a record of the Queen sending Lopez to attend on Lord Harrington's sister, Mrs. Townsend, suggests that he was worthy of being a token of the Queen's favour.[119]

With a certain amount of circumstantial evidence against him,[120] Lopez was arrested for treason in the Autumn of 1593. On 7 June of the following year he ascended the scaffold at Tyburn, recorded as stating "that he loved the Queen as well as he loved Jesus Christ; which coming from a man of the Jewish Profession moved no small Laughter in the Standers-by".[121] Edgar Samuel has argued that Lopez's actual utterance was that he loved the Queen as well as he did the Lord, meaning his God, and this term was misinterpreted by the Christian crowd to mean Christ.[122]

This contention of Lopez's retention of his old faith is in line with Lucien Wolf's and C. J. Sisson's views on the practice of the London Jews and reflects on something of the

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[119]Letter from John Stanhope to his sister, 2 November, 1590 (Folger Library MS, ref. V.b.148).

[120]See Appendix C for CSP Dom list of indictments and evidence against Lopez.

[121]Source: William Camden, History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. See Edgar Samuel below, note 122.

[122]Edgar Samuel, "Dr. Rodrigo Lopes' Last Speech from the Scaffold at Tyburn", p. 52.

consistent prejudice against the "vile Jew" Lopez in his trial due to the fact of his Jewishness.[123] Lopez's tendency to side with the call for peace with Spain was highly unwelcome at a time when, just after the defeat of the Armada, anti-Spanish hostility was at a peak in London.

Lopez's harbouring of Don Antonio, the exiled Portuguese Pretender, was just a cover, revealed the State Papers of 1594; his fiendish plot was found out by the interception and discovery of allegedly treasonous communications between Lopez and representatives of the King of Spain (see figs. 1.7A & 1.7B).[124] "Lopez, a perjured murdering traitor and Jewish doctor, worse than Judas himself" was unsaveable.[125] The Queen's close ally and friend at home and later abroad, Alvaro Mendez, appealed for Lopez but was given the reply that "'the discontent of the people was so great' that it was impossible to grant his request".[126] Lucien Wolf concludes that "this curious plea goes far to confirm...[the]...contention that Lopez fell a victim to anti-Spanish mob clamour rather than to any misdeeds of his own".[127]

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[123] CSP Dom 1591-4, p. 444 (Feb. 28, 1594).

[124] We do not have an explanation for the method used to decipher the allegedly encoded letters sent to Lopez. The CSP Dom 1591-4 talks of the phrase, "'The bearer will tell you the price in which your pearls are held, &c.,' by which was meant the poisoning of the Queen, and by 'musk and amber,' the burning of the Queen's ships, &c." (p. 461.)

[125] Ibid. p. 446.

[126] Wolf, op. cit. p. 31.

[127] Ibid. p. 31-2.

Whether the accusations were justified or not the fascination of the Jewish misdeed would survive. Similar myth-building had been going on on the Continent, especially Germany, since the middle ages. Well into the seventeenth-century writers were still taking the trouble to transcribe accounts of the Lopez affair, remembering the Jew that "was willinge and did affix to poyson her Ma[jes]tie...he would mynyster her poyson in a syropp" at her next medical "examynate[on]" and be rewarded "with the value of 50,000 crownes in Rubyes and dyamonds".[128] It was the truth of the fact that Lopez had received a ruby from the King of Spaine that lent weight to all suspicions against him, weight that could be shifted by last-minute pleas (his execution was postponed in April), but could not be lifted.[129]

It should be remembered that this affair occurred at a time of fear for the monarchy. Many proposed and suspected rebellions and coups were in the English melting pot of dissatisfaction, and the Queen could not be seen to be weak in dealing with alleged acts of such transgression. Fig. 1.8, dated 1624, shows the many attempts on the Queen's life and the inevitable conclusion for such malefactors.

In the aftermath of the Lopez case, and with the connexions of the Jews with Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender who was becoming more and more out of favour, the

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[128]Quotations from anon. MS., Account of the Conspiracy and Trial of Dr. Roderigo Lopez 1650 (Folger MS, ref X.d.438).

[129]See Appendix C for letter appealing for Lopez's life; reprinted in Franz Kobler, Letters of Jews pp. 388-90.

Jews were again enemies to the State. The city of Amsterdam was an increasingly attractive location for the London Jews who were finding their business and social activities stifled in a new atmosphere of hostility. Jewish traders had reestablished businesses here after their ejection from Antwerp in 1542, and again, we recall, after the Dutch blockade of the Low Countries ports in 1595. It is not improbable that many of the London Jews chose to move to Amsterdam toward the close of the century.

Roger Prior has recently provided limited but good evidence for the existence of a second Jewish community in Tudor London. He argues that Italian musicians brought into the country by Henry VIII, "with the deliberate intention of increasing the fame and splendour of his Court", were in fact Jews.[130] He cites the previously investigated name of the Italian musician, Bassano, possibly the very same that Shakespeare had in mind when naming the character, Bassanio, in The Merchant of Venice. These Jews, considering themselves Italians first, and Jews second, did not have intimate relations with the Portuguese Marrano community with which we are more familiar. They seem to have assimilated with the English Christians fairly quickly, taking English spouses and living for the main part in Cripplegate, not Tower ward or Aldgate.

Prior's article concludes with the perhaps over-

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[130]Roger Prior, "A second Jewish community in Tudor London", p. 137.

optimistic view of a humanist Renaissance within the Henrician and Elizabethan court:

> It seems clear that there was a consistent Tudor policy of employing Jews as royal servants. Elizabeth's employment of men like Hector Nunez, Rodrigo Lopez, and the Añes family was not due to mere chance or their availability. In this respect, as in so many others, she was following a policy that her father had begun....
>
> If there was a policy of royal employment, there was also a policy of readmission....Perhaps we should think of a tacit readmission in 1540, long before the overt one of 1656.[131]

The agents in this case for Henry were obviously scrupulous in who would be allowed to come into England, since they were to be paid and provided for, and would need to be highly competent entertainers. This particular admission programme would seem, if we are realistic, to be concerned with the benefit of the court of England, and not with the freedom of Jews to live in England.[132]

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[131]Ibid. p. 148-9.

[132]Cecil Roth does note other connexions between Henry VIII and Continental Jews, however. He was contacting Venetian Rabbis for advice on his marriage problems, through the intermediary, the Humanist Fra Francesco Giorgi. (A History of the Jews in England p. 145.) His Act of Uniformity (31 Henry VIII c. 14, 1549) detailed the use of Hebrew in private devotions, and coins commemorating Henry VIII's recognition as Head of the Church included Hebrew inscription. (Ibid. p. 146.)

CHAPTER TWO: The Suburban Theatre of London

The Theatre as Second City

In The Place of the Stage Steven Mullaney talks of:

> a carnal excess that went beyond the bounds prescribed for the body and its passions....The proper place for such exorbitance, as Plato long ago noted, was outside the boundaries of community, at a point where cultural containment and definition cease to reign[.][1]

He goes on to consider the theatre itself a sign of satisfaction for these desires; the theatre buildings are "alluring sights", making living in the city "both desirable and pleasurable".[2] But this final conclusion is not absolutely accurate.

The Claude de Jongh sketch of London Bridge from the west provides a view of the south bank from the city (fig. 2.1A). The viewpoint is fairly low and about right for an adult standing a little way onto the river from the north. From this aspect, only flags reveal the presence of the theatre buildings, with the possibility of a roof on the more central one, the Globe. R. A. Foakes contends that there is an inaccuracy with the theatres' roof heights, claiming that they

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[1]Steven Mullaney, The Place of the Stage p. 37. He is talking specifically on the effects of leprosy in the city.

[2]Ibid. p. 41; Mullaney gives his source as Giovanni Botero The Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities London, 1635 (2nd English edition), p. 32. (Originally published 1588.) These particular quotations do not appear on that page.

would not have been seen from de Jongh's position.[3] This suggests that what in fact caught de Jongh's eye were not the theatre buildings but the flags.

If it is the case that, simply from the flags' power of suggestion, de Jongh brought in the roof thatch that we appear to see in the sketch, what was yet to come was even more interesting. The oil painting--an authoritative, traditional medium--he made three years later from the sketches ignores the presence of the flags and the theatres become hidden in the south bank suburb (fig. 2.1B). What might be the theatre roof still appears in this later painting, but cannot be identified as such without the 'unofficial' sketch.

When the theatre-goers leave the city to go south of the Thames, they are 'lured' by a sight from without the city: the flags proclaiming the performance of a play. The official ideal picture of the internal city, in the traditional medium, ignores the very existence of the theatres. It is not living <u>in</u> the city that is made "desirable" by the theatre buildings, but rather the knowledge of, and desire for, the theatrical district <u>outside</u> the city.

If the Liberties, which are within the city, are 'free'

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[3]R. A. Foakes writes, "These are presumably the Hope or Beargarden, nearer the river, and the Globe...the roof-lines of the theatre buildings at the rear are more casually sketched in. They appear to be roughly the same height, but the Globe, being further away from the viewpoint, should have appeared to have a lower roof-line. This may be due to inaccuracy in the drawing", <u>Illustrations of the English Stage</u> p. 21.

areas with ancient monastic privilege sanctioned by the authorities, then it is the external suburbs of the south bank and the northern fields that present the possibility of literally exiting the official ideology. Steven Mullaney's blurred distinction between the Liberties of the city of London and the suburbs in which the amphitheatres stood, which he also calls "Liberties", leads to a rupture in the concept of a theatre necessarily separated from the city.* It is true, however, that the Justices of Surrey and Middlesex were subject to Privy Council orders, and this lessens the real independence of the areas.

The inclusion by many observers of the theatre within a sink of lust is understandable. Brothels, public houses and theatres stood in close proximity; some shared the same buildings. But the suburbs of the northern fields and the south bank give rein not solely to a "carnal lust", but to the human need for self-expression. And self-expression requires a certain distance from oppression to operate. Louis Althusser's theory of literary perception talks of creating "a <u>retreat</u>, an <u>internal distantiation</u>, from the very ideology" from which the literary work emerges. At the same time,

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*This is brought about in part by Mullaney's attempts to align the "liminal", or marginalized, theatre with the marginal areas of the city (i. e. the suburbs), which are not in themselves Liberties. See particularly his pp. 21-2. Mullaney writes, "Liberties existed within the city walls as well, but they too stood outside of London's effective domain; like the Liberties outside the walls, they were a part of the city yet juridically set apart from it" (p. 21).

however, the reader (or spectator) can "'perceive'...in some sense from the inside, by an internal distance, the very ideology in which they are held".* The ability to work within an ideology and yet reach outside of it by "internal distantiation" worried the late Elizabethan authorities, even if they did not conceive of it through such post-modernist reasoning. Hence physical 'exit' signs from that ideology, such as the theatre flags, should be eliminated from the conservative image of the city.

Firmly planted in residential, and rural, suburbia, the theatres' "distantiation" from the city--both in the south and in the north--and its official ideology is apparent.* I will argue that, through chance as well as official control, the inhabitants of London were not ultimately able to use the theatres to achieve mental "internal distantiation" while they lived inside the city jurisdiction; instead they created a physical distance in its place.

It is the people, the subjects, that make up the city and perpetuate an ideology. An ideology cannot exist without

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*Althusser is talking of the novelistic literature of Balzac and Solzhenitsyn. See Louis Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy p. 204. See also Mullaney, op. cit. p. 57. His reference for Althusser (pp. 222-3) is incorrect.

*Several engravings and sketches show the theatres 'curtained' from the city by trees and fields in our time period. See John Norden's "London" in Speculum Britanniae (1593); Abram Booth's The View of the Cittye of London from the North towards the South (1597-9); Norden's Civitas Londini (1600); in R. A. Foakes, op. cit. pp. 6-13. Later prints of the south bank still show the theatres couched among the trees.

subjects to be apprehended within a social framework.[7] As the essential ingredient of the city, the theatre-goers are the city, or at least a part of the grander machine, components of that city ideology. They can, therefore, independently create a new city structure called the theatre.

Once outside the city the theatre-goers from London are essential reconstructive elements in themselves, literally pieces of the city (cities are described by population figures). They deconstruct the city into its components (i.e. themselves) without destroying it. The city, as an ideological concept in the minds of the theatre-goers, is held in limbo. While in the south bank theatre these "elements", or subjects, possess the vital distance from the city, and the subsequent reconstruction of their community is an affirmation of their identity as different from the city, but of the city.

This is how the public Elizabethan amphitheatre, as a specifically situated structure, physicalizes and provides a real outlet for, the theory of psychological distantiation, which Althusser instigated for novelistic literature. This physical separation is arguably highlighted by the city disturbances of 1592-5 (discussed in Chapter Four, Part One), and by a trend that continues through the end of the period

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[7]This idea is taken from one thesis of several defining aspects of ideology, in Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological Apparatuses", in Lenin and Philosophy pp. 160 ff.

under study, that of disobedience.[8] Despite the subjection of the Middlesex and Surrey Justices to the Privy Council, there are indications throughout our period of breakdowns in order-issuing and order-following.

In the minute of a letter from the Council to the Lord Mayor of London and the suburban Justices, concerning the suppression of plays, we read that:

> as wee have donne our partes in prescribinge the orders, so unlesse you perfourme yours in lookinge to the due execution of them wee shall loose our labour and the wante of redresse must be imputed unto you and others unto whome it apperteyneth, and therefore wee doe hereby authorize and require you to see the said orders to be putt in execucion and to be continued as you do wish the amendement of the aforesaide abuses and will remove the blame thereof from your selves.[9]

That a popular conception existed of the suburban theatre as

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[8]Gail Kern Paster notes that Juvenal is:

> outraged by the effect of upstart slaves from the provinces and of suddenly moneyed tradesmen on the traditional social hierarchy of the city. A characteristic attitude is class-oriented racial prejudice, a dislike of newcomers to the city, like the Jews and Egyptians, who balked at cultural assimilation....In a city overrun by foreigners and debased by appetite, the life of the mind has no place. Letters must starve.

See E. Courtney, A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal (London: Athlone Press, 1980) pp. 27-8. This notion of the wasting of the expressive city is one that may be relevantly applied to the need to take the theatre into the suburbs of London, where it can freely talk of the Jews and foreigners inside the city.

[9]APC (1599-1600), p. 411 (22 June, 1600).

substitute community, safely separated from the city of London both physically by the rural suburbs and politically by the inefficiency of the local sheriffs, is a contention supported by the record of several men, the members of the Essex conspiratorial party, attending the haven called the Globe on 7 February, 1601, the eve of the rebellion. The men at the centre of the rebellion were nearly all high-ranking military men or knights, and these high-profile figures, it seems, considered the theatre a place where they may 'lie low', ready to pounce. The choice of play, however, Richard II, was an overt moral 'briefing' for the Essex followers, and may perhaps say something about the expectation, or the assumption, of the Elizabethans, that the theatre was the place to purchase such subversive hardware.[10]

In the late Elizabethan amphitheatre, then, an opportunity is provided for the population: the voice of the lower and middle rank's censure can be made audible. How will the theatre-goers be heard in the city? At home to children, perhaps, or to servants, in the market haggling over prices,

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[10]Andrew Gurr lists the conspirators in his "Appendix 1: playgoers", in Playgoing in Shakespeare's London. They were Sir Christopher Blount, who fought in the Netherlands, Cadiz, and in Ireland, and was executed in March; Edward Bushell; Sir William Constable, knighted by Essex in Ireland, and fought with the Parliamentarians in the 1640s; Sir John Davies of Oxford, who was pardoned; Captain Ellis Jones; Captain Thomas Lea, executed in February; Sir Gilly Merrick; William Parker, who was the fourth Baron Mounteagle, and the Lord to receive the tip-off about the Gunpowder Plot in 1604; Sir Charles Percy, one of the two horsemen who rode to Edinburgh to tell James of the Queen's death.

trying to deal with worsening weather and trade conditions, and diminished imports from closed-off war markets. Only in the theatre is there the gathering of as many like-minded people to make a voice heard.

Perhaps the other place such a congregation would occur is in a church. Such a gathering, however, is a one-way lesson: the audience is told what is to be taken as correct. In "the Schoolehouse of Satan, and chappel of il counsel"[11] that is the theatre, on the other hand, the preachers on their stage pulpit seem to invite the auditors and spectators to decide for themselves, or at least to express themselves. As we accompany these audiences through the productions of the 1590s, however, we will see the limitations imposed upon free-thinking by dissatisfaction and simple economic conditions, and also by peer-pressure and nationalism.

"abowt my play howsse"[12]

Let us now consider the structure of this 'second city', and how the audience within the building was affected by a play with contemporary significance. What are the ideals behind the people's extra-city forum in the late sixteenth-century? In The Human Stage, John Orrell proposes that the design for

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[11]See Anon. (Anthony Munday), A Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters, 1580 p. 92 (Giv verso). The first blast was Stephen Gosson's Schoole of Abuse, and the second was a translation of an edition of Salvianus, Sancti Salviani (Oxoniae, 1629; STC 21674).

[12]Henslowe, Diary p. 9.

the amphitheatres of Renaissance England came from Spanish occasional theatres, polygonal structures of wood with an awning forming a roof and sides, designed to be easily set up and taken down. It is partly this derivation of design that leads Orrell to suggest that pieces of theatres, from the tiring house tower at the Red Lion of 1567, to the Theatre's own sections, were prefabricated pieces, made some distance from the site of the playhouse and then transported and erected, the pieces slotting together.

Such a pleasantly simple structural design would help to explain the supposed quick dismantling and removal of the Theatre.[13] Orrell presses on with his theory of interlocking, prefabricated theatre design to say:

> At the Boar's Head old galleries could be taken down and other ones built; when necessary a new one could be added to enlarge the auditorium. In Madrid the auditorium of the Corral del Príncipe might grow step by step like a crystal. But we hear of no such developments at the Theater, nor at any of the subsequent purpose-built open playhouses. Their fittings might be changed from time to time, as when Henslowe added a flight machine at the Rose, and they could of course be redecorated. But no one ever added a new storey of boxes, or expanded the ground plan, or radically changed the relation of stage to auditorium. Such alterations, however

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[13]See Ann Jennalie Cook, "John Stow's Storm and the Demolition of the Theatre", for a note on the bad weather around the 28 December, 1598, the often-supposed dismantling date.

> desirable for commercial or even theatrical reasons, were entirely precluded by the highly integrated design of the original structure.'[14]

Both the Boar's Head (1598) and the Spanish Corral del Príncipe (1582) were constructed in open yard areas between buildings. There were ready-made walls, therefore, up which 'scaffolds' could be erected, and through which windows could be, and were, cut for boxes. Both the Boar's Head and the Corral del Príncipe went through several phases of redesigning and enlarging.

Orrell is of course wrong to include the Rose theatre in this passage. Although it was certainly a huge task, expanding the ground plan is exactly what Philip Henslowe did in 1592. The British Museum plans (fig. 2.2A & 2.2B) of the 1988 excavation give us evidence unavailable to Orrell at his time of writing. They show a radical change to the theatre shape and the relationship of the stage to the auditorium as a result of major structural work. I will return to the Rose ground plan shortly.

Another example of the kind of mistake arising from a lack of first-hand 'earthy' evidence is trust placed in contemporary engravings depicting the theatres. Norden's Civitas Londini, for instance, shows the axis at right angles to the stage tower gable of both the Globe and Rose theatres to be pointing in the same direction, 48 degrees east of

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[14]John Orrell, The Human Stage p. 29. For "flight machine", see Henslowe, Diary p. 7.

north.[18] The excavation of the Rose has, however, shown its axis to in fact run west of north. Moreover, if the Rose theatre were pre-fabricated and locked together on site, perhaps the lengths of the sides of the polygonal wall structure would be more consistent in their length and so in the angles at which the walls meet, than in fact they are.

It is not a theory of mathematical determinacy we should apply to the design of the 'rough' Rose, but one of the 'application of ideas', and the acceptance of the reality of imperfect representations. We might ask, in other words, what the theatre design suggests, rather than what the theatre design actually is; and what the audience perceives rather than what exists. Words like mimesis, metaphor, and allegory guide us some way toward the imitating, yet apparently separated 'world' of the theatre. 'Application of ideas' is the implication of something profound or 'other' being involved in a concept, when in physical or scientific reality it cannot be found; it is not a habit restricted to play-makers and playgoers, but extends to the work and beliefs of artists, mathematicians, scientists, explorers and monarchs.

Here is a familiar example of such application. In the shape of the octagon or hexagon was seen to be the compromise shape of heaven's circle and earth's square. The complex ideas of representations of heaven and earth and their coming

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[18]John Norden, Civitas Londini (1600); reproduced in R. A. Foakes, op. cit. pp. 10-11.

together were represented in a shape that, in itself, meant nothing. Robert Hughes writes that:

> It has often been pointed out that the square, with its firm symmetry, its solidity and definition, was a fundamental symbol of material things and thus of the earth and its stable characteristics - four seasons, four elements of earth, fire, water and air, four points of the compass. The circle, on the other hand, is the 'perfect form', serene, without angles, self-enclosed; angels and planets trace out its path; it is free from gravity, with no resting point. It is the perfect symbol of Heaven.[18]

The Greek humanists' concept of structure enjoyed great revival in the Renaissance. The infinite search for a geometrical method of 'squaring' a circle, of relating the circle and square to give the same area, was inherited from Classical Greece. Since identical areas could not be obtained, the most appropriate thing to do was to find a shape that would resemble in some way both the square and the circle--just one shape would have one area, and this shape could be seen as another fusion of spiritual and terrestrial. That shape was a regular polygon, often the octagon or hexagon.

The application of ideas with these shapes has led to the commonly octagonal or hexagonal baptismal font, as the linking point of the human with the divine. So, in its characteristic semi-conformity to ideals, the amphitheatre of late

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[18]Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art p. 88.

Elizabethan London had a polygonal structural design, a shape with straight sides, conforming to the world design and human shape, but implying the greater significance of the circle, a fact well realised and emphasized by playwrights.[17]

It was a theatre of allusion as well as of illusion, a building set beside a society to which it alluded, and encompassing a society of its own that thrived on illusion. The Classical and Hellenistic Greek, and English Renaissance, societies "regard[ed] geometry not as a pure science but as a symbolic activity".[18] It was part of Renaissance, neo-Classical 'fashion' to apply ideas in this way. When new ideas are being pioneered, not just the germ of the idea is important, but all the other hypotheses about the greater significance of each idea. So it is that when Vitruvius Pollio describes his theory for theatre design, he says:

> The plan of the theatre itself is to be constructed as follows. Having fixed upon the principal centre, draw a line of circumference equivalent to what is

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[17]The contemporary pictorial evidence falls on the side of polygonal external appearance. Despite Hollar's Long View, it seems unlikely that a quantity of plaster would be used to 'round' the external angles, and illustrations doing this may be perpetuating the ideals discussed in this chapter. An excavation report for the Rose theatre in Minerva 1 (2) February, 1990, found significant plaster deposits only inside the theatre structure. In the archaeological survey in her book, The Rose Theatre, Christine Eccles does not record any materials that would have been used to 'round' the external angles. The statement in Minerva that the technology to bend wood did not exist at the time of the Rose's construction is arguable, and perhaps the sheer effort and cost of such an aesthetic exercise rendered it unfeasible.

[18]Hughes, op. cit. p. 91.

> to be the perimeter at the bottom, and in it inscribe four equilateral triangles, at equal distances apart and touching the boundary line of the circle, as the astrologers do in a figure of the twelve signs of the zodiac, when they are making computations from the musical harmony of the stars.'[19]

Orrell comments on this extract:

> The introduction of the zodiac here seems merely incidental....There was, however, always a touch of the Platonist in Vitruvius, no matter how practical and concrete his particular advice, and it seems that he assumed, almost so easily as to find further explanation unnecessary, that a monumental public building like a theatre would require a cosmic as well as a human and physical rationale.[20]

From the cosmic idea comes cosmic representation.

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[19]From Vitruvius Pollio, De Architectura, quoted in Orrell, op. cit. p. 131-2. (Using trans. by Morris Hicky Morgan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914, p. 146.) There is no real evidence for a Vitruvian influence on the design of the Theatre and the Rose. The application of the cosmic idea is what I am concerned with here. See Richard C. Kohler, "Excavating Henslowe's Rose", where he argues that:

> Palladio had earlier [than the Theatre] constructed at least two temporary wooden theatres on classical principles. His plan for a Roman theatre, available to the English, was published in Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius in 1567. (Barbaro had been in England representing the Venetian court from 1548 to 1550.) (p. 481.)

See in response S. P. Cerasano, "Raising a Playhouse from the Dust", who finds that:

> The study of Vitruvius...seems primarily to have been an intellectual exercise, devoid of provable connection with workaday sixteenth-century building practices (p. 485).

[20]John Orrell, (ibid.) p. 132.

Representation of the cosmos by human beings does two things: it decreases, or debases, the enormity of the cosmos, and enlarges or heightens the significance of human beings as intelligent and powerful organisms. What is brought into question when human beings imitate and represent the cosmos is the perfection of something that allows itself to be thus represented. The human beings then suffer the paradox of trying to accept their inferiority to the greater cosmic existence (or the result is blasphemy), yet accepting human representations, imitations, and even recreations of cosmic elements as good enough so as to provoke a real identification of that imitation with the real thing; in other words, to allow a free application of ideas.

When Donne says to the "Busy old fool, unruly sun", "This bed thy centre is" (The Sun Rising), he is applying an idea of himself as prime being.[21] In this single idea there are spawned many absurdities, profundities, and metaphysical possibilities. At the same time that Donne's claim of prowess is absurd, there is a quite real reader acceptance of the validity of this idea in so far as the human psyche is concerned. Donne in this poem is a lover, all powerful in 'the morning after'.

The mix of humour, irony, preposterousness, blasphemy, seriousness and sincerity of voice is what makes the

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[21] "The Sun Rising" was circulated in manuscript in Donne's lifetime, and published in 1633.

application of an idea work. The incredible rise of Barabas, we shall see, associates with many other ideas: the convention of drama, the Machiavellian expertise, the state and reaction of the oppressed, the anti-Christ and Jewish connexions; but also with loftier ideas of human capability, ambition, justice, the power of divinity, to name a few. Inexplicable 'truths' abide within the human breast, and Donne is exploring one that we call 'love'.

The word "love" is like the compromise shape of the octagon. In itself it contains little: four letters out of an available 26, in one of several possible orders. But the ideas that can be applied relevantly are arguably infinite. The point of applying ideas in this way is to provoke thought from an audience in excess of the stimulus presented (itself a prime 'idea'), without that excess having specific basis in the literal content of the original stimulus. This is the freedom of thought-association to be taken back to the city, and is a condition that worried the authorities. But we shall see how the theatre design itself denies this perlocutionary act (physical result as a consequence) of the play-text performance.

The final line of Donne's poem is an idea that can be applied to the design of the public Elizabethan amphitheatre. "This bed thy centre is, these walls, thy sphere". The bed, where things grow; the bed, from where new beings are spawned; the bed, in which lust reigns: these are perfect metaphors of

the stage, the improvising, character-creating, rough stage. The eyes of the spectators around the walls of the theatre are theoretically centred on the stage, the bed. This cosmic analogy to the theatre is simple and important. This world of the lustful stage--be it sexual or material lust--only exists within the boundaries of its own universe, the boundaries of the walls of eyes.[22]

Any part of the theatrical event taken outside of those walls is necessarily changed and 'other', isolated and decontextualized without its boundary. We might make more of this if we were studying the final scene in Othello or watching the Fox in his bed in Volpone. The intention in this chapter, however, is to consider the fixed-feature proxemic system to be the most important aspect in the unification of a 'second city'. Indicators within the play texts, and smaller metaphors and analogies always relate, in performance, to the larger psychological effect of the relative placements (proxemics) of audience and permanent design aspects (fixed features) of the theatre, and the performance.

As I have suggested, the theory of theatre signs, of performance and architectural semiotics, only incompletely applies to the Rose theatre. Theo Crosby's architect's drawing for the replica of the Globe theatre to be built on

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[22]Earl Dachslager writes, "The Turk's passion stereotypically was sexual as the Jew's was material" in "The Stock of Barabas" (p. 13). The Rose-bed is full of lust with The Jew of Malta in performance.

the south bank, on the other hand, idealistically plans an oblong stage reaching precisely half way into the auditorium at its front, within its twenty-four evenly lengthed and angled walls.[23] He is improving the Burbagean allusion to the Roman theatre model with semi-circular seating degrees, the aim being to locate the sightlines of every spectator at the same spot at the front and middle of the stage. The possibility of the Theatre's and the subsequent Globes' design precision is in significant contrast to that of the Rose theatre, and becomes one important basis for the discussion of The Merchant of Venice, below.

A promised return to the ground plan of the excavated Rose (fig. 2.2A, phase one), tells us that the stage did not extend as far as half way into the auditorium and that the stage tapered as it extended away from the tiring house. If we were to take this plan and superimpose a model of audience sight-lines, resulting in the optimum central point at which all sight-lines from the degreed seating meet, that point would be some way forward of the front of the stage. The ideal of the neo-classicism of the Renaissance in Europe is revealed particularly by a study of the late Classical Greek theatre, the tenets of which were carried into the Hellenistic construction, and reinvented in the late sixteenth-century design.

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[23]See Andrew Gurr and John Orrell, Rebuilding Shakespeare's Globe p. 92.

The classical Greek theatre design at Epidauros displays seating that begins to wrap around further than the 'Roman' semi-circle, to yield an enclosed effect. This seating pattern begins to emphasize the presence of the audience to itself. Secondly, the central sight-line point was not at the raised stage area but at the centre of the orchestra circle in front of it. Smaller Greek theatres often had a lesser segment of curved seating degrees, but the stage was traditionally still set back from the sight-line centre point.[24]

This presents us with several issues concerning the status of the stage in relation to the auditorium, and of the actors in relation to the audience. Donne's bed, or Desdemona's or Volpone's, transferred to a Greek-style, set-back stage is no longer the physical "centre".[25] What is centre in the Greek theatre is the chorus, the narration, the neutral voices acting in the action's interludes. The centre point at the Rose theatre both before and after the

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[24]The set-back stage is evident at Aigai, Athens (sanctuary of Apollo), Delphi, Kassope, Oropos, and Samothrace; the 'wrap-around' seating at Athens, Delphi, Kassope and Samothrace. See J. J. Coulton, The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa (Chapter 10, "Catalogue of Stoas and some Related Buildings").

[25]The inclusion of these other beds is illustrative only of a concept of the performance of Volpone and Othello on a de-centred stage, such as the Rose's. The concept of the de-centring and re-centring of Othello's bed, for instance, as it moved from Globe stage (if we accept Orrell's suggestion of design precision) to the court--where the stage became marginalized to the figure of the King--and back to the Globe, is an idea worthy of further discussion in its own right.

reconstruction is the audience in the yard. In both cases the stage is not the centre of the theatre and as such is, to a greater or lesser extent, marginalized within its own domain.

What does it mean to make the audience the centre point of the theatre structure? The tiered system of the seating and the extended wrap-around of the degrees so that most of the audience faces more audience directly opposite it, makes the audience itself a spectacle. This phenomenon is the same for those on each gallery level, and occurs (more exactly if the yard is full) to an extent for the groundlings, always aware, if not of a surround, then of a background of audience faces. The audience is forced to consider itself when situated in such a design.

This is the environment in which the city dwellers become introspective in their 'second city'; this is how they identify themselves through having to acknowledge the existence of peers. Here, the individuals can recognize their ability to reconstruct a city. And the ancient power-structure of the classical city, the <u>bouleterion</u>, shaped like a 'theatre', can provide an analogy for the anti-official power-centre imitator that was the Elizabethan public theatre. It may be obvious, but it is worth stating that this situation works all the better because plays were performed during the day so that the members of the audience could clearly see each other.

Restoration and modern proscenium arch and end-stage

theatre designs attempt to convince the viewers that they are each attending a private performance. The auditorium is dark and the audience appears to each member only as dull backs of heads. The stage is not the centre of the theatre, but it is lighted to emphasize its place and all the audience is seated facing the stage directly. Some theatres retain side galleries through elongating a gallery cavea where audience would be aware of itself, but the lighting factor is important--the self-awareness should be apparent during the play's action; this emphasizes the secondary nature of what goes on on stage.[26]

By insisting on plays being performed in daylight hours, the authorities went some way toward curbing the theatregoers' tendency toward individuality, and encouraging their sense of subjection to a larger mass, albeit a separate one from the official city population. Proclaimed as a remedy against the non-attendance at evening prayer, the order was that:

no playeing be in the dark, nor continue any such

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[26]The Swan Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon is an example of a theatre with extended side galleries. The audience's awareness of itself is strongest on entering the theatre and while sitting and waiting for the performance to begin. The 'background' of an audience interferes with the stage action from time to time, but is not a continuous phenomenon. An open-air theatre, such as that in Regent's Park, London, however, insists on a permanent awareness of the audience. Twilight summer performances do not hide the bank of faces that continually interfere with the background of the action. The unroofed theatre or yard leaves another possibility for the marginalizing of the stage and emphasizing of the audience members to each other: the reaction to rain at a performance is necessarily noisy, distracting, and sometimes quite entertaining.

> time but as any of the auditorie may returne to their dwellings in London before sonne set, or at least before it be dark.[27]

It is made quite clear, however, that rather than such limited controls, "the true remedie is to leave of that unnecessarie expense of time, whereunto God himself geveth so many impediments [by means of winter weather]".[28]

For the individual to remain part of a community, he or she must subscribe to a general view that identifies its underlying ideals. The self-investigating Rose audience, then, works at identifying that common view; it does this through censuring what goes on on the stage, now thrust aside as a new scaffold, imitating the witness stand.[29] The theatre

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[27]E. S. IV, 302.

[28]Ibid. p. 301.

[29]Alan C. Dessen makes an observation that is pertinent in considering 'visual semantics', or the meaning of stage property:

> [A]t appropriate moments, large objects (especially thrones and beds) could be introduced and could bring with them some sense of locale. But a bar is not a courtroom, a throne is not a throneroom, and a bed is not a bedroom, especially when such objects stand alone on an otherwise bare stage and carry with them potential metaphoric or symbolic meanings. Thus, Lawrence J. Ross argues that Desdemona's bed in the final scene "is not placed in a bedroom" but rather "brings the locale of a bedroom with it, by implication, and only to that extent." For Ross, "the bed is not a necessary 'room' furnishing which might encumber the action; it is physically and expressively the center of the action and so placed as to be inseparable from it," a formulation that could apply as well to the bed in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, V. v., to many playhouse thrones (e. g., in 3 Henry VI, I. i), to banquet tables (e. g., in Macbeth and The Tempest),

becomes a place to argue prosecution and defence cases for and against murder, usury, Machiavellianism, religions, races, war and tens of other issues, and the audience sits in this courthouse. That the trial and courtroom setting is an essential part of what I shall call the stage's 'city critique', is revealed in the fact that all the plays performed in amphitheatres that are under study here depict some sort of trial involving the main Jew-usurer figure.

Of course, this theatre-goer jury does not sit in judgement on what the players do on stage, but on their own ideals and social welfare, and as such are judges of the city and of London's state. What we will see in The Three Ladies of London, in The Jew of Malta, in the city reaction of 1592-1593, and on through the later plays, non-dramatic publications, and religious and social fervour, is a sense of this trial of the city, relocated on the stage. We see the figure of the Jew being used as a vehicle for the domestic critique. The stage presents the trial of London by means of its stage Jewry.

Whereas the audience member in the dark auditorium, face

> even to the cauldron in The Jew of Malta. Not nurtured by cinema, television, the novel, and naturalism, an Elizabethan viewer would not have moved as readily from the signal (bed, throne) to our sense of 'room' but probably would have inferred a general sense of locale (especially if reinforced by the dialogue and the acting) while being receptive to potential larger meanings.

The reference is to Lawrence J. Ross, "The Use of a 'Fit-Up' Booth in Othello", S. Q. 12 (1961), 359-370, pp. 362-3.

hidden, can judge the stage-world and remain private, the amphitheatre audience must openly declare its judgement, be it with facial expression, bodily movement, tongue or missile. Keir Elam says of this unifying sociopetality of the theatrical domain:

> In medieval and Renaissance theatre,...the audience is by definition a unit, responding en masse to the spectacle. More formal modern theatres tend instead toward sociofugality: even though necessarily contained within the architectural unit of the auditorium, and thus in theory surrendering his individual function, the spectator has his own well-marked private space, individual seat, and relative immunity from physical contact with his fellows (and even from seeing them). The result is to emphasize personal rather than social perception and response, to introduce a form of 'privacy' within an experience which is collective in origin.[30]

The intention of the Elizabethan amphitheatre, by design, is to affirm its own existence as an entity. Depending on an audience for existence, which audience depends on itself for legitimation, it becomes a psychologically and semiotically reflexive, arguably narcissistic, occupation to attend this theatre. So the compulsion imposed by the theatre on the audience is for them to affirm what they imagine to be their

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[30]Keir Elam, The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama p. 64-65. The terminology is from Humphry Osmond, "Function as the Basis of Psychiatric Ward Design", Mental Hospitals (Architectural Supplement), 23-9. See also Edwart T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension p. 108 ff.

own identity as individuals through solely a confirmation of their existence as subjects of a larger mass, a city being, an ideology.

Each theatregoer's libidal drive, the 'id', is satisfied that it is an existential entity by observing its instinct and need to leave the city and congregate at the theatre. The 'ego' is satisfied by the narcissistic pretense that what the body is doing is civilized because it is engaged in a popular community activity, and therefore an (arguably) acceptable pastime. Two permanently conflicting forces of the psyche are thereby temporarily neutralized in the theatre. The theatre may not be a "democratizing institution" in the socio-financial sense that Stephen Orgel talks of but is democratizing in its resolution of the individual subject's personal psychological battle.[29]

This sense of personal internal balance was important to the 'Renaissance man', and so was his own centrality, a self-interest that led to some 'scientific' contradictions. For instance, although by the late sixteenth-century Copernicus' new cosmic system was well known, the High Renaissance Italians still liked to believe humankind on earth to be at the centre of the universe. Thus the adaptations of Vitruvian theory by theorists and designers such as daVinci and Cesare Cesariano, forming the homo ad circularem and homo ad quadratum (fig. 2.3) (Cesariano's published twenty-two years

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[29]Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power p. 8.

before Copernicus' new system), which so wonderfully posit the perfection of human physicality, were clung to as proof of human cosmic centrality. The actual loss of man's centrality in the universe does not change the hyperbolic web of ideas applied because of the stimuli applied by studies of his physical form.

Idealization myths live more potent lives than mere facts. The Queen was comparable with a goddess,[22] roughly circular theatres would always be 'cosmic', and man was still the centre of the classical and High Renaissance universe. Scientific retrospection cannot change the fact of the existence of those ideas.

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[22]See, for example, Ewart's portrait, Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses (1569), where Elizabeth causes Juno, Pallas, and Venus to withdraw in awe at her beauty and achievement simply by appearing before them.

CHAPTER THREE: The Three Ladies of London; or "Christian Usury"

We begin our journey, here representing almost two decades, with a play that is in a way the odd one out. It is not so much a sore thumb as a final breath of fresh air before diving into the swamp that was the depiction of the Jewish figure on stage during the 1590s and out far beyond the turn of the century, the point at which this study terminates.

The first quarto of The Three Ladies was printed in 1584. There is no entry for that book in the Stationers' Register.

> The date of the play's composition can, however, be determined with reasonable accuracy on the basis of the reference to Peter's Pence as "Not muche more then 26. yeares, it was in Queene Maries time" (l. 347). As the Act reviving Peter's Pence was passed in the winter of 1554-5, and as Gosson mentions the play in his Plays Confuted in five Actions, entered in the Stationers' Register on April 6, 1582, The Three Ladies was probably written in 1581. Indeed it is just possible that the play written by Wilson in response to Thomas Baylye's Latin letter of 25 April 1581 was this drama.[1]

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[1]Robert Wilson, 'The Three Ladies of London' and 'The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London' ed. H. S. D. Mithal, "Introduction", pp. xx-xxi; the statute is 1 & 2 Philip and Mary c. 8; Stephen Gosson, Dv-D2r-D2v. The letter is reproduced and transcribed by Mithal, plate IV and p. lxxv. The line references in Mithal's edition of the plays do not follow the verse lineation, but rather depend on the width of the book page, run-on lines being counted as two lines. I quote, therefore, both Mithal's line reference and the signature from Q1 (1584).

H. S. D. Mithal's suggestion that The Three Ladies may have been written in response to the letter is possible, and an opinion shared with S. O. Addy.[2] However, I would like to make two points in response. Shrewsbury's company, for which the play was to be written, was apparently a provincial organization. The London-based Three Ladies does not seem to be an entirely appropriate response to the letter's request.[3]

The second, and more important, point is the issue of a certain proclamation on 19 May, 1581. It is evident from the wording of the proclamation that questions had been asked concerning the current law on usury. A 1571 statute on usury had contained within it a clause determining its own expiry date, then arrived at.[4] "Frivolous questions" were being asked about the law during this uncertain hiatus when the statute expired. In order to attempt to clarify the situation the proclamation ordered the observance of the statute of ten years earlier, until "the end of the first session of the next Parliament". Phillip Caesar's An Examination of Usury had

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[2]S. O. Addy, "Robert Wilson and 'Sir Thomas More', Wilson's First Play", in Notes and Queries CLIV (1928). This letter article is a reply to S. R. Golding's article beginning on p. 237 of the same volume.

[3]John Tucker Murray says that "The only appearance of an Earl of Shrewsbury's company of players in the sixteenth century was at Abingdon in 1580. These men were under the patronage of George Talbot, who was Earl of Shrewsbury from c. 1560 to 1590....Nothing more is heard of an Earl of Shrewsbury's company of players till 1616". See English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642, vol II, pp. 66-7.

[4]13 Elizabeth I c. 8. See appendix C for full usury statute and proclamation details.

been published in 1578, and Thomas Wilson had already called the English usurers worse than Jews.[5]

The request in Baylye's letter is for a player in the Leicester's men to write a play for another playing organization in the country.[6] This seems less relevant to the writing of a major play, the events of which "are taking place not in the land of Nowhere but in the very heart of the city of London",[7] than the fact that the monarch has just issued her control over the city's disorder and confusion concerning exactly the issues, the location, and the implications of Robert Wilson's play.

This theory confirms H. S. D. Mithal's date for the composition of the play as mid to late 1581, but changes the reason for writing it from one of an occasional piece of work to be handed over to a rural company, to one of a satirical response to the contemporary situation in the city of London. With this city-based presentation in mind, its early performance history becomes difficult.

There is a break in the London performance record of Leicester's men from their court performance in February, 1581

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[5]Thomas Wilson, A Discourse upon Usury p. 232.

[6]That Wilson was a member of Leicester's men at this time is confirmed by: 1. A letter from the players to their patron (prob. 1572), signed by Robert Wilson among others, E. S. II, 86; 2. The Baylye letter calls Robert Wilson "Wilsonus quidam Leycestrii comitus servus".

[7]The Three Ladies "Introduction", p. xxv.

until their return to court on 10 February, 1583.[8] J. T. Murray records the company playing in Winchester, Southampton and Coventry during the period 1581-2, and again in Coventry in 1582-3.[9] If Francis Walsingham was efficient in his task "To choose out a companie of players for her majestie",[10] assigned to him in a letter dated 10 March, 1583, then The Three Ladies might not have been performed in the city by this company.

A reference to the formation in 1583 of the Queen's players includes Wilson.[11] Since "Nothing more is heard of Leicester's men until 1584-5",[12] it is feasible that the cream of the company took The Three Ladies with them into the Queen's new company. On 14 June, 1584, "an inhibition against the Theater and Curtain was obtained", mentioning the Queen's

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[8]E. S. II, 89.

[9]J. T. Murray, op. cit. I, 41. See also John Payne Collier, The History of English Dramatic Poetry I, 210-212 for a note of "the grant of the first royal patent conceded in this country to performers of plays. The Earl of Leicester, through his influence with the Queen, procured it, as a special privilege for his own servants". Dated 7th May, 1574, "it was not a mere 'licence' which was conceded, but a patent under the Great Seal, the Privy Seal directing that such an instrument should be prepared".

[10]E. S. II, 104 (Feuillerat, Elizabeth, 359).

[11]In John Stow, Annales of England 697 (1615), 698 (1613). See E. S. II, 104-5.

[12]E. S. II, 89.

men as affected.[13] But even if the Queen's men did occupy the Theatre at this time, records of their travels into the provinces during 1583, and the suppression of plays in 1584 following Middlesex disturbances, diminishes the probability of an extended city run in these years.[14]

Moreover, when the Queen's men returned to London in the winter of 1583, it was at the Bull and the Bell that they were licensed to play in the city.[15] They moved from these theatres to the Theatre, then, sometime between 1 December, 1583, when the licensing details had to be clarified, and 18 June, 1584, when a letter from William Fleetwood to Lord Burghley records that "Upon Sonndaye my Lo. sent ii Aldermen to the Court for the suppressing and pulling down of the

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[13]Ibid. p. 394. Scott McMillin writes, "Is it possible that the crown established the Queen's Men not only for the aesthetic purpose of bringing London's finest into one unit for the Queen's pleasure, but also for the political purpose of curtailing the growth of the burgeoning theatre industry?" "The Queen's Men and the London Theatre of 1583", p. 9. The Queen's men themselves seem to have been in trouble in 1584. So, even if there were fewer companies to control, the fewer companies do not seem less troublesome; they were the same people that were in the previous companies, after all.

[14]Ibid. p. 106.

[15]Ibid. p. 106. The Bull was a popular theatre and of relatively good repute. Stephen Gosson's exempted plays from his damnation in The School of Abuse were played at the Bull. Still in existence in 1594 this could have been the home for the revival of The Three Ladies with The Three Lords in 1594; but there is no evidence to support such conjecture, like the 28 November, 1593 order naming the Bull as the Queen's men's theatre. (See E. S. II 380-1.) Richard Tarlton's Tarlton's Jests "mention Tarlton and 'his fellows', probably the Queen's men, as performing at the Bell". (See E. S. II 382.)

Theatre and Curten".[16]

If we follow T. W. Craik's proposition that "a transition to a public theatre's inner stage is perhaps desirable" for the final scene of The Three Ladies,[17] and take the 1584 quarto's words "publiquely played" to mean performance at a public theatre, then at some point, between the shuffling of theatre locations, between the changing of companies, between tours through the provinces, and between the hindrances of plague in 1583, and official controls almost every year, this play saw the light of day in a public London theatre.

If played by Leicester's men, a company which included James Burbage, the earliest London performances would almost certainly have been at the Theatre.[18] A few performances could have taken place at the Bell and the Bull. The play may have returned to the Theatre in the winter of 1583-4 with the Queen's men.

The Theatre would certainly be an ideal location in which to tell this tale of Gerontus, the good-natured Levantine Jew from whom Mercadore, the Italian merchant, has borrowed on usury. By trading in London, Mercadore leads us between Turkey and England, between the Jew and the characters of

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[16] MSC i, 163 (Lansdown MS 41 f. 31) E. S. IV, 298.

[17] T. W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude p. 123. The existence of an "inner stage" proper is disputed. A revealing space, possibly simply a curtain in front of the back wall, seems likely.

[18] Burbage is named in a patent dated 10 May, 1574. MSC i, 262; E. S. II, 87.

London's Usury and Lucar, and, as we shall see, between the Theatre and the city of London.

According to J.L. Cardozo:

> when the author wishes to enliven his canvas with a Jew, he has to transfer the action abruptly to Turkey, - because otherwise he could not bring his Jew in. He had to choose between the improbability of brusquely shifting his scene to the Levant, or the impossibility of importing a Jew into England.[18]

But Cardozo's mistake is his attempt to imply that the ideal--necessarily missing in the play--would be to depict a Jewish character in London. I shall show that, on the contrary, it is essential that the Jew is located at a distance from the London character, Usury. The narrative, although perhaps not perfectly timed, is more than a current affairs report of London; it is a sociological critique, which precisely depends on the distance given in the scene to which Cardozo refers for the power of the statements made by the Jew, Gerontus. Were the Jew in London the moral points would be all but lost.

A few points need to be made about the status of the play as a piece of criticism. As a play of morals, it personifies words. The play does not, therefore, tell us (apart from in its title) which individuals are in London effecting the machinations of society; instead it reveals the motives and states of mind behind the actions that lead to a state of rich

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[18]J.L. Cardozo, The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama p. 92.

and poor. What the play keeps pointing up is the plight of the victim.

The play is a critique of the morals and acts of the well-to-do merchant, or upper-middle, rank Londoners, and of the English government's control--or lack of it--with relation to incoming and outgoing merchandise and persons. To introduce a dramatic comparison to the pictured state of affairs aids the argument. The Jew in the pagan land therefore exposes the hypocrisies and evils of the Christians in England, and those in transit.

On the level of the text's design Cardozo does not address the fact that there is already Usury in London: the Jew is a Jew because he is the best qualified to criticize the state of usury and those who borrow on usury. It is a racist assumption but a potent set-up, and one that developed quickly into a stage idiom of its own. This pattern of practitioner and critic is why Usury and the Jew must remain spatially distinguishable.

Usury remains without a nationality and racial affiliation although we assume him to be a Londoner, and in this vagueness there is the unstated fear of the infiltration of the 'Jews' sin' into Christian London. The plot demands that Mercadore leaves England to fetch the "trifles" that please English gentlewomen. Lady Lucar dares him to "goe amongest the Moores, Turkes, and Pagans for my sake" (l. 891; C4r). Such a place would almost certainly be Mediterranean

territory, perhaps Morocco, possibly Italy; but in this play it is the Ottoman Empire.[20]

Certainly The Three Ladies does make good use of references to the state of contemporary London. It is probable, for instance, that the Londoners in the audience would understand the nonchalance with which Mercadore meets the challenge of smuggling his goods past the customs. John Stow's Survey of London tells us that the huge tidal flow of the Thames works "to the great commoditie of Travellers, by which all kinds of Marchandise bee easily conveyed to London".[21] The image conjured up of a plethora of ships in a mêlée of activity is one that encourages belief in the existence of the undetected smuggler.

We must remain aware of the coexistence of two genres of play in this text: the morality play and the city comedy, a backward-looking and a forward-looking genre. The Three Ladies of London places the moralities right amongst the waterways, the streets, the houses, the markets, and the theatres of middle and late Elizabethan Londoners. But more than this, it identifies the moralities within types of profession and lifestyle; it demands that the playgoers not only laugh or hiss at the morality characters, but also that

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[20]The placing of the Jew in the Levant may have been prompted by the 1580 Anglo-Turkish trade agreement, which probably brought a few Jewish traders--or tales of them--back to England. See above, p. 15.

[21]John Stow, A Survey of London I, 11-12.

they identify those personifications in their everyday living and dealings in London.

The morality characters seem to have, on the whole, possessed particular stock properties or quirks of appearance that made them recognizable to the trained eye (figs. 3.1A & 3.1B).[22] A "trained eye" is one that has had the (type of the) image explained to it before. C. Walter Hodges writes:

> we should miss altogether the significance of the emblematic imagery which it was an intellectual fad of that time to read and decipher. Enter Rumour, painted full of tongues, is an image which we understand at once when seen in words at the beginning of 2 Henry IV, but it may be doubted whether we should at once 'read' the significance of the costume if it were newly shown to us, without a written explanation, on the stage. Fame with her trumpet, or sometimes for good measure with two..., we can easily understand, but Shame with a black trumpet, in the early play of Cambyses, has a distinction we might miss.[23]

The "intellectual fad" is not the fashion of the multitude. We know this partly through the common feature of "self-fashioning" (the self-introducing and self-moulding--and therefore presenting of the 'meaning' of themselves to the audience--of the characters through words). Thus Stephen Orgel quite rightly modifies Hodges' cultural distinction by

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[22]See T. W. Craik, op. cit. His plates VI through X, between pp. 48 & 49.

[23]C. Walter Hodges, The Globe Restored p. 77.

saying that:

> We tend to slight the Renaissance pressure toward explanation, stressing instead the age's devotion to symbolic modes of expression. But again, the verbal was inseparable from the visual. Then as now, a symbol had meaning only after it was explained. Symbols function as summations and confirmations; they tell us only what we already know, and it is a mistake to assume that the Renaissance audience, unlike a modern one, knew without being told.[24]

We must we careful, then, with such a stage direction as that in the second act of The Three Ladies, which instructs, "Enter Mercadore like an Italian Merchant." This seems to suggest that there is a particular 'look' for an Italian merchant on the Elizabethan stage and that there were probably certain properties kept for the part of the stock "Italian Merchant". T. W. Craik writes of All For Money's Judas, who comes in "like a damned soule", that the phrase "indicates that the costume is traditional".[25] But in All For Money Damnation himself has already appeared with "a terrible vizard on his face, and his garment shall be painted with flames of fire" (ii, S.D. p. 84).[26] When Judas enters "like a damned soule", the stage direction continues, "in black painted with

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[24]Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power p. 24.

[25]T. W. Craik, op. cit. p. 52.

[26]Thomas Lupton, All For Money ed. Maria Grazia Palermo Concolato. All scene and line references are to this edition.

flames of fire, and with a fearful vizard" (v, S.D. p. 146). Both the chief representation of an evil or morality and that major figure's followers appear similarly apparelled in the Tudor interlude.

This fact is supported by the observation that Satan's appearance in the second act of All For Money "as deformedly dressed as may be", is imitated shortly afterwards by his followers Gluttony and Pride, who enter "dressed in devil's apparel" (ii, S.D.s pp. 87 & 89). This kind of similarity of appearance between the compatriots of a particular vice or morality may be what necessitated such measures as that taken in Like Will to Like, where Lucifer has his name written on his back and his front.[27]

This representation of an Italian figure is an early example of the Elizabethan stage's extention of the moralities' representation by personification. Mercadore still needs to specify his role within the recognizable figure of the stage Italian. Peter Hyland's observation that the accent given to Barabas, when dressed up as a French musician, is in fact "closer to that of the stock stage Italian", is more evidence that within the wider representations of 'types', be it moral or geopolitical, finer self-revelation was required by the stage characters who were central to the

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[27]Ulpian Fulwell, Like Will to Like.

action.[28]

That Mercadore is Italian and has come to London from Turkey as a merchant would conjure up both the images of the splendour of Italian shipping and trade and the repulsiveness of the Mediterranean infidels. It is not long before the foreigner is aiding the corruption of London, and in the poor economic climate of the time, Lady Lucar's speech instructing Mercadore must have hit home strongest among the lower ranks who were affected by the poor harvests, and saw the imports of vanity in their market-stalls. She tells him:

> Thou must carry over Wheate, Pease, Barly, Oates, and Fitches and all kinde of graine,
> Whiche is well sould beyond sea, and bring suche Merchauntes great gaine.
> Then thou must carie beside Leather, Tallow, Beefe, Bacon, Belmettell and every thing.
> And for these good commodities, trifles to Englande thou must bryng.
> As Bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glasse, beades, to make bracelettes withall:
> For every day Gentlewomen of England doe aske for suche trifles from stall to stall.
> And you must bryng more, as Amber, Jeat, Corall, Christall, and every such bable,
> That is slight, prettie and pleasant, they care not to have it profitable.
> ...
> And you shall win me to your will.
>
> (ll. 405-24; B2v)

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[28]Peter Hyland, "Disguise and Renaissance Tragedy", p. 163.

The apprentices in London had a double reason to be dissatisfied. They were worried about the foreign traders:

> [...] there be such a sort of straungers in this cuntry,
> That worke fine to please the eie, though it be deceitfully,
> And that which is slight, and seems to the eie well,
> Shall sooner then a peece of good worke be proffered to sell.
> And our english men be growne so foolish and nice,
> That they will not give a peny above the ordinary price.
>
> (Lady Lucar ll. 467-472; B3v)

But they were also troubled at home. It was this internal aggravation of the foreign problem that seems to have been a key factor in the unrest of the London apprentice rank of the 1580s and 1590s. The rivalry of foreigners was bad enough; the upper ranks' support of foreigners and overt hatred of apprentices was too much.

On 18 June, 1584, the same year as the printing of the first quarto of The Three Ladies, a letter relates both the atmosphere of hatred against the apprentices and also, perhaps more crucially, the implied expectation of conflict indicated by the quick gathering of a large crowd at the event. The letter reads:

> Upon Mondaye night I retorned to London and found all the wardes full of watchers. The cause thereof was for that very nere the Theatre or Curten at the tyme of the Playes there laye a prentice sleping

> upon the Grasse, and one Challes al. Grostock dyd turne upon the Too upon the belly of the same prentice, wherupon the apprentice start up and after wordes they fell to playne bloues; the companie encressed of bothe sides to the nosmber of v c. in the least. This Challes exclaimed and said that he was a gentelman and that the apprentise was but a Rascall; and some were litell better then rooges that tooke upon theym the name of gentilmen and said the prentizes were but the skomme of the worlde. Upon these trobles the prentizes began the next daye, being Twesdaye, to make mutines and assembles, and dyd conspire to have broken the presones & to have taken furthe the prentizes that were imprisoned; but my Lo. and I having intelligens thereof apprensed .iiii. or .v. of the chieff conspirators, who are in Newgate and stand Indicted of theire lewd demeanors.[28]

Mercadore's response to Lucar's request, then, will be repulsive as the Italian boasts his ability to fool the English by not only bringing in trash and selling it to the English, but also by emptying the country of all its good domestic product:

> Tinke ye not dat me have carried over corne,
> Ledar, Beefe, and Bacon too all tis while:
> And brought hedar many bables dese cuntry men to beguile?
> Yes, shall me tell you Madona, me and my cuntrimans have sent over,
> bell mettell for make ordinance, yea and ordinance

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[28]William Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, MSC i, 163, from Lansdown MS 41, f. 31; E. S. IV, 297.

it selfe beside,
Dat my cuntry, and oder cuntreys be so well
furnisht as dis cuntry, and has never been spide.
(ll. 425-31; B3r)

Mercadore's use of the term of respectful endearment, "Madona", is a mark of his enslavement to her cause. Mercadore's knowledge of the Turkish law that states that conversion to Islam frees the convertite of all debts is revealed to be his reason for borrowing from the Jew of Turkey. What this law does is to reveal the Italian's conniving ways and the Jew's inherent goodness, and sustains the essential contrast with Usury in London, and his way of dealing with debtors.

London's Usury is as careful as Mercadore to make sure he knows and acts within the law. He asks Lady Conscience whether anybody remains in the house that she rents from Lady Lucar; Usury is to evict her and cannot enter the house unless it is empty. He leaves the stage to investigate the property and in his absence Lady Conscience laments:

Both he and Lucar hath so pincht us, we know not
what to doe,
Were it not for Hospitalitie, we knewe not whither
to goe
Great is the miserie that we poore Ladies abide,
And much more is the crueltie of Lucar and Userie
beside.
(ll. 801-4; C3r)

This Usury is not one to be in debt to; his obsession is too great. As John Rainolds will tell us at the end of our

period:

> The covetous engrossers of wealth & slaves of Mammon, who joyne house to house, and lay field to field, till there be no place; whose hope is their gold; whose godlines their gaine; whose meditation, what shall I doe?...I will say to my soule...live at ease, eate, drinke, and be mery."[30]

When Conscience offers to pay him the old rent of ten pounds a year Usury considers the proposal a "stale jeast" and will let the house for forty pounds a year; further he will only rent the house to Conscience for one quarter year "For perhaps my Ladie shall sell it, or els to some other will let it" (l. 831; C3r). Conscience miserably accepts the terms and Usury immediately chastises himself for over-leniency:

> What a foole was I, it repentes me I have let it so reasonable,
> I might so well have had after threescore, as such a trifle:
> For seeing they were distressed, they would have geven largely.
> I was a right sot, bit Ile be overseene no more beleve me.
>
> (ll. 837-40; C3r-C3v)

If the "distressed" tenants shot has not yet hit its mark in the audience Mercadore will make the reference more plain. As a contemporary merchant Mercadore probably comes from Venice. Mercadore becomes, therefore, an important authority on the phenomenon of crowded sections of town, because, as a merchant

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[30]John Rainolds, Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes p. 58 (H3v).

of Venice, he would deal with the Jews and learn something of the famous ghetto.[21]

Nothing was done to improve the Ghetto Nuevo (the original assigned Jewish quarter) after the addition of the Ghetto Vecchio[22] and:

> Conditions which intensified competition for space had the predictable result of forcing rents to exorbitant levels. Simon Luzzatto explained that the rent-yield of the narrow houses in the ghetto was three times as high as it would have been on similar cramped accommodation in the Christian City; and the noble Loredan who learned much from him testified some twenty years later that 'four to eight Christians would take up the space occupied by twenty Jews.'[23]

Usury apologises to Lucar for being too lenient with Conscience and there is more than a touch of irony in the foreigner's suggestion:

> Madona me tell ye vat you shall doe, let dem to straunger dat are content

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[21]Suggestions that contact between merchants or worldly-minded people and Jews was frequent are found in William Thomas, History of Italy; William Biddulph, The Travels of Certaine Englishmen

[22]An extension of the residential zone, reserved for Levantine Jews, who were only accepted as permanent residents, rather than viandanti (transients), as late as 1589. See Brian Pullan, The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice pp. 150 & 170.

[23]Ibid. p. 157-8; citing Simon Luzzatto, Discorso circa il stato de gl'Hebrei, et in particolar dimoranti nell' incinita Città di Venetia. (Venice, 1638.) Also Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia b. 62, fasc. 165.

To dwell in a little roome, and to pay muche rent:
For you knoe da french mans and fleminges in dis
countrey be many,
So dat they make shift to dwell ten houses in one
very gladly:
And be content a for pay fiftie or three score
pound a yeare,
For dat which da English mans say twenty marke is
to deare.

(ll. 876-82; C3v)

Just as the punning Mercadore speech above seemed first funny and then objectionable, so thus far in this Mercadore extract the audience may laugh at the plight of the "straunger", or may sympathize with the immigrants. The former response may soon be silenced, and the latter emotion dulled by nationalistic anger at the 'knock-on' effect of the foreigners' state in London. Lady Lucar replies to Mercadore:

Why senior Mercadore thinke you not that I
Have infinite numbers in London that my want doth
supply.
...
That great rentes upon little roome doe bestowe.
Yes I warrant you, and truely I may thanke the
straungers for this,
That they have made houses so deare, whereby I live
in blisse.

(ll. 883-4, 887-89; C3v-C4r)

Through their own toleration of the foreigners, which Steve Rappaport considered so admirable, the Londoners are creating

a 'ghetto' of their own capital city.[34]

In this time of rapidly increasing population growth in London and crowding of property the supply of clean water was a vital contribution to the health of the inhabitants of London. John Stow records in his Survey that:

> Thames water [is] conveyed into mens houses by pipes of leade, from a most artificial forcier standing neare unto London bridge and made by Peter Moris Dutchman in the yeare 1582, for service of the Citty, on the East part thereof.[35]

This date is just two years before the first quarto of The Three Ladies, but the common citizens do not care for contributions they do not see; rather they resent the displacement of native residents, and would object to the fact that the Dutchman took a job that an Englishman could have done. Or at least could have done by 1594, when Stowe notes "One other new Forcier...by an English Gentleman, named Bevis Bulmer".[36]

The scene moves "brusquely" to the Levant, where Gerontus meets the returned Mercadore. We are given a picture not of the precise, pressing usurer, but of the man whose place in society has necessitated his role as money-lender; and in this role he is considerate and lenient to his borrowers. We are not told that Gerontus has become rich through his trade, and

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[34]Steve Rappaport, Worlds Within Worlds p. 60.

[35]John Stow, A Survey of London I, 18.

[36]Ibid. I, 18.

must assume that it is doing him significant financial harm to be left unrepaid of three thousand ducats for over two years. There seems to be no malice, then, when Gerontus says "I am glad you be come againe to Turky, now I trust I shall receive the interest of you so well as the principall" (ll. 1249-50; D3v); he is simply desperate for the conclusion of a long-overdue business contract to which both parties initially entered freely.

We are forced into making a comparison between the Jew and London's Usury. So when Gerontus declares "Senior Mercadore, I know no reason why, because you have dealt with me so ill/ Sure you did it not for neede, but of set purpose and will" (ll. 1256-8; D4r), we are led to answer his puzzle by telling him he is too humane, trusting, and will be shown to be too forgiving for this trade; and, of course, he is a Jew. But still Gerontus is flexible. Having been made familiar with Mercadore's reason for returning to Turkey, he offers to aid the Italian in finding his merchandise.

The whole portrait of this Jew in a Pagan land is astoundingly sympathetic. The significant treatise concerning usury to be published before this quarto was Thomas Wilson's A Discourse upon Usury of 1572, and although it damned the practice, it also based that argument in part upon the damage that usury does to trade. Mercadore's trade is doing well with the help of borrowing, and Wilson's emphasis on the anti-Christianity of usury would reflect more directly on Usury of

London than on a distant Jew. Indeed, this is a distinction specifically made in Thomas Wilson's treatise against usury:

> And for thys cause they [the Jews] were hated in England, and so banyshed worthelye, wyth whome I woulde wyshe all these Englishemen were sent that lende their money or their goods whatsoever for gayne, for I take them to be no better than Jewes. Nay, shall I saye: they are worse than Jewes. For go whither you wil throughout Christendom, and deale with them, and you shall have under tenne in the hundreth, yea sometimes for sixe at their handes, whereas englishe usurers exceede all goddes mercye, and will take they care not howe muche, wythout respecte had to the partye that borroweth, what losse, daunger, hinderaunce soever the borrower susteyneth. And howe can these men be of god that are so farr from charitie, that care not howe they get goods so they may have them?[27]

Thomas Wilson's distancing of the English usurer from the Christian notion of charity is another comment on the behaviour of "Christians in name, but Jews in deed",[28] and specifically on Judge Nemo's axiom that shows up confusions of terminology between "Christianitie" and "Jewis[h]nes" (l.

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[27]Thomas Wilson, A Discourse upon Usury p. 232.

[28]Alan C. Dessen quotes from a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Mary Tudor, in G. B. Harrison ed., The Letters of Queen Elizabeth. (London, 1935), p. 22. See Dessen, "The Elizabethan Stage Jew", p. 233.

1754).[28]

We can believe that, since the instigation of the Turkey company in 1580, this country was seen more as an ally in the Mediterranean trading area than as a distant enemy. And for the remainder of the decade, the good relations between Elizabeth and the Sultan, mediated in part by the Jew, Alvaro Mendez, might allow Gerontus' image on stage to be more acceptable. But myth dies hard. Political and economic agreements between nations do not dispel the citizens' engrained ideas about what they see as the almost antipodean population they must now 'officially' consider friendly. So the Turk is still vicious, and the Jew still suspect, an infidel expelled from the country three hundred years earlier. Malta will be revealed in The Jew of Malta as a 'gateway' checkpoint to the Catholic west Mediterranean; the Turk was the constant threat from the east.

There is a question that is entered into more significantly in The Jew of Malta, but touched upon here also: is a Catholic Christian better than a Jew and a Turk? Clearly, the answer in The Three Ladies is no. And even when we see the evil Jew of Malta and his Turk, Ithamore, winning

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[28]The closeness of this observation to the situation depicted in The Three Ladies is interesting also when we consider the list of the Queen's players for 1583, printed by Stow. The list includes "Thomas Wilson, for a quick, delicate, refined, extemporall wit". Thomas is obviously a mistake for Robert, but so soon after the writing of the play, the closeness of the two similarly-concerned Wilsons may have been stronger than surviving evidence allows us to confirm.

'battles' against the Christians, there is certainly a sense of the fun of Catholic-bashing before the infidels' loss of the 'war'. It probably does not do Gerontus any favours in the eyes and ears of the audience that he swears "by mightie Mahomet" (l. 1545; E3r) that he will arrest Mercadorus if he does not settle his debt; but what this exclamation is doing is setting the Jew within an ideological context that he has trusted to, and which has accepted him--although in this instance, the Islamic machinations have not favoured Gerontus.

The Jew, as the universal alien, has been given a home in Turkey. Allowed to profess his faith openly, he can live a near-normal life. An infidel nation shows charity toward a member of the tribe of the ubiquitous travellers, an alien with the wrong religion. In London, by contrast, Protestants escaping the Continental Popish threat, from which England has been defending itself since the Reformation, are still not welcome; not welcome in a land that professes to follow the Christian ethic of charity, in a land that deals with the poor by removing them from the city and putting them in gaol. From the good work of the foreigners to the vagabonds in cells, the Christian London believes in the proverb: out of sight, out of mind.[40]

Our awareness of Gerontus' feeling of Turkey as his home is assured when he says to the Judge "I will not against our

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[40]Morris Tilley's first entry for this proverb is in William Caxton's Jason of 1477; the proverb is located five more times before 1581, p. 605.

Lawes grudge" (l. 1716-7; Fr, my italics). So when Mercadore worms his way out of paying Gerontus by threatening to 'turn Turk', it is significant that the Jew objects so strongly, because the objection would coincide with that of the English playgoer.[41] So we have a problem: the Christian has "coossend de Jewe" (l. 1759; Fv) and that in itself is comedy, and the Christian after all does not in fact change his faith, finally declaring (however infelicitously) "Me be a Turke, no," (l. 1763; Fv). But the Judge himself comes up with the conclusion which of course is meant to apply not only to the case before him but also to the general behaviour of Christians. He says:

> One may Judge and speake truth, as appeeres by
> this,
> Jewes seeke to excell in Chritianitie, and
> Christians in Jewis[h]nes.
> (ll. 1753-4; Fr)

We have seen that the power of the play's comment depends on the very separability of Gerontus the Jew and London's Christian Usury, with the merchant, Mercadore, as the linking character. The substantial usury tracts of the 1570s, 1580s and 1590s reveal part of the growing fear of the 'judaizing' in Christian London. While the Jews excel in being treated charitably and acting Christian-like themselves, London becomes infected with 'Jewishness'.[42]

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[41]Tilley's first record of the proverb, to "turn Turk", is in 1598, in Much Ado About Nothing.

[42]See below, Chapter Six, note 26, for details of usury books.

We can take the judge's maxim with us as we venture through the subsequent plays of the 1580s and 1590s. It foregrounds the divisibility of the person who goes under the banner of 'Jew' or 'Christian', and the meaning of the two labels for the late Elizabethan playgoer. From this point we will see another trend: how the terms 'Jew' and 'usurer' become conflated to the point where Cardozo can deny the identification of Jews where the character of the usurer does seem to demand it.

This play has entered that division between English Christian practice and the ideal of Christianity; and it has suggested the possibility of the existence of a 'Christian Jew' through the portrayal of two 'Christian usurers': London's Usury in definition and Gerontus in deed. The second extant quarto of this play is dated 1592. Is this a sign of the awareness of the existence of New Christians in London? Or was the second printing timed to accompany performances of this play that discussed French and Dutch immigrants at a time of building tension in the capital? The awareness of the residence of Jews in London seems to have soared a couple of years later, with the subsequent revival of The Jew of Malta; immediate concerns, however, lay with the cross-channel visitors.

CHAPTER FOUR, PART ONE: The Jew of Malta and 1592-3[1]

The death of the Duke of Guise on 23 December, 1588 might be a good marker by which to date The Jew of Malta, since the prologue, Machiavel, says "And now the Guise is dead...".[2] If we are to believe that Shakespeare was prompted by the Lopez affair to write The Merchant of Venice, however, then a

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[1]Several suggestions have been made concerning the reliability of the extant text, and on the question of revision. This is a selection: D. J. Lake uses "the presence or absence of certain colloquialisms and contractions" (p. 134) to suggest a revision after 1600, and cites Arthur M. Clark's bid for Thomas Heywood as the reviser in 1632, now widely accepted. J. C. Maxwell spends time convincing himself of the text's authenticity as entirely Marlowe's work, despite its inconsistencies; he quotes John Bakeless who said that "if we assume careful and painstaking writing at the beginning of the play, and hasty writing under pressure to finish it in time to meet the theatre's demands, toward the end--with a good deal of strong drink between times--we shall assume nothing inherently improbable"; he concludes of the text that took forty years to come to print, "...manuscripts, unlike apples, do not become corrupt simply by lying in a drawer". Are we to believe in an interregnum for the play between 1594 and 1632? Rowley's well-known reference to the Jew of Malta's nose (1609) and the Henslowe Diary entries for "divers things" for the play in 1601 suggest otherwise (see p. 170). Edmund Chambers, in a review of an edition of the play, concluded "that The Jew of Malta is one of the comparatively rare cases in which a play has come down to us in a form rehandled to suit an audience of inferior mentality to that aimed at by the original author" (p. 77-8). See Bibliography for full references. In the analysis of this chapter and the next I must assume a fundamental authenticity of our text. My textual analysis depends on what seems to be writing, attributable by its quality, to Marlowe, and in the criticism that depends on stage business and action, I am assuming a lack of corruption to the basic direction of the plot, and its demands for certain dynamics.

[2]Christopher Marlowe, The Jew of Malta ed. N. W. Bawcutt, p. 62; prologue, line 3. All quotations from the play are taken from this edition.

gap between event and play of two or three years is not inconceivable. It is the urgency of the reference, the sense of meaning that "now the Guise is dead, Machiavel comes to England...", that makes us want to place the play as early as possible.

If we date the play 1589, we must briefly consider its life before the Rose.[3] We know that Marlowe was associated with the Lord Admiral's Men from the 1590 Stationers' Register entry of Tamburlaine. The title-page of this first printing tells us that the play was "sundrie times shewed upon Stages in the Citie of London, By the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, his servantes", suggesting an earlier composition date, and earlier association between the playwright and company.[4] From 1589 until 1591 they were mostly touring outside London with sporadic appearances in the city; and court records for payments for performance suggest the amalgamation of Admiral's with Lord Strange's men by the end of 1590.

If the Admiral's Men were active in a period when they were occupying "house-room with James Burbadge at the Theatre" in 1590-1, then it is possible that The Jew of Malta saw the light of day at the Theatre itself.[5] The company's situation

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[3]The source for the following two paragraphs is E. S. II, 134-39.

[4]E. S. III, 421.

[5]Quotation from E. S. II, 136; the performance suggestion is mine.

at this time is not sufficiently clear, however, to base any argument on this supposition, and we know that by May, 1591, the combined Admiral's and Strange's Men company had moved to their own theatre, the Rose, on the south bank.[6]

The Jew of Malta is first recorded in Henslowe's Diary for a performance on 26 February, 1592.[7] The long tours undertaken by the company in the few years leading up to this date may have allowed the play to be tried out in the provinces, and the court performances of 1588 and 1589 could have been opportunities to show a play apparently about the final safety of the ruling city structure against the Machiavellian aggressor.

The Rose's takings were consistently high for these early performances of The Jew of Malta, and this might further suggest its novelty to the majority of the London audience. Played in repertory--often back-to-back on consecutive afternoons--with Mulo Mulloco, there is another reason for its success: whether this other play is The Battle of Alcazar or

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[6]E. S. II, 138.

[7]Philip Henslowe, Diary ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert, p. 16; all page references are to this edition. The Jew of Malta was performed between February and June, 1592, when the theatres were closed (APC 1591-2, 550). An undated letter permits the restarting of playing at the Rose theatre following the watermen's complaints to the Privy Council of loss of business (E. S. IV, 312-13, Dulwich MS i, 17), and the play is recorded performed in the Diary until 21 June, 1596 (Diary p. 47). The theatres were closed because of plague on 28 January, 1593 (APC 1592-3, 31-2). Strictly speaking, then, this chapter is concerned with performances that ran during four months in early 1592, and a few weeks at the beginning of 1593.

another version of the Muly Mahamet tale, it seems to reveal the Rose Theatre audience's interest for contemporary comment on its stage, and also perhaps the authorities' tacit acceptance of such comment provided it was set abroad. (The very English play, Sir Thomas More, for instance, was to run into trouble just months later for its references that were 'too close to home'.) When Thomas Platter was in England he noticed that:

> [...] the English pass their time, learning at the play what is happening abroad; indeed men and womenfolk visit such places without scruple, since the English for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home.[8]

Mulo Mulocco disappears when The Jew of Malta is revived in 1594, and it joins "the masacer", presumably The Massacre at Paris, a play which includes the death of the Duke of Guise.[9] Titus Andronicus also appears, nicely replacing Mulo Mulocco and complementing The Jew of Malta's Barabas-Ithamore killing team with the despicable Moor with the Hebrew name, Aaron. The Rose audience is bombarded with celebration of its distance from, and superiority over, the evil Hebrew, Turkish, Catholic, and Moorish infidels.

But that is for the next chapter; we should return to

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[8]Thomas Platter, Platter's Travels in England p. 170.

[9]Henslowe, Diary p. 22.

1592, and the early Rose performances of The Jew of Malta.[10] The first Armada had been defeated in 1588. The 1590s saw no easing of the bad harvests of the '80s and the cost of living rose again. Alternative employment for labourers was scarce. They might be mustered into the navy for retaliatory missions, or could beg and risk arrest.

It is possible that the playgoers were eager for change and could be prompted into action by a politically-oriented stage. But long suffering can also induce apathy. The play was successful over two runs under different socio-political conditions because it concerns itself with so much topicality. With its multi-sided war story, the play could be appropriated for both the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic feeling heightened after 1588 and later, and for the anti-Jewish feeling that surfaced with the Lopez case.

What the Rose Theatre provided, then, for these topical plays--The Jew of Malta, The Massacre at Paris, Mulo Mulocco--was a version of events for the unofficial public of London, the real people unrepresented by the official political statements of their monarch and parliament. The commoners

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[10]E. K. Chambers states that the 1592 repairs listed in the Henslowe Diary (pp. 9-12) "were clearly substantial repairs....The lapse of five years since 1587 would, however, be consistent with the necessity for them" E. S. II, 408; 10 January, 1587 is the date for the agreement between Henslowe and John Cholmley for use of a plot of ground for a playhouse (ibid.). Chambers accepts that plays began at the Rose in 1592. Following the excavation of the Rose theatre foundations, we can now confidently confirm the carrying out of substantial repairs, if not their details.

held views on political issues, both domestic and international, and there needed to be a channel into which the private censure of each woman and man could flow. This channel needed to be outside the jurisdiction of the city because the official ideology demanded the subservience of the subject to the court and authorities' dogma.''

Money and the Stage Jew I

Barabas' cash and the Christian deprived

The text that has come down to us as The Jew of Malta exhibits on the title page of the earliest extant edition, the words 'The Famous/TRAGEDY/OF/THE RICH IEVV/OF MALTA.' It is essential that we notice the now-dropped adjective, which appears in this 1633 quarto. However, it is a late edition, whether or not it is the first, and we must be wary of fine textual analysis based on such a document. What can be said is that the term 'Jew' often appears with a qualifier in the dramatic texts of the late sixteenth-century; Jews are "rich", "wicked", "cruel", "vile".

This trend of adjective application is superficial and forceful in The Jew of Malta; a lesser variety of adjectives suffices, where the wealth of the Jew compared with the Christians is emphasized, and the word 'Jew' comes to stand

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''See Steven Mullaney, quoted above, p. 62.

alone as a term of abuse.'[12] It is this implicit comparison of the wealth of Jews and the need of Christians that is fuelled when Shylock talks of getting the money for Bassanio's loan from Tubal, a Jew richer than himself, richer than the "rich Jew"!

Barabas is the "rich Jew" in the first act, and "wealthy Jew" in act two (1. 2. 364 & 380; 2. 3. 32), but is generally simply the "Jew": scorn enough, it seems. Something of the status of the appellation might be gleaned from the episode in which Pilia-Borza and Bellamira arrange with Ithamore to get money from Barabas. Ithamore begins the demand letter "Master/Barabas--" (4. 2. 75-6). Pilia-Borza tells him "Write not so submissively, but threatening him" and so Ithamore

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[12]In The Merchant of Venice, in contrast, the Christians' tendency to apply all manner of adjectival qualifiers to the "Jew" emphasizes the personality and the actuality of the Jew as 'rounded' character. From Antonio's ambivalent "gentle Jew" at 1.3.176 through Bassanio's "rich Jew" (2.2.142) and Solerio and Solanio's "villain Jew" and "dog Jew" (2.8.4&14), Antonio's diplomatic "good Shylock" at 3.3.3, to Gratiano's "harsh Jew" (4.1.122), "currish Jew" (4.1.289) and a return to "wealthy Jew" (5.1.15) and Nerissa's "rich Jew" sixteen lines from the end of the play; all these appellations show a need to deal with another active human being. Thomas North writes, in his Diall of Princes (1557), "Let him take heed also that he do not call his servants drunkards, thieves, villains, Jews, nor other such-like names of reproach". Leslie Fiedler summarizes the Jew's state, "[...] usuriousness, avarice, lust for vengeance, and hostility to music, masquing, and young love. For all of this, in Shakespeare's day, the unmodified generic epithet 'Jew' would serve". Of Portia's treatment of Shylock, Fiedler continues, she "turns her back on him to discuss him with her fellow Christians as though he were a creature in another realm of being". (The Stranger in Shakespeare p. 106.) The turning of the back is, of course, something Fiedler has insinuated into the text himself, but the impression the words make and their 'directive' ability is profound.

restarts, "Sirrah Barabas" (4. 2. 77-8). When Pilia Borza returns with the news that Barabas has supposedly only given him ten crowns instead of the demanded three hundred, Ithamore thinks of the most contemptuous way to demand more money. His letter begins "Sirrah Jew" (4. 2. 124).

What is set up in The Jew of Malta is something that is far less certain in The Merchant of Venice. Barabas will be a villain precisely because he is a Jew. It will be the fault of his being a Jew that he is also a villain, and therefore the term "Jew" will suffice to pre-suppose all other villainous attributes.[13] Shylock, on the other hand, has reason for what he does. Whether it is good reason or not, it is certainly logical, and the Christians find themselves in need of a good (non-Venetian) mouth-piece to argue for their side.

It is an obvious device that Marlowe uses by introducing Barabas to the audience as the first character--excepting the prologue--"in his counting-house,/with heaps of gold before him" (1. 1. S.D., p. 67). Barabas laments "what a trouble 'tis to count this trash!" (1. 1. 7.) He may signal to the audience in the yard as he says "The needy groom that never fingered groat/Would make a miracle of thus much coin", and goes on to lament the money-counting chore a second time (1.

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[13]For more discussion of the scornful burrs that stick to Jews in drama, see Earl Dachslager, '"The Stock of Barabas": Shakespeare's Unfaithful Villains', p. 12; and Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil p. 347-8.

1. 12-13). In his little counting-house, rich and bitter, wealthy and boasting, perhaps wearing "the artificiall Jewe of Maltae's nose" and traditional red wig denoting a traitor against Jesus, he is the archetypal villain.'"

If the audience only knows that he is a Jew at the moment, they know by line 49 that he is not just any Jew, but Barabas, aurally the same as the robber and murderer that was freed in Christ's place. The awareness of the audience of the relevance of this name seems to be confirmed by Barabas' instruction and question to the Merchant in the opening scene:

> Go tell 'em the Jew of Malta sent thee, man;
> Tush, <u>who amongst 'em knows not Barabas?</u>
> (1. 1. 66-7, my emphasis)

We should make a distinction here between the use of the Jew as a Barabas-representative, and the use of the Jew as a Judas representative. Although standing for the anti-Christian race, Barabas, the Jew of Malta, does not stand for the specific betrayer, the damned Antichrist. A similar effect upon the audience of anti-Christianism, but not 'Antichristism', may occur when Shylock says of his daughter "Would any of the stock of Barabbas/Had been her husband rather than a Christian!--" (4. 1. 293-4.)

An apparent duality is created, then, a battlefield drawn up on stage with two sides: Jew and Christian. This is an arrangement confirmed nearer the end of <u>The Merchant of</u>

'"William Rowley refers to the stage property in <u>A Search for Money</u> p. 19.

Venice, in preparation for the 'trial' scene in the fourth act. In The Jew of Malta, however, this two-sidedness is set up at the very beginning. But there is a problem: there are not only two sides in this play.

For a start, Barabas is not the same as the other Jews in Malta. As several writers have noted, he does not associate even with his fellow Jews. Shylock talks of society, of his wife, Leah, and of meeting Tubal in the synagogue; he possesses a personal, private life away from the Rialto. Barabas, on the other hand, is immersed only in himself.[18]

He is not, in 1592, solely the evil Jew, but rather the

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[18]What Ferneze does, by demanding half of the Jews' wealth, and threatening the loss of all of it should they refuse, is split the Jewish community. The sufferers and the survivors conflict. The Jews' choice is rather similar to that given to them by Edward I, who (also in charge of a Catholic Realm) required their conversion and submission of possessions in return for a small maintenance allowance. Those Jews over twelve years of age who refused to convert were charged to fund this grant, and refusal to pay led to imprisonment:

> Commission to John de Havenak and Philip le But of Crikelade, proctors of the Domus Conversorum, London, to collect the chevage on Jews which the king lately granted to those converted or to be converted to the Catholic faith in England for their maintenance....The King has directed all sheriffs and constables to cause all Jews in their bailiwicks to come before the said John and Philip, at such days as they direct, for them to choose twelve jurors to make recognition upon oath of all Jews and Jewesses of the age of twelve and upwards in the respective bailiwicks, and when certified of the amount per capita, they are to collect the same, distraining where necessary. If any refuse to pay, the commissioners are to imprison and keep them in safe custody until they have made full satisfaction for the said chevage.

Calendar of Patent Rolls (Edward I, 1281-1292), p. 398, 18 February, 1290.

evil villain, or infidel. Stephen Greenblatt recognizes a conflict of personality in Barabas. While plying an individuality through this self-alienating, and his exemplary "self-fashioning" behaviour, he is also falling into the trap of becoming a personification of a concept, not of a human being. Greenblatt says:

> Most dramatic characters--Shylock would be an appropriate example--accumulate identity in the course of their play; Barabas desperately tries to dispossess himself of such identity. But this steady erosion of himself is precisely what he has pledged himself to resist; his career, then, is in its very essence suicidal.[18]

The other Jew, Abigail, is different still, fittingly 'Christian' for the audience, even while still a Jew. She will follow the classic comedy role of a child escaping her father's law.

More sides exist. Ithamore is from "Thrace; brought up in Arabia" (2. 3. 131). Barabas puts aside the slave he specifically terms "Moor" to choose one who will be credited with the viciousness of a Turk, but with a punning name that reminds the audience of his region of upbringing, neighbourland to the Moorish North Africa; he is a double-villain. And Ithamore, like Barabas, is a stranger. A stranger in so far as he was brought up not where he was born, and in that now he is again brought against his choice to a foreign land--the

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[18]Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Marlowe and Renaissance Self-Fashioning", p. 54.

Turk and the Jew are on England's stage, under the censuring eyes of the recreated city stage spectators.

Ithamore therefore possesses no loyalties in the conflicts that will occur, but is a pawn, a death-messenger. We are, ultimately, left with an infidel threat from a rich stranger and his servant, to a Christian strategic stronghold, the city of Malta. This estranging of the Jew, the 'foreignizing' of the compact Barabas-Ithamore army, instructs the audience to take the evil natures of the Jew and the Turk for granted. In doing so the fact of their strangeness becomes at least as important as their specific nationality or religion; or rather their equal status as infidels puts to one side the apparently foregrounded scorn for 'the Jew', per se.[11]

Cecil Roth has noted that:

> The Knights on their side professed to regard the Jews as more dangerous enemies even than the Turks, accusing them of espionage and worse: and they did not scruple to violate a neutral flag in order to make Jewish captives. The great Turkish attempt on the island in 1565 (which, according to contemporary rumour, the Jews actually financed) was certainly watched by them with eager eyes, and their disappointment on its failure must have been

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[11]Dachslager, op. cit. notes that "For all practical purposes, as well as dramatic, the three were one: Jew, pagan, Turk (or Arab) would have been defined as the infidel", p. 8.

extreme.[18]

If reports of the situation in Malta were reaching England in the 1580s, as Godfrey Wettinger claims,[19] the concern of the English that the strategically-located island be sufficiently protected from the Turk must have been mixed. Malta had not seen significant military action since the Turkish attack of 1565, the great Turkish invasions of Byzantium, Serbia, Morea and elsewhere being in the fifteenth-century.[20] The association of the Jew and the Turk was a frightening anti-Christian force, however, and the existence of a rich Jew in Malta is a horrendous thought, if we assume that to be rich is to be powerful.[21]

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[18]The information source is a letter to the Pope, 31 August, 1578, in Stern, Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden cxxviii. See Cecil Roth, "The Jews of Malta", p. 216.

[19]See Godfrey Wettinger, The Jews of Malta in the Late Middle Ages p. 147, for a note on English visitors to Malta.

[20]See Alison Hoppen, The Fortification of Malta p. 4.

[21]Observations by travellers in Malta, however, suggest that a rich and powerful Jew in Malta was an impossible thing to be. Godfrey Wettinger writes that the Jews of Malta in the sixteenth-century "were mere captives for the most part,...who were certainly allowed occasionally to trade but never to the point of acquiring a vast private fortune", op. cit. p. 147. Barabas should not be in a position to buy a slave in the Knights' stronghold. Just as Barabas is easily stripped of his wealth, Philip Skippon, a later English traveller in Malta, writes in 1663 that:

> Jews, Moors, and Turks [sic] are made slaves here, and are publickly sold in the market. A stout fellow may be bought (if he be an inferior person) for 120 or 160 scudi of Malta. The Jews are distinguish'd from the rest by a little piece of yellow cloth on their hats or caps, &c. We saw a rich Jew who was taken about a year before, who was sold in the market that morning we visited the prison

Of course it is, in addition, ideologically incorrect to cheer for the Spaniards represented on stage in 1592, and it is in the final act of The Jew of Malta that the audience's sympathies are tried. We do not expect them to be converted to the cause of Barabas, and our modern sensitivities should not mislead us on the question of whether we expect them to question the ferocity of what initially happened to Barabas when his entire estate was taken from him, and of what will subsequently happen to him. Certainly Barabas has been disgusting.

His murder of a friar and poisoning of a whole convent involves the comedy of the assassin set upon popish victims, and of the tradition of the corrupt or suspect figure of the friar,[22] but this part of the drama remains within the secure realm of the play-world. Where the audience's 'real' world understanding of the figure will come is from the fact that the audience possesses a specific situation--it is located historically in 1592, and spatially outside the city walls, and Mullaney notes the parallel of the theatrical fictional and physical situation: Barabas outside Malta's walls, and the

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> for 400 scudi; and supposing himself free, by reason of a passport he had from Venice, he struck the merchant that bought him; whereupon he was presently sent hither, his beard and hair shaven off, a great chain clapp'd on his legs, and bastinado'd with 50 blows.

From An Account of a Journey Made Through Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France. See Cecil Roth, "The Jews of Malta", p. 214.

[22]See fig. 3.1B for the dangerous friar.

theatre outside London's walls.[23]

In the final act Barabas is thrown "o'er the walls" (5. 1. 58). He wakes from the drugs he has taken to feign death and stands alone, the single unheard middle ranking professional. He is, as he stands (both physically--"distantially"--in the moment, and socially--as a Jew and a foreigner--through time and re-presenting productions), an outsider, and as such free to begin to decide on a way to re-enter the city on his own terms, again on the double level of individual subject and ideological reinventor. One piece missing from the city-ideology jigsaw leaves a hole in the acceptance of its authority. The suggestion is one of acting against all odds, acting in the senses of producing effective action and of putting on an act--attempting a 're-semblance' of the personal character that exists without the structure and stricture of the city law.

This display of potentially subversive originality can only be seen as acting an unnatural part by an ideology locked <u>within</u> the city. In the south bank theatre, however, the liberty of the suburbs at this point becomes most highly charged. It is the difficulty of understanding such an original, de-legalized--or simply ambitious at all costs--character that means that Barabas and any of his ilk (until the characterization becomes more common) must work alone.

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[23]See Steven Mullaney, op. cit. p. 58, for an extended consideration of the play-world and real-world parallels invoked by this scene.

His self-deconstruction is a way to analysis and affirmation of his self. It is an analogue of the audience's deconstruction of the city structure and re-establishment in the theatre. Multiple, or en masse, recognition of the character, possible only in the theatre, is the only route to a common effective reaction against the city from without. This is the way to remedy this "tragedy of fragmentation", by unification of the apprentice and artisan classes.[24]

The anti-hero is put into an analogous space with that of the dissatisfied London population. In order for the playgoers to accept Barabas as their hero, however, they must reject London's ideology wholesale, both its oppression of the domestic protest, and the long-assumed hatred for the 'infidel'. It is with such an ideologically 'cleared' mind that the theatregoers would have to return subsequently to London, if they were to effect change in their personal situations as a result of the play. But such a reaction against what have largely become ideological norms is a lot to ask.

Back on the stage, Calymath enters and Barabas proclaims "My name is Barabas; I am a Jew" (5. 1. 72). The dramatic

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[24]Peter Donaldson talks of the "tragedy of fragmentation" in "Conflict and Coherence", p. 38. The concept of affirmation through deconstruction is a Derridean defence of the argument that deconstruction necessarily destroys the subject's identity. Jacques Derrida makes this point during his Amnesty International Lecture at Oxford University, one of a series of discussions with literary and cultural critics recorded for Channel Four television.

irony of the line is hilarious, for the audience can see that he is a Jew; even in the fictional image Calymath might be able to see that he is a Jew. He even gives his name, Barabas, before the obvious statement. And finally, as if teasing, as if he knew all along, Calymath recognizes Barabas' fame: "Art thou that Jew whose goods we heard were sold/ For tribute-money?" "The very same, my lord", Barabas replies (5. 1. 73-4 & 75). Barabas, alone in a personal quest for revenge against the city, is building up an identity, a force with which to fight. He is becoming an uncomfortably identifiable hero for the extra-city audience.

This self-introduction by Barabas, rapidly followed by his plan for taking the city, should be the ultimate piece of effective "self-fashioning". Stephen Greenblatt says:

> Naming oneself is not enough; one must also name and pursue a goal. The heroes [Marlowe's] do so with a splendid energy that distinguishes their words as well as their actions from the surrounding society. The Turks, friars, and Christian knights may all be driven by "The wind that bloweth all the world besides,/Desire of gold" (III. 1422-23), but only Barabas can speak of "infinite riches in a little roome" (I. 72).[25]

But this is not good enough. Barabas is talking in riddles. His "infinite riches" are, of course, unattainable. The audience might be fooled by the 'generalization' of Barabas'

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[25]Greenblatt, op. cit. p. 58. The Jew of Malta quotations are at 3. 5. 3-4, and 1. 1. 37.

character, by his "embodiment of a category":

> Of course, the Jew has a name, but he remains curiously vague and unreal; even his account of his past--killing sick people or poisoning wells--tends to de-individualize him, accommodating him to an abstract, anti-Semitic fantasy of a Jew's past....he is, to adapt Edward Said's characterization of Freud's Moses or Nietsche's Dionysus, more "an idea of energy" than a man.[26]

Thus the audience is 'energized' with empathy. They are not in fact made to enter an "anti-Semitic fantasy", but have long before this stage entered into an anti-invader fantasy that transmogrifies with these late speeches into both the thrill of Barabas' rise and the thrill of his fall. It is a double-impact on the audience that is self-effacing, just as is Barabas' quest and character.

As a contrast to the appealing "self-fashioning" Jew, we can briefly consider Abraham, the assassin-Jew in Selimus.[27] The first mention of the Jew's name is by Selimus himself (G2v; 1692). The separation of this introduction line--it is an independent sentence--at the end of Selimus' speech suggests its significance, but the name is simply indicative of the archetype Jew, the Jew willing to do anything for gain. The original Abraham would kill Isaac for the love of God, and Abraham will kill the Emperor of the Turks for the love of

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[26]Ibid. p. 53. Edward Said, Beginnings p. 58.

[27]Robert Greene, Selimus Q1 (1594); line references are to the Malone Society Reprint, ed. W. W. Greg.

gold.

The dangerous familial and power relationships in the Turkish court, about which King Henry V jokes (2 Henry IV 5. 2, 46-9), here come to the fore. The Jew will carry out a parricide assassination for a master whom he hates. Of the poisons he will use, Abraham says:

> I could as willingly affoord them you,
> As your aged father Bajazet.
>
> (G3r; 1728-9)

The tension is increased in scene xix when Abraham introduces himself to old Bajazet as "Your highnesse humble servant" (G4v; 1830). The shift in irony between 1592 and 1594 performances of such a self-introduction would have been realized by the public.[28] The next gesture, that of Abraham's suicide, is equivocal. The deed is cowardly, and the sentiments of the audience are probably expected to align with those of Bajazet, who exclaims, "Ah wicked Jew, ah cursed Selimus" (G4v; 1846).[29]

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[28]The Queen's men--the company mentioned on the 1594 quarto title-page--were travelling in the Provinces during 1592-3. On 6 January, 1594 they returned for a last court performance. On 1 April they began playing at one of Henslowe's theatres, leaving again for the country in May. See E. S. II, 113-4, and Henslowe, Diary p. 7. Greg suggested a misdating of 1593 for 1594 in his edition of the diary, and Chambers follows suit.

[29]The relevance of Abraham to our overall argument, and the orginality of his portrayal, must not be overestimated, however. His role is extremely short, and the episode would probably have been recognized by its audience as very similar to scene viii of The Troublesome Reign of King John, where the Monk Thomas poisons King John. The 1591 quarto title-page of The Troublesome Reign reveals that the Queen's men were the

Returning to Barabas, with the Turks, we see that the recapitulation of the wrongs done to him sets up a one-sided, if not very convincing, argument justifying his need for revenge. It is billed as a revenge upon the city; a revenge on the fact that, just as Venice can let Shylock live there and Christians can use him when they need to, as their own surrogates for the evil task of breeding money before seizing all his goods, so Malta demands payment of tribute money of the Jews they have allowed to live there from a war between Turks and Maltese Christians. Shylock's and Barabas' voices are 'unheard' within the active jurisdiction of the city, just like the dissatisfied Londoners. Thomas Cartelli writes:

> All plays, of course, employ the stage as a privileged area, consciously set off from the real world, that liberates both actor and audience from the social constraints of everyday life. But most plays also impose strict limits on the enjoyment of such liberation by means of a formal organization that prevents both actor and audience from "going too far," that defends against the possibility of a collective fantasy getting out of hand. Whereas in these conventional modes of representation, "the dramatist will," as Freud wrote, "provoke not merely an <u>enjoyment</u> of the liberation but a <u>resistance</u> to it as well," in <u>The Jew of Malta</u> Marlowe provokes only minimal resistance to the

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players for this play, as they were for <u>Selimus</u>.

enjoyment his version of burlesque affords.[30]

Marlowe prodded at the religious ideology of the State until it bit back. His play prods at, "provokes", the audience with the niggling fact that the Maltese city that wronged Barabas is one governed by Spanish-ruled Catholics, which makes its undermining a not unattractive proposal for the London audience, when considered fictionally and non-historically. And undermining is literally what the Turks and Barabas do. They re-enter the city via its sewers;[31] they

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[30]Thomas Cartelli, "Endless Play", pp. 117-8. He quotes from p. 309 of Sigmund Freud, "Psychopathic Characters on the Stage", in vol. 7 of the Standard Edition of Freud's works (London: Hogarth Press, 1956), 305-310.

[31]

A] Barabas' proposal to Calymath reads:

> Fear not, my lord; for here, against the sluice,
> The rock is hollow, and of purpose digged
> To make a passage for the running streams
> And common channels of the city.
> Now whilst you give assault unto the walls,
> I'll lead five hundred soldiers through the vault,
> And rise with them i' the middle of the town,
> Open the gates for you to enter in,
> And by this means the city is your own.
> (5. 2. 86-94)

Bawcutt's note to "sluice" is, "Van Fossen retains Q's 'truce' and glosses 'against the truce' as "either (1) contrary to the treaty or (2) in anticipation of the cessation of hostilities". But both these senses are rather forced; ll. 86-89 clearly refer to a sewer or drainage channel, and "sluice" (valve or barrier for controlling the flow of water) fits the context much better...."; he glosses "channels" as "gutters, sewers", p. 176.

B] It is an interesting, if not highly profound, addition to these concepts that the Rose theatre itself seems to have been built either on or next to a main sewer line, and was by obstruction harbouring the filth of the city in its midst. The Sewer Commission of Surrey issued an order:

revenge the city emblematically in that they return through the channels that should only allow effluent to leave the jurisdiction--they are therefore dangerous excess to the city's safety.

The playgoers knew all about re-entering the city through filthy channels. A 1590 proclamation had revived an old act to stop the Londoners' habit of using their waterways as sewers. It commanded:

> all and every person and persons to abstain and forbear to cast or put forth any entrails of beasts or other filth or noisome thing whatsoever into any ditch, river, or water....all such noisome, corrupt infections and filthy substance as have been heretofore thrown or cast forth...whereby the air is or may be corrupted or infected, shall...be removed and carried away.[32]

The corrupted mind of the returning playgoer, many contemporary critics believed, would, subsequent to experiencing the play, infect the city.

> 1588. Henchley.--Item, we present Phillip Henchley to pull upp all the pylles that stand in the common sewer against the play-house to the stopping of the water course, the which to be done by midsomer next uppon paine of x s[hillings] yf it be undone. x s[hillings] (done).
>
> (E. S. II, 407, footnote number 2; Chambers' source is G. L. Gomme, The Story of London Maps (Geographical Journal xxxi, 628.)

[32]H&L, III, 58. Proclamation 32 Elizabeth I (1590), H&L III, 57, enforced the statute 12 Richard II c. 13 (1388), the Queen "finding how necessary it shall be to have the said act duly executed within the cities of London and Westminster" (H&L III, 58).

Inside the city, Barabas and the Turks revenge as iconoclasts, usurping the figures of supposed justice, rising up 'dirtily' from physically--and by metaphor socially--'below' the city. The actor on stage is setting an example for the audience. As Michael Goldman has said, "We are made sharply aware of the actor both activating an icon and altering it"; manipulation is the name of the game.[33]

Scene two of the final act opens with the assault having succeeded. This battle scene is significant by its very absence. Where it takes place is where Hanna Scolnicov calls the theatrical "space without". The "space within" (perceived action on-stage) and the "space without" (conceived action off-stage) make up the full action of the play.[34]

As such the theatrical "space without" extends the physical performance into a specifically intra-theatrical space that is not the "everyday" space (in which the audience lives). Scolnicov writes:

> The founding of Rome [in Ovid's Fasti] is described as a cutting-off and consecrating of a particular space. According to Eliade, city walls were originally erected not for military protection but as a magical defence,
>
> > for they marked out from the midst of a 'chaotic' space, peopled with demons and

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[33]Michael Goldman, "Performer and Role in Marlowe and Shakespeare", p. 93.

[34]See Hanna Scolnicov, "Theatre Space, Theatrical Space, and the Theatrical Space Without".

> phantoms, an enclosure, a place that was organised...provided with a 'centre'.
>
> The sacred circle, cut off and delimited, consecrated and imbued with strength and significance, is highly suggestive in relation to the theatrical space.[22]

The "highly suggestive" sacred circle is of course a more complex idea than here intimated when we consider the late Elizabethan context. If the theatre is its own "organised" space, it is truly a "second city": a walled, organised location of life-stories, parts of which are experienced by others, parts related, and parts missed completely.

There is more. The idea of magical defence reflects the reliance of the theatre on illusion--the illusion of protection, of autonomy, and of power withing the theatrical (architectural) space. The theatre is more so an alternative not only to the geographical city space but also to the city ideology. It is a "sacred" alternative to the religious requirement of the city authorities, for example:

> The daylie abuse of Stage Playes is such an offence to the godly, and so great a hinderance to the gospell, as the papists do exceedingly rejoyce at the bleamysh thearof, and not without cause; for every day in the weake the players billes are sett up in sondry places of the cittie, some in the name of her Majesties menne, some the Earl of Leic[este]r, some the E. of Oxford, the Lo. Admyralls, and dyvers others; so that when the

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[22]Ibid. p. 13.

> belles tole to the Lectorer, the trumpetts sound to the Stages, whereat the wicked faction of Rome lawgheth for joy, while the godly weepe for sorrowe. Woe is me! the play howses are pestered, when churches are naked; at the one it is not possible to gett a place, at the other voyde seates are plentie.[26]

What we are shown is that Barabas' method of entry has left the city walls intact. His self-enclosure is his suicidal version of "the constant attempt by characters within the plays to control, imprison, and wall up one another, while maintaining to themselves the fiction of breaking boundaries down".[27] Intention-success (performance of the intended action) is possible, but purpose-success (achievement of the desired end), is ultimately not.[28] The overthrow of the oppressor does not result in finality; revolution is not a stable condition. So, ultimately, despite all the promise, the theatregoers are not given a way to hold the city from within. Barabas' victory is temporary, perhaps illusory. His greed will cause a final self-destructive attempt at gain and glory and the Catholic Christians will regain the city.

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[26]Anonymous letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, 25 January, 1587. Reprinted in J. P. Collier, The History of English Dramatic Poetry I, 257, and E. S. IV, 303-4. From Harley MS 286, f. 102.

[27]Marjorie Garber, "Infinite Riches in a Little Room", p. 7.

[28]See Keir Elam, The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama p. 122-3; concept originally by Teun A. Van Dijk, in Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse. (London: Longmans, 1977), p. 174 ff.

Stephen Greenblatt has blamed Barabas' failure on "his desire to avoid the actual possession of power".[39] By keeping the horizon of his power-struggle exactly that--an ever-escaping sight ("infinite riches")--Barabas avoids having to hold on to the reality of power. Peter Donaldson says of Tamburlaine's reception of the tactile crown:

> The crown is necessary here not because Tamburlaine has any real sense of the earthly fruition he claims it represents, but because one must turn to something from the chaotic reflection of man's essence in nature, from warring elements, wandering planets, reflecting inner weariness and aimless oscillation. Marlowe mentions the "wondrous architecture" of the world, but what he presents is not an ordered universe, but rather one that mirrors the disorder of a fragmented self. To aim at the crown is really to turn away from the chaos of nature to a realm of willed coherence. The speech passes from images of fragmenting "natural" energies to the stable but ironic self-icon of the crown.[40]

Barabas is the alternative power-seeker. His "willed coherence" is strong, but his "aimless oscillation" is revealed in his final fall into the cauldron. Barabas does have a real sense of the earthly fruition he claims his power-signifier, money, represents, but he cannot grasp the reality of power itself. His ordered intention is reflected in his

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[39]Greenblatt, op. cit. p. 53.

[40]Donaldson, op. cit. p. 43; Christopher Marlowe, Tamburlaine 2. 7. 12-29.

carefully-constructed execution scaffold upon the stage; but his desire of avoidance of final power makes this scaffold another "self-icon", the rebuilt (return to the original) power-structure.

What is provided is only the suggestion that from without the city can be beaten. The credibility of the achievement of this temporary victory on the stage is largely determined by the necessity of the dramatic sequence; "it is clear that the verisimilitude or authenticity of the representation is not determined by 'iconic' fidelity alone but by what is sanctioned by the established performance canons".[40] By leaving the city in the outward garb of unthreatening non-interest, 'dead' in Barabas' case, the theatre destination becomes the locus of two extremes: either the harmless place for a passive audience requiring the "channel" of excess to prepare them for returning to 'civility' and oppression; or Stephen Gosson's "schoole of abuse", the dangerous educational establishment where dissatisfied citizens enrol themselves in order to reconsider what is within the city walls and to plan, with the aid of the plays and the impetuses of mob rule, how to re-enter that city without having to succumb to the rules and bow to restrictions on personal expression.

The London authorities were painfully aware of the second possibility. The xenophobic turmoil that seemed to reach a zenith as the early 1593 run of The Jew of Malta came to an

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[40]Elam, op. cit. p. 92.

end, and a new summer of plague hit the capital, might be some confirmation of the validity of these fears. The plays in repertory with The Jew of Malta that have been mentioned above all concern themselves with disruption to political order. The inclusion of civil unrest in London in the play of Sir Thomas More, and the play's suppression by the authorities, is a pertinent comment on the political fragility of the capital, and more relevantly on the official view that plays were dangerous instigators of unrest, and unwelcome commentators after the event.

The "Ill May Day" riots of 1517 are used in Sir Thomas More as an analogue for the possible consequences of civilian anti-alien feeling, and actual occurrences between 1591 and 1593. Although the visibility of these strangers and the reactions against them make their case by itself different from the attitude against a largely underground community such as the Jews, it seems certain that this kind of fervour is the perfect context in which a case such as the Lopez trial would provide a channel for the release of the 'anti-difference' aggression of the Londoners.

The speed with which the Londoners would turn against the old image of the evil Jew in their anger is confirmed in what Arthur Freeman has called the "Dutch Church Libel".[42] On 5 May, 1593 some person or persons unknown affixed a written

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[42]Arthur Freeman, "Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel".

threat ("libell") against the strangers of London on the wall of the Dutch Church in Broadstreet Ward. This poster confirms the feeling, however widespread, of the foreigner as the cause of economic and social problems among the Londoners.

The libel is reproduced here in full, since its full structure reveals a carefully worked text of increasing anger, and at all points it bears relevance to the concerns of this chapter. Notice the recurrence, in line 29, of the complaint that surfaced in The Three Ladies of London of high rent and overcrowding; the complaint about foreigners working for the court and for Spain (ll. 45 ff.); the reference to Machiavelli (l. 5); and the accusation of foreigners falsely professing religions to escape oppression (l. 42). The internal class issue is also raised as the nobles are to be put down for their pelican-like feeding of the foreign newcomers with blood from the English 'brest' (ll. 46 ff.).

Ye strangers yt doe inhabite in this lande
Note this same writing doe it understand
Conceit it well for savegard of your lyves
Your goods, your children, & your dearest wives
Your Machiavellian Marchant spoyles the state, 5
  Your usery doth leave us all for deade
Your Artifex, & craftesman works our fate,
  And like the Jewes, you eate us up as bread
The Marchant doth ingross all kinde of wares
  Forestall's the markets, whereso'ere he goe's 10
Sends forth his wares, by Pedlers to the faires,
  Retayle's at home, & with his horrible showes:
                Undoeth thowsands

In Baskets your wares trott up & downe
  Carried the streets by the country nation,
You are intelligencers to the state & crowne 15
  And in your hartes doe wish an alteracion,
You transport goods, & bring us gawds good store
  Our Leade, our Vittaile, our Ordenance & what nott
That Egipts plagues, vext not the Egyptians more
  Then you doe us; then death shall be your lotte 20
Noe prize comes in but you make claime therto
  And every merchant hath three trades at least,
And Cutthrote like in selling you undoe
  us all, & with our store continually you feast:
                We cannot suffer long.
Our pore artificers doe starve & dye 25
  For yt they cannot now be sett on worke
And for your worke more curious to the ey[.]
  In Chambers, twenty in one house will lurke,
Raysing of rents, was never knowne before
  Living farre better then at native home 30
And our pore soules, are cleane thrust out of dore
  And to the warres are sent abroade to rome,
To fight it out for Fraunce & Belgia,
  And dy like dogges as sacrifice for you
Expect you therefore such a fatall day 35
  Shortly on you, & yours for to ensewe:
                as never was seene.
Since words nor threates nor any other thinge
  canne make you to avoyd this certaine ill
Weele cutt your throtes, in your temples praying
  Not Paris massacre so much blood did spill"[3] 40

"[3]This is in some ways a paradoxical allusion. The threatened action against the strangers may be seen as a kind of revenge for the French massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Eve, 1572. But the strangers in London were mostly Protestants escaping the Catholic terror.

As we will doe just vengeance on you all
  In counterfeitinge religion for your flight[46]
When 't'is well knowne, you are loth, for to be thrall
  your coyne, & you as countryes cause to flight
With Spanish gold, you all are infected 45
  And with yt gould our Nobles wink at feats
Nobles said I? nay men to be rejected,
  Upstarts yt enjoy the noblest seates
That wound their Countries brest, for lucres sake
  And wrong our gracious Queene & Subjects good 50
By letting strangers make our harts to ake
  For which our swords are whet, to shedd their blood
  And for a truth let it be understoode
                Flye, Flye, & never returne.[47]

These are precisely the arguments from The Three Ladies: the rent crisis, the appalling living conditions, the foreign overrunning of the marketplace with their un-English "wares" and "usery...like the Jewes". On 2 June, 1592, the Privy Council had attempted to calm both sides in the war over the London marketplace. Complaints from Dutch candlemakers that they were being threatened by English traders, and defences from the English that their livelihood was being threatened by the foreigners were investigated secretly, while openly the

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[46]This disbelief in the veracity of exiles' religious conversion was highlighted in the Lopez trial; a memorandum of 9 March, 1594, states that Lopez "confesses he is a Jew, though now a false Christian". CSP Dom 1591-4, p. 455.

[47]Libel text taken from c.1600 copy by John Mansell, reprinted in Freeman, op. cit. pp. 50-51; MS. details, ibid. pp. 48-50. See Charles Nicholl, The Reckoning, for new assessments on the authorship and political strategy behind the production of the libel.

Council declared a stay of action against the alleged malefactors.[66]

The apprentices were not satisfied, however, and gathered to rise up a week later in Southwark. Contrary to Scott McMillin's comment that "A riot of apprentices actually broke out on 11 June", and Richard Dutton's "there was 'a great disorder & tumult'", the epistolatory evidence we have to tell us of this event indicates that the "rude tumult" was an assembly put down before it got out of hand.[67] The overt similarity of this event to the disturbance dramatized as the Ill May-Day riot in Sir Thomas More, and the fact that the apprentices used the theatre as a 'cover' for their intended action, lead me to date the play's original composition as early as the summer of 1592.[68]

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[66]APC 1591-2, pp. 506-508.

[67]Scott McMillin, The Elizabethan Theatre and 'The Book of Sir Thomas More' p. 67. Richard Dutton, Mastering the Revels p. 83. See following footnote for William Webbe's letter concerning the "riot".

[68]Letter from Sir William Webbe, Lord Mayor, to Lord Burghley, 12 June, 1592. Reprinted in E. S. IV, 310.

> [...]Beeing informed of a great disorder & tumult lyke to grow yesternight abowt viii of the clock within the Borough of Southwark, I went thither with all speed I could, taking with mee on[e] of the Sherifes, whear I found great multitudes of people assembled togither, & the principall actours to bee certain servants of the ffeltmekers gathered togither out of Barnsey street & the Black fryers, with a great number of lose & maisterles men apt for such pourposes. Whearupon having made proclamation, & dismissed the multitude, I apprehended the chief doers and authors of the disorder, & have committed them to prison to bee

This would set the play in a dangerous limbo between the closing of the theatres following the 'riot' in June, 1592 and the resurgence of anti-alien protest in 1593 (at which time some of the revisions were possible penned). I think this event is a more potent single spark for beginning to write the play than is given credit by Scott McMillin, who says that "the representation of the Ill May-Day uprising was intended to reflect the crisis over aliens that was troubling the City during those months".[46] In fact we do not hear of further significant trouble during these months, until April of 1593.

The 11 June assembly, caused by the wrongful imprisonment of apprentices, was calmed by an official who had a suspicion of such an event taking place, and the ring-leaders were

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farther punished, as they shall bee found to deserve. And having this morning sent for the Deputie & Constable of the Borough with Divers other of best credit, who wear thear present, to examine the cause & manner of the disorder, I found that it began upon the serving of a warrant from my L. Chamberlain by on[e] of the Knight Mareschalls men upon a feltmakers servant, who was committed to the Mareschallsea with certein others, that were accused to his L. by the sayed Knight Mareschalls men without cause of offence, as them selves do affirm. For rescuing of whome the sayed companies assembled themselves by occasion & pretence of their meeting at a play, which bysides the breach of the Sabboth day giveth opportunitie of committing these & such lyke disorders. The principall doers in this rude tumult I mean to punish to the example of others.[...]

[46]McMillin, op. cit. p. 72.

punished. Sir Thomas More repeated this fabula (story).[30] The Master of the Revels' fear of the play was, quite rightly, that it sensationalized an event that was not in itself, and alone, that serious.

So now the stage complaints become active. The portrayal of the stage has been taken into the city; and, eternally reflexively, the stage will re-present the events of the city. The fears of tyrannous and oppressive "Machiavellian" infiltration and the collusion of the English nobles with foreign enemies to the people means that the inactive government is not on the side of the common worker, or craftsperson. The population of theatregoers re-forms its world within the city.

On Friday 11 May, 1593 the Privy Council seemed determined to solve the case of mysterious libellers, and quell the new wave of xenophobia. They ordered officials to enter into all houses of suspects, and since "of late divers lewd and malicious libells set up within the citie of London...[this] doth excead the rest in lewdnes" the suspected malefactors were to be put "to the torture in Bridewel..to th'end the aucthor of these seditious libells maie be known...".[31]

One of the recurring fears of the London authorities in

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[30]The Russian Formalists distinguished between the 'fabula', or story, and the 'sjuzet', or plot (organization of story).

[31]APC 1592-3, p. 222.

the 1580s and 1590s was the fact that small evils soon become large ones; grievances against one target can easily sway to another with similarly disruptive results. The apparent severity of the Privy Council's response to the Dutch Church Libel, then, was due largely to real fear. Only the previous month, a similar libel seems to have sent the court itself into convulsions, who issued a carte blanche to the arresting officer of suspected felons in such cases. The records are worth quoting at length for the picture they give of the desperateness of the Queen and her Council. On 16 April the Privy Council sent a letter to the Lord Mayor of London:

> Whereas there was a lewde and vyle ticket or placarde set up upon some post in London purportinge some determynacion and intencion the apprentyces should have to attempt some vyolence on the strangers, and your Lordship as we understande hath by your carefull endevour apprehended one that is to be suspected and thought likelie to have written the same. Because oftentymes it doth fall out of soche lewde beginninges that further mischeife doth ensue yf in tyme it be not wyselie prevented...wee thincke it convenient that he shalbe punyshed by torture used in like cases and so compelled to reveale the same. Wee truste you are so carefull in the government of the citty as yf some lewde persons had soche wicked purpose to attempt any thinge againste strangers that by your carefull foresighte the same shalbe prevented.[52]

This final sentence might suggest the existence of a break

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[52]Ibid. p. 187.

between the attitude of the central Council and the officers for the parishes and wards. Some of the local officials may have been turning blind eyes to acts with which they could sympathize, even if not publicly approve. On 22 April the Privy Council recorded the Queen's demands in a letter to several officers of the court:

> The Quene's Majestie havinge bin made acquainted with certaine libelles latelie published by some disordered and factious persons in and about the cittie of London, shewinge an intente in the artyficers and others who holde themselves prejudiced in theire trades by strangers to use some course of vyolence to remove the saide strangers or by way of tumulte to suppresse them, a matter very dangerous and with all deligence to be prevented. Her Majestie therefore, out of her princely care to remove a myscheife of this qualitie, hath made choice of you to examine by secret meanes who maie be authors of the saide libells.[22]

The letter goes on to suggest the employment of strangers who might possess some intelligence concerning possible libellers, and an instruction that the Queen herself be reported to efficiently. This "matter very dangerous" is obviously a serious concern, ranking high in its "qualitie". It is apparent that the authorities were willing to take great risks by employing strangers. Should the libel supporters discover the cooperation of state and immigrant, their fears of being

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[22]Ibid. p. 200-1.

betrayed by the noble class could extend to the feeling of an abandonment by their government as a whole.

Sir Thomas More was frightening to the authorities because it depicted action. If the revival of The Three Ladies in 1592 was seen as any stimulus to disturbances, how much more Sir Thomas More, which suggested a violent reaction to dissatisfaction, would seem to threaten the oppressive peace of the capital. In Sir Thomas More we see that as a response to the rumour of a Frenchman beating a carpenter in Cheap, the crowd assembled at St. Martin's cries, "fire the houses of these audacious strangers" (2. 1. 21-2).[54] Doll predicts "we'll drag the strangers out into Moorfields, and there bombast them till they stink again" (2. 1. 42-4), to which George Bettes adds "Let some of us enter the strangers' houses,/ And if we find them there, then bring them forth" (2. 1. 46-7). And in an added hand intended to replace the same scene, a clown replies to Doll's reservations with the exclamation that he is ripe for going a-raping: "Now Mars for thy honour,/ Dutch or French,/ So it be a wench,/ I'll upon her" (2. 1. 50-3).[55]

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[54]Anthony Munday et al., Sir Thomas More eds. Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchiori. Quotations from the play are from this edition.

[55]In his 'edition' of the play (for Malone Society), W. W. Greg keeps the clown's speech in an appendix (Greg: Addition II (B, C) (Fol. 7a, b)); see Greg's explanation of the revision, p. 69. Gabrieli and Melchiori favour the text of the addition as intended to replace the original scene. However, this edition was probably made in 1603, and not during the 1592-3 attempts to get the play through the Master

This listing of acts to be performed against the strangers is the kind of rhetoric that frightened authority: a call to action in the theatre was a call to action in the city. Richard Dutton has written that:

> It is the depiction of the riot, and any talk of rioting, which is uppermost in his [Tilney's] mind, particularly when it is directed at foreigners: 'It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be thus jetted on by straungers and they dare not revendge their owne wrongs' (24-5) is one passage specifically crossed out by him[.][28]

Certainly Doll preaches the incorrectness of vigilantism as she stands on the execution scaffold but her resolve with death and its justice makes her all the more the heroic martyr of the apprentice-class.

The Paris Massacre allusion in the Dutch Church Libel and a marginal note mentioning Tamburlaine may suggest that the population of London was finally ready to take what it saw as its only remaining option, that of violence; perhaps also being aware that they were making the transference from stage to city that I have suggested. McMillin writes of the arrest of Thomas Kyd and Christopher Marlowe:

> These writers would not be sought because they wrote sensational plays for the Rose, of course,

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of the Revels, Edmund Tilney. See Gabrieli "Introduction", p. 19; and McMillin, op. cit. pp. 154 ff. See also Gabrieli, pp. 37-40, detailing correspondences between his and Greg's edition with the Harley MS 7368.

[28]Dutton, op. cit. p. 82-3.

> but it cannot have escaped the notice of the authorities that the playhouses in Southwark had a number of connections with persons accused of disorder during the anti-alien troubles of 1592-1593.[87]

What seems to have been a stalemate position between the "libel" threats without significant action and the Council's worry provided a hot-bed for any new crisis that should come along. Some writers like to emphasize this closeness to turmoil without going over the brink: the relative stability of London in this period, against the idea of a disruptive city.

Steve Rappaport, for instance, has argued that although tension was high in London in the mid-1590s, the occurrence of minor disturbances was and is not unusual in cities of any size. He points out that the violent element in popular Shrovetide revelry, for example, was concentrated in Southwark, or in Moorfields and Finsbury Fields, outside the city walls.[88]

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[87]McMillin, op. cit. p. 69. Richard Dutton writes, in contrast, that "It is not often observed that Kyd's own arrest had nothing to do with religious heresy but was prompted by suspicion of his involvement in anti-alien propaganda, the issue so prominent in Sir Thomas More", p. 87; Dutton does not cite a source for this information. Nicholl, op. cit. (Chapter 31), puts forward the possibility that the libeller was an admirer and supporter of Marlowe, hence what he calls the "signature" on the libel of "Tamburlaine". But he also points out that such references in the libel would point fingers at the playwright should an enemy decide to 'frame' him in this way.

[88]Steve Rappaport, Worlds Within Worlds pp. 8-9.

Rappaport goes on to make an important analysis on the insignificance of strangers in causing London's problems in the 1590s. What he says is:

> In 1593 there were 5450 aliens in London and its environs, mostly French and Dutch, only 2.5 per cent more than in 1573. That area's total population, however, increased more than ten times as much between those years, from about 152,000 to 186,000 people, and thus the alien community actually became relatively smaller by the 1590s when strangers amounted to less than 3 per cent of all people living in London. However persuasive their claims, then, it is likely that the 'great hurt of English citizens' which Londoners blamed on aliens was caused instead by economic problems, especially in the city's cloth-related crafts and trade, which began in the early 1560s and for which Dutch, French, and other aliens were not responsible.
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> ...
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> Indeed the fact that the two communities coexisted within the walls throughout the Tudors' reign must be counted among London's most important accomplishments. The deaths of thousands of Protestants and Catholics, royalists and radicals on the continent [sic] are bloody reminders that in the early modern period brutal repression, expulsion, and even slaughter were at times the means adopted for dealing with religious, political, and other minorities. However grudging their acceptance of foreigners and strangers in their midst, Londoners chose a different course.[88]

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[88]Ibid. p. 56 & 60.

This opinion does tend to sidestep the facts that the expulsion of the Jews practically eradicated the possibility of such bloody problems, although the suppression of the large number of Catholic recusants in England with the laws of profession and church attendance was effective, relative to the Continent. In all this it should be remembered that this period of unrest was not so much a 'flash-in-the-pan' as the straw that broke--or at least pulled a muscle in--the camel's back; it was a response to years of frustration.

Finally, we must always remain aware of the importance to this study of contemporary perception of the state of London and England. Palliser says:

> It has become fashionable to write of 'the crisis of the 1590s', and without doubt England suffered severely from warfare, poverty, inflation and famine. Yet actual disorder, when measured by records of crime rather than the hysterical statements of contemporaries, was remarkably slight in comparison with other areas of Europe or with England's own experience fifty years before.[40]

Those people making "hysterical statements" might just act on their beliefs. Future history books will talk of one of many tax decisions made by the British government in the 1980s, the 'community charge'; however insignificantly the phenomenon may be included in those texts, thousands of contemporaries took to the streets in angry response. Despite the wishes of some

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[40]D. M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth p. 28.

historians, it seems, the hysterical sector of society makes history. This modern example of common action is useful also as a comment on the unreliability of sources for gauging the level of unrest at any particular time. The arguable seriousness of the apprentices' 'riot' of 11 June, 1592, is a prime example.

The power of the media, contemporary, retrospective, and proleptic, was in evidence in late sixteenth-century London, as it is now. The poll-tax riot in the London of 1990 was an international news event, its significance being that it was just the initial ignition of a long-smouldering fire. Will the term 'riot', or the issue underlying the unrest be perceived differently in the future, causing historians to make errors in their judgements about the size and effect of the events?[*]

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[*]The CSP Dom 1595-7 records: "Nich. Williamson and others were convicted, 10 May 1594, in the Star Chamber, of riot" (p. 57); Williamson was suspected of Jesuitical sympathies. An apparently quite serious disturbance is given only the label "great stir", when it was reported of the apprentices that "1,800 of them had pulled down the pillories in Cheapside and Leadenhall, and set up a gallows against the door of the Lord Mayor, whom they would hang if he dared come out, but he dared not; and that 3,000 were lying in the fields, with bills and clubs, to rescue the apprentices, if anything were done to them" (27 June, 1595; p. 63). There is a difficult use of two terms in another report that might suggest quite different levels of seriousness in modern thought: "Form of indictment against the apprentices of London, for an attempt to disturb the peace on 29 June, by raising an insurrection in All Saints' parish, Barking, in the ward of the Tower, and for uttering and declaring the same" (my italics, p. 82). The location of this last disturbance is particularly interesting since it is in the heart of London's Jewish quarter. The "uttering and declaring" of grievances is the type of language used in the APC reports of libels; could this be a record of

Maybe the London of the late Elizabethan period was relatively quiet in the European context, but the fragility of London's state was like an hourglass blown too thin in the middle. The walls of containment could any minute break as the inhabiting grains made their way in time through the economic squeeze, through the frustrating constriction they blamed on the foreigners. This ever-present danger kept prodding the Council to insist on its officers' action. Marlowe, whose Tamburlaine it probably was that was mentioned on the libel notice, appeared before the Council on 20 May under charges of heterodoxy; he would die too soon to see one of his plays revived amid the next phase of the unrest. That play, The Jew of Malta; that phase, the Lopez affair.

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the mid-1590s xenophobia being directed against the Jews, who were keeping a low profile after the Lopez case a year earlier, and in a period of renewed interest in the subject of usury?

CHAPTER FOUR, PART TWO: The Jew of Malta and 1594

What I suggested in Chapter Two is that the design of the Elizabethan amphitheatres under study, the Rose and the Globe, helped to determine the final control that the phenomena of gathering at the theatre and of play performance together had on the audience. Despite the promise of returning to the city angry that we saw in the first part of this chapter, the homogenizing effect of the audience-centralization in the Rose is fatal, as is the pre-fabricated design precision of the Theatre, which I will argue helps channel the audience into a single, satisfied union. It is this idea of final audience satisfaction that diminishes suggestions of power and uprising in the plays themselves, and leads to passivity in relation to the perlocutionary stimuli of the performance.

What the plays we are studying point out are scenarios of conflict within multi-racial and multi-theological societies. G. K. Hunter argues that the prejudice against the Jew of Malta is theological and not racial.[1] What should be added

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[1]G. K. Hunter, "The Theology of The Jew of Malta". He extends his distinction to consider the similarity of the case of the stage Moor in "Elizabethans and Foreigners": "The Moor, like the Jew (but with less obvious justification), is seen in primarily religious terms. The epithets that Jonson and Shakespeare apply ('superstitious Moor' and 'irreligious Moor') seem to me the basic ones", p. 51. Jean-Marie Maguin writes, "It is clear that antisemitic statements in the renaissance are inspired by religious rather than racial distrust or hatred". See "Marlowe's Ideological Stance", p. 18; we remember Shylock's use of "ancient grudge" and "hate" in ambivalent, if not overtly race-oriented context. Indeed, Maguin goes on in the same essay to say that "The constant

to this is that the prejudice is theological for the Christians when they are concerned with theology. The highest concern is to convert Jews to Christianity; we remember this obsession in practice with the strategically imposed Domus Conversorum. Any theorem that this discrimination between theological and racial prejudice extended to the play's audience is delivered a blow when we remember that Dr. Lopez was a Jew 'converted' to Christianity. I argued in Chapter One that it was the racial hatred of the Jew Lopez and not of the 'Christian' doctor, that was fired in the case.

The continual references to "rich Jew", "wealthy Jew" and juxtaposition of "dog Jew" and so on is not just the theology of Antonio spitting on Shylock's Jewish gaberdine. It is the envy of what seems to the Christians to be a race with the ability to outstrip financially not only the other citizens, but the gain of whole cities. It is the "stock of Barabbas" that can do this, not because they do not believe in Christ as the Messiah, but because they are of the seed of Abraham:

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exaggeration of the racial features, which spells the play's [The Jew of Malta] necessary style of visual and oral presentation of the main character, is itself a prolonged and powerful act of racist aggression. And it is those features which the audience will mockingly take up among themselves perhaps during, and certainly after, the show", p. 21. There seems to be a certain amount of self-convincing going on. The religious-racial distinction is not often clear when we read or hear words like "devil" being used to descibe a character; our questions of the balance of the two prejudices in the English Renaissance mind are not answered. It is a nice irony that in such a race-sensitive argument, J-M. Maguin talks of Barabas' statements with loose terminology, saying that they "tend to blacken the Jewish image", p. 22.

genetically they have developed an ability for self-interest. Law against usury by Christians is not sufficient excuse to accuse the Jews of becoming rich easily. Freedom to practise usury does not entail success at that occupation--Gerontus has shown us that much.

The title page to the quarto of The Merchant of Venice (1600) reads:

> The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. VVith the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh:

If it is expected that readers of the quarto and spectators at the play will find that Shylock acts with "extreame crueltie", we can only suppose that the audience watching Barabas' acts in 1594, in the throes of recession and the Lopez-court scandal, found them utterly intolerable. If 'prodding' the audience's tendency toward disobedience was on Marlowe's authorial mind, then this ridiculous cruelty of Barabas would counteract the plea for empathy for the anti-hero (in spite of the evident evil humour), and screen completely the association with contemporary London of a subversive suggestion in the final act of The Jew of Malta that was discussed in the first part of this chapter.

It is unfair, of course, to propose intention when the play antedates the political--if not the economic--situation

in which it is being staged.[2] Maybe, then, the timing of the earlier production of The Jew of Malta was just right for the suggestion of common rebellion to get through to the average playgoer. My contention is that by 1594, however, the play has become mere commentary.[3]

Money and the stage Jew II

Barabas' cash and the assassin's reward

Barabas' love for money (the Jew "set on the world"[4]) and the power that wealth should bring is the nexus around which the metamorphosis takes place of the infidel stage villain into the Jew as villain. The 1592 downfall of the villain is related as the 1594 downfall of the Jew, the psychological deterioration of the anti-hero being complemented by the visual stage analogue, the act of 'falling'.

Falling is important in The Jew of Malta. Barabas 'falls' as his money is taken by the Maltese; money falls from Abigail's window to Barabas; Barabas falls from Malta's city walls; and Barabas falls into the cauldron. What I am

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[2]This view supposes the non-revision of the play in 1594. Of course, if we do not follow N. W. Bawcutt in accepting the 1633 text as entirely Marlowe's, we are treating both the 1592 event, and the revival season with the same textual misjudgement.

[3]See Roslyn L. Knutson, "Henslowe's Diary and the Economics of Play Revision for Revival", for the contextualizing of the revival of The Jew of Malta within the general economics of play-runs at the Rose and Newington Butts.

[4]See Edwyn Sandys, appendix B.

introducing here is the dramatic vertical axis: the relationship of falling money and falling people, the interdependence of the Jew's money and his status, and the suggestion of a simple metaphor--the fallen Christ-alternative--that is handed to the audience judging the stage Jew figure.

The connexion between the high and low (putting social, racial, and religious ideology into dramatic representation) must be made. But that connexion is no longer achieved by the anti-hero's subversive ingenuity and action, which could be seen as directed against the generalized city oppressor;* it is now the infiltration of the official point of view into a theatre society that cannot recreate a new anti-English, or anti-monarch, ideology. The play has lost the 1592 suggestion of power, and in 1594 is a retrospective, one view of the villain character: the villain as hell-bound Jew.

The audience satisfaction by means of the unequivocality of the vertical axis' suggestion of English, Protestant Christian justice, denies the lateral dynamism of the play and therefore its infuence back to the city. The sense of finality with the death of the aspiring hero-villain is commented on by Marjorie Garber, who says:

To give this downward trajectory additional

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*If Malta appears to be an irrelevant location, or at least a very distant one for the English audience, then it goes some way toward making the rather simple analogy between the characters' situations and the dramatic action in Malta and that in London less problematic.

> emphasis, Marlowe as dramatist appears to reverse the Augustinian adage that the Lord throws down that He may raise; by contrast Marlowe raises, that he may throw down.[6]

We should see how this works in the text. Marlowe prepares Barabas for his fall by means of a trope of money-obsession.

When he approaches his old house, now a nunnery, in act two, he likens himself to the "...spirits and ghosts that glide by night/About the place where treasure hath been hid" (2. 1. 26-7). His "soul's sole hope" (2. 1. 29) is his daughter but she becomes merely the mechanism whereby he can receive his soul's satisfaction: his treasures.[7] We can be sure that it is his treasure he speaks of and not his daughter when he talks of the most precious thing to him. He says, "And when I die, here shall my spirit walk" (2. 1. 30). It is the treasure that spirits haunt, not loving daughters.[7]

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[6]Marjorie Garber, "Infinite Riches in a Little Room", p. 5.

[7]Godfrey Wettinger writes:

> Marlowe's story of Barabas's hidden hoard ties up excellently with a constant feature of Maltese life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries--that of the search for treasure hidden away in periods of insecurity or religious persecution. Rabbi Abram Safaradi was himself accused by the royal authorities in 1474 of being involved in the illegal search for such wealth, and during the sixteenth century actual licences for the search of treasure trove were issued in 1530, 1537 and 1582. Hoards are known to have been discovered: in 1525 of ca. 13 lbs. weight of Byzantine gold coins, and in 1698 of a substantial amount of Arab ones. In 1604 Don Ambrosius Paci made the following statement before the island's inquisator:
> ["]As canon of the Cathedral church of St. Paul I

Abigail is, Barabas says, the "loadstar" (2. 1. 42) of his life. She lights the "dismal shades" (2. 1. 13) of Malta, a new Exodus for Barabas through a land only of enemies, in search of his promised treasure. Abigail is not an end in herself, then, but like the fiery column that guided the Jews through the desert, and like the star of Bethlehem for the Christians, which guided the pilgrims to Jesus, this star guides Barabas to his treasure. What should be an heroic quest is alien to the Christian audience; what they can see is a Jew manipulating, and what is more important, killing people in the impossible attempt to satiate his lust for money. Barabas' course requires using money-bags and human beings as stepping-stones: Michael Goldman notes that "Not wealth

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> live in a house in the said old town of Notabile. For some years past several old and senior persons of the town have told me on more than one occasion that the house in which I lived had in ancient times belonged to the Jews and that there should therefore be some treasure in it of gold and I came to believe that it was very likely to be correct, because in the said town there had in ancient times been Jews. For which reason last summer, finding myself alone without anything to do I was struck by the desire to make a search in the house and I started digging...["]
> He described how he dug up the corner of a room to the depth of four or five hand spans (ca. forty to fifty inches) without any success, and was then persuaded to make use of a Muslim diviner's powers to discover whether there was any treasure waiting to be found--for which he got into trouble with the Inquisition.

(The Jews of Malta in the Late Middle Ages p. 147-8.) Abram Safaradi was a Jewish physician who moved to Malta at the age of about forty from the nearby island of Gozo, and was salaried by the Maltese government to attend to the sick poor of the islands at no charge, in addition to regular duties. (See Wettinger, pp. 108-9 & 110.)

itself, but a magical concentration of power has ravished Barabas".* In other words, the vision of the unattainable signified has superseded, in Barabas' obsession, the presence of the signifiers.

This may be the case, but what the audience sees, on the most basic level of performance, is his crying out for gold. Neither is Abigail fooled. She loves her father, is shocked by the State's treatment of him, and therefore complies with his plan for recovery of some of his wealth, but she realizes that it is the treasure which is his ultimate love. "Then, father", she says, "here receive thy happiness" (2. 1. 44), and throws down bags of money to him. Barabas calls out:

> O my girl,
> My gold, my fortune, my felicity,
> Strength to my soul, death to mine enemy:
> Welcome, the first beginner of my bliss!
> O Abigail, that I had thee here, too,
> Then my desires were fully satisfied;
> But I will practise thy enlargement thence.
> O girl, O gold, O beauty, O my bliss! <u>Hugs his bags</u>
>
> (2. 1. 47-54)

Again, Barabas shows his daughter to be merely the pleasant path to his perfect happiness. As such, she possesses a certain value, but it is only an additional value to the "bliss" of the gold. The opening "O my girl" becomes

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*Michael Goldman, "Marlowe and the Histrionics of Ravishment", p. 24-5.

only an address before the speech stating that the gold is his life. He found bliss not through spiritual means but through gold, "the first beginner" of his bliss. It is the gold's beauty that he refers to in line 54. Any beauty meant for Abigail is a reference to her ability in getting the gold. It is the putting of gold over love that directs the audience's hatred toward the particular figure of the Jew; and specifically the doctor Lopez, who took the King of Spain's ruby, who was to receive 50,000 crowns' worth of booty for his intended regicide, nay, deicide.*

Abigail's own 'negative capability' for real spiritual concern and material well-being is conflated in Barabas' mind; the treasure falls from the heavenly presence, the "loadstar", the divinely "directed hand" of Abigail, and falls to the base street as base matter in bags. Barabas has become a slave to material temptation. He says to the First Officer in act two:

> **Barabas**. Why should this Turk be dearer than that Moor?
> **First Officer**. Because he is young, and has more qualities.
> **Barabas**. What, hast the philosopher's stone? And thou hast, break my head with it; I'll forgive thee.
>
> (2. 3. 111-114)

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*The CSP Dom 1591-1594 had no hesitation in recording Lopez as "worse than Judas himself" (p. 446). His betrayal of the Queen, by logical progression, was worse than the betrayal of Jesus. The iconographical portrayal of the Queen as goddess-like has been mentioned.

Barabas would expect such an expensive slave to pay back the outlay with impossible returns, the impossible returns of gold from base metal. But then we know that Barabas himself can make riches from "nothing":

> **Barabas**. Of naught is nothing made.
> **First Knight**. From naught at first thou camest to little wealth, from little unto more, from more to most.
>
> (2. 3. 105-107)

Barabas, then, as a slave, has cost himself all his wealth, but he is worth the cost for he himself has the philosopher's stone. He will remake his wealth from this "nothing". But as a slave, subject to material desire, he will not be able to stop his inter-breeding of gold and power and will remain its slave until he falls into the cauldron.[10] He ends up as the "base Jew", an ineffective base stone unable to recreate his world another time because his own original slave, his daughter, is lost (5. 5. 72); his "loadstar" has been extinguished by his own hand, unreplaced by the fickle Ithamore, and he has been caught by the ultimate plan--his own.

The First Knight in the quotation above will go on to blame the Jew's "inherent sin" for making Barabas poor, rather than the law or whim of the Maltese authority. But the Christians in both The Jew of Malta and, as we shall see, The

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[10]See Earl Dachslager, "The Stock of Barabas", for "slave" as definition of the infidel, p. 16.

Merchant of Venice, are good at balancing double-standards. It is traditional to describe spiritual love in terms of physical beauty and precious objects, and it is convenient to turn the metaphor's vehicle into a vehicle for enriching the Christians at the cost of the Jew, because such measures are justified both in ancient theological history and in current Maltese and Venetian law. It is the Christians' reliance on their own self-protecting laws that Shylock attempts to overturn.

The final important piece of falling is that of Barabas himself into the cauldron. In 1594, the revenge against the city is for his loss of wealth. Since we know that Jews with money are dangerous (they can finance Maltese invasions and kill queens), Barabas should not retrieve his money. It must be noted also that his fall was inevitable for the audience, not just because this is "the famous tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta" (my italics), but because Barabas' passage through the play has closely followed the turn of the wheel of Fortune. He enters atop the wheel with gold piled high before him; turns to the bottom with the confiscation of all his wealth; he climbs up again by reacquiring his hidden gold and making a new wealth; he falls again as his murders with Ithamore are discovered in act five, and he is thrown over the walls; he rises again into the middle of the city with the Turks, and becomes governor.

It is this predictability, the repetition compulsion,[11] that makes Barabas' fall now anti-climactic. The suicidal tendency of Barabas' identity that we came across in the first part of this chapter is made more plain here if we identify a contemporary cultural trope:

> To grasp the full import of this notion of repetition as self-fashioning, we must understand that it is set against the culturally dominant notion of repetition as warning or memorial.[12]

This is not only a statement on the ominous repetitious nature of watching Barabas in his strange journey where he appears to be rising, transcending the earthly obstacles in Malta, but is in fact falling further and further down. It is also a true comment on the state of the play as an artefact itself; in other words, the play as a repetitive contribution to the cultural action of the early 1590s.

It seems plausible that the vastly condensed "self-fashioning", suicidal-assassin-figure, that of Abraham, in Selimus, was brought to the public eye in printed form in this year, in recognition of the play 'story' (text or performance) as a contribution to cultural and political history. Abraham, like Ruy Lopez, is:

> a cunning Jew,
> Professing phisicke, and so skill'd therein,

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[11]Stephen Greenblatt, "Marlowe and Renaissance Self-Fashioning", p. 50.

[12]Ibid. p. 51.

> As if he had pow'r over life and death.
> Withall, a man so stout and resolute,
> That he will venture any thing for gold.
> This Jew with some intoxicated drinke,
> Shall poyson Bajazet...
>
> (Selimus G2v; 1684-90)

It is evident, however, that several factors diminish the play's importance as specific historical comment. These factors are the imitation that Selimus is of Tamburlaine, thereby diminishing its own dramatic integrity as an autonomous piece of work; the small role of Abraham (already mentioned); and the fact that many other plays were printed at this time in lieu of performances, which were being interrupted by the plague.

After so many repetitious ups and downs for Barabas, then, comes the "warned" wrong turn of the wheel. Instead of falling he plans a counter-mutiny on behalf of the Maltese. But once on the top of Fortune's wheel the only way is down. The suggestion that Barabas' greed will succeed is ridiculous, and although Marlowe takes the possibility to its furthest straining point, Barabas' fall to the bottom again is certain and final.

This is a rubber stamp of approval for the damnation of the Jew. We might go as far as to say that the play's suggestion from two years earlier of a common uprising against the world of the Nobles and the city authorities has changed to represent the attempted rise of strangers, evil immigrants

in a foreign country, and of their justified death: the play in 1594 is, from this viewpoint, celebratory.

What Michael Goldman says about the meaning of the ending is:

> He [Marlowe] wants the governor to bring the money onstage, but not to hand it over. The governor is thus left holding the bag at the play's end. As he utters his final pious speech, we see him clutching the money to him:
>
> So, march away, and let due praise be given
> Neither to fate nor fortune, but to heaven.
>
> (123-24)
>
> This drives home the satire and lets us see the governor as a mean, paltry version of the villain Barabas.[18]

This intentionalist reading cannot be made in 1594. The fact that the money is in Ferneze's hands and not the Jew's (or Calymath's) is cause for celebration. The alienation of the audience by Barabas, led by the "fiery pillar" (2. 1. 12) of the Exodus, a specific Christian-excluder, is a cause for theological revenge.

The revenge turns the whole execution of Christ 'on its head'. Ferneze's "Jew, we take particularly thine/To save the ruin of a multitude" (1. 1. 96-7) echoes the cause of Jesus' death to save the many; and his "to stain our hands with

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[18]Michael Goldman, "Marlowe and the Histrionics of Ravishment", p. 33.

blood/Is far from us and our profession" (1. 1. 143-4) is easily taken as a direct reference to Pilate's bloody hands.[14] Not only, in the final scene, is the 'dog-Jew' being executed, but he is being killed as an anti-Christ figure: the Christ-alternative, Barab(b)as, has been fused with the Judas figure. This interpretation of what is happening at this climactic point in the play is a dramatic continuance of a traditional image for the killing of Jews, by crucifixion or hanging upside-down, and by placing dogs by their sides (see figs. 4.1A & 4.1B).

It is heaven's will, as far as the audience is concerned, that the Jew's money comes into Christian hands, even if it involves the help of Machiavellian practice.[15] The submission of the English Jews' money to the crown in the Middle Ages, to the Roman Church upon conversion in Italy, and now to Ferneze, is all part of the same long claim concerning the evil nature

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[14]See Luc Borot, "Machiavelli in The Jew of Malta", p. 4, for these observations.

[15]Catherine Minshull notes that "Although Barabas gets all the odium directed in the Elizabethan age against Machiavellians, it is Ferneze who actually implements Machiavelli's code". See "Marlowe's 'Sound Machevil'", p. 42. She then makes the more critical point concerning the playwright's manipulation of the audience: "Marlowe's audience must have watched with tremendous glee as Barabas, the hated and feared Machiavellian monster boiled in the cauldron at the end of the play, and Marlowe must have been equally amused that while Barabas, the seeming Machiavellian boiled, Machiavellianism itself presided over his destruction, unrecognized in the figure of the Governor of Malta", p. 42; "Ignorant of Machiavelli's writings, Marlowe's audience mistook his caricature of a Machiavellian villain for the real thing. The sixteenth-century ban on Machiavelli's works in England had been successful", p. 53.

of the Jew's ill-gotten gains. It is, therefore, a theological, or 'heavenly' statement in itself, that Barabas' money is lost to the Christians.

The comic element of this pattern is also apparent. We might think of the children in the gingerbread house who burned their persecutor, the wicked witch. She must get her come-uppance because she has deceived and entrapped her victims.[18] Indeed the running title in the first quarto of The Merchant of Venice called the play a "comicall historie". What does this idea of comedy do in The Jew of Malta, then? In 1592 and 1594 two different effects would be at work. In 1592 the result would be similar to today's British anti-German war jokes: there is tension in the anthropological inappropriateness of what is being said, but a release of the tension in the understanding that the basis of the joke is in a distant conflict. Barabas, then, is a character whom the Christian London audience would understand as a villain, but would not be personally vexed against--children know they do not like witches but do not meet them, talk with them, and discuss their beliefs; they avoid them.

By 1594 there is a specific target. It is more like the sudden spate of distasteful jokes that appear after a natural or man-made disaster becomes news. These jokes do two things: they target a particular person, people, or place and put it

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[18]J-M. Maguin, op. cit. p. 25, talks of Marlowe's "self-reflexive" sarcasm in the ending of the play.

at fault for the unpleasant event; and secondly, the comedy element avoids the necessity of considering the facts fully and of analyzing the serious consequences of what has happened. Ruy Lopez was the indirect target of The Jew of Malta's joke in its second run. More correctly, the joke shifted from being on 'the villain' to being on 'the Jew', the local evil stranger.

This time there were no gingerbread houses and fairy-tale superficialities. The play was about a Jew who tried to poison Christians and quite correctly was boiled alive for the crime. If Henslowe possessed "j cauderm for the Jewe" at the time of the 1592 run, it would have been a splendid comic device.[17] It seems unlikely that the cauldron would have been so large that a man could not climb out of it, and the scene was probably played farcically. The second time around the audience would have been more aware of two things: a cauldron represented hell in many sixteenth-century images and the Jew was burning in Christian hell for killing Christians. As G.K. Hunter says:

> Barabas' descent into the pit or cauldron has moral meaning as well as stage excitement. Here we have the proper consummation of Barabas as Antichrist, ...A cauldron was, in fact, a traditional image of

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[17]The inventory that includes the cauldron is dated 10 March, 1598 (Diary p. 321), and no writer seems to have taken into account the possibility that this property was not in the company's possession as early as 1592. It could, for instance, have been introduced in 1594, re-executing the hanged Lopez in the old, hell-imitative manner (see following paragraph).

hell.[19]

The audience has already been told of such a character's inevitable fate, with Lucifer in Doctor Faustus who becomes "Prince of Devils" "by aspiring pride and insolence", and tumbles into hell's pit.[19]

Secondly, a statute passed by Henry VIII in 1530 made the offence of poisoning one of high treason, punishable by boiling the offender alive. The law was repealed in 1547 but the fame of such a "very un-English public execution" must have survived long after its demise in practice.[20] What Barabas is being boiled alive for is certainly high treason, twice, and for poisoning of a religious household, the crime for which we have record of an English criminal actually suffering the hideous penalty.[21]

The emphasis on the victim now as specifically Jew-devil is made by Ithamore's exclamatory profession, "O brave, master, I worship your nose for this!" (2. 3. 175.) This is in response to Barabas' promise to teach Ithamore how to enjoy the death of Christians. Ithamore later uses the term "nose" as synecdoche, turning Barabas into simply an unequivocal

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[19]G. K. Hunter, "The Theology of Marlowe's The Jew Of Malta", p. 233-4, and Hunter's plate 28, reproduced in figs. 4.2A, 4.2B, 4.2C, 4.3.

[19]Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus B-Text, W. W. Greg ed., 1. 3. 292 & 293. (Roma Gill ed., 1. 3. 66 & 67.)

[20]Paul H. Kocher, "English Legal History in Marlowe's The Jew of Malta", p. 158.

[21]See Ibid. pp. 156-7.

representation of the Antichrist (4. 1. 23). T. W. Craik has written:

> An important characteristic [for the devil] is an ugly nose, large and misshapen--he swears by his crooked snout in the Newcastle miracle of Noah--and in some interludes the vice ridicules it, saluting him in Like will to Like as "bottel nosed godfather" and "bottle nosed knave," in All for Money as "bottell nosed knave" and in Susanna as "crookte nose knave."...This established tradition is still flourishing in Wily Beguiled (1606), where a character about to impersonate the devil promises:
>
> I'll put me on my great carnation nose
> And wrap me in a rowsing Calveskin suit.
>
> Accordingly, when Ithamore says gleefully in The Jew of Malta:
>
> I have the bravest, gravest, secret,
> subtil, bottle-nos'd knave to my Master,
> that ever Gentleman had,
>
> I think that Marlowe is not only deriding his villain for having a Jewish nose but also condemning him as a devil. The sinister-comic relationship between Barabas and Ithamore certainly recalls the tradition, developed in some of the plays just mentioned, of a vice who both assists and mocks the devil.[22]

Ithamore's double role as the serving and mocking vice-parasite will always have a comic irony about it. It will also be decisive: as Stephen Greenblatt says, "Marlowe invokes

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[22]T. W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude p. 51. For a trans-historical study of the issue of the devil and the Jews, see Joshua Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews.

the motif of the villain-undone-by-his-villainy, but the actual fall of Barabas is brought about in his confidence in Ithamore".[23] In the tension of 1594, Ithamore's last line before his confession of his and Barabas' crimes is, "To undo a Jew is charity, and not sin" (4. 4. 80). Thus Barabas' financial undoing is justified, and the undoing of his life's "stratagem" (5. 5. 83) on the self-built scaffold is an event couched in the righteousness of theological justice.

Contemporary reference to the stage as 'scaffold' should be glanced at with this case in mind. To see The Jew of Malta on the stage was to see a piece of public spectacle on a raised platform. Raised platforms were perhaps more 'neutral' in Elizabethan London than they are today. In other words, the same platform may be used for standing on to announce a proclamation, to sell a product in a market, to put on a play for an audience, or to execute somebody in front of a crowd. In that sense, then, the stage scaffold is an execution scaffold. C. Walter Hodges points out that:

> the evidence is good and plentiful enough to show that the stage-floor of typical street theatre was set level with the tops of the heads of the spectators standing around it, if not a little higher.[24]

The evidence is good and plentiful to show that public execution scaffolds in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-

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[23]Greenblatt, op. cit. p. 52-3.

[24]C. Walter Hodges, The Globe Restored p. 34.

centuries were also generally set at top-of-head height.[25] The point is that the execution scaffold/stage scaffold connexion made 'in the street', before the audience enters the theatre, is a strong one.

In The Jew of Malta Machiavel preaches from a town-square scaffold, proclaiming his doctrine--here we see the technique to transfer the speaker on the public street scaffold into the public theatre and onto its own scaffold; the players use that same stage; the scaffold becomes an execution spectacle. The audience applies the ideas of the mutability of the 'scaffold' (audience galleries also received this name[26]) and finds a kind of angry satisfaction in the play's resolution. The platform had done its job in its several forms and the audience members return to the city, drained of contradiction, and harmless.

The play, then, remains the same. What is a comical come-uppance and suggestion of stranger-"bombasting" in 1592 is a powerful and theologically correct judgement--thus by definition final--in 1594. The place of the stage is to remain static and let the world move around it. It can remain in situ and re-present the world differently as the culture and politics outside the theatre change.

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[25]For an example from a familiar text, see Kunzle, The Early Comic Strip p. 123, for a representation of the scaffold of the Gunpowder Plot executions.

[26]See, for example, E. S. IV, 292: a letter Lord Mayor to Lord Burghley, concerning the "ruyn of all the scaffoldes" at Paris Garden.

I have said that the 'containment' of the theatre made its political messages ineffective in the 'real' world. If the theatre's ideal is to be a complete cosmos, then there is nowhere for its internal machinations to lead: they are necessarily held inside its own boundary. The imperfection of the Rose theatre's design could have allowed interstices for the escape of the theatre-infection, but the audience's _en masse_ narcissism and satisfaction left individuals de-identified and frightened once alone again in the 'real' world.

But there is also another extreme: distance from the theatre makes dramaturgical didacticism effective. While the "alluring sight" of the theatre is in view the London audience may remain relatively inactive, falsely consoled by the view of their temporary reprieve from the city. Away from the theatre, in the provinces, the lessons learned from the travelling players, or from visits to London, must be reinvented in a new context.

With the absence of the stage itself, appropriation and integration of the lessons into everyday life causes the town itself to become the stage of the re-enactments. The dramatic, active cosmos changes hands. The inhabitants become the characters, not of the plays they have seen, but of types of people that are able to use drama to apply their own minds to interactive social processes and situations. Provincial towns without walls are easier to enter, the beginning and end

of the zone of excess being difficult to define;[27] the ethic and antic of 'the play' is put to work, for better or for worse--the provinces are the potential zones for action.

By 'denying' the existence of the theatre in officialdom, or not recognizing this channel for excess, the authorities created more danger. Things hidden are looked for. Things illicit command higher values. Eventually it was the theatregoers' own failure to integrate the lessons from the theatre into London life that prevented civil disturbance during the tough years after 1594; and the theatre structure and placement contributed substantially to that prevention. The success of "distantiation" was a limited one such that the theatre remained a temporary relief, and did not activate a permanent release, from the city.

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[27]Thomas Platter comments frequently on the English custom to have unwalled towns, in Platter's Travels in England. Of Gravesend he says, "like other English towns it is not walled, but open day and night" (p. 152); of Kingston, "as is the custom in England, it is not walled" (p. 198); similarly for Windsor (p. 205).

CHAPTER FIVE: The Blind Beggar of Alexandria; or "Clothes Maketh the Man"

The figure of the Jew returned to the London public stage two years after The Jew of Malta was revived at the Rose. In the interim, however, the London audience was given the imitation of a Jew in the play, The Blind Beggar of Alexandria. The Blind Beggar appears as a "ne" play in Henslowe's Diary on 12 February, 1596, and ran for about a year before leaving the Rose's stage until after the turn of the century.[1] The extant quarto text of 1598 is of a short play, a farcical and loosely-weaved entertainment. It concerns one character making his way to the top by playing four roles in society, all managed through disguise. One of these roles is the rich usurer, Leon, whose Jewish features make him our first contact with what I call the 'Jew-ish' figure, one that became more established in the canon of the London stage in the first half of the seventeenth-century.

As several editors of the play have noted, there is missing text concerning the relationship between Cleanthes (the protagonist's central 'real' character) and Aegiale (his lover); and the rivalry between Cleanthes and Doricles (the

[1]See Henslowe, Diary p. 34.

rival in love) is not developed.[2] What remains is the story of a man with, arguably, no true identity--even the blind beggar of the title is a fraud and disappears. The central player-character ends up as Cleanthes, the gallant military hero, then king.

This version of the play, with its emphasis on the comedy of disguise, seems to have been established as the norm fairly quickly, for by 1598, the first quarto title page read, "The Blinde begger of Alexandria, most pleasantly discoursing his variable humours in disguised shapes full of conceite and pleasure". The cozening "in disguised shapes" was achieved through the cunning use of apparel; we know a count from a king or a Jew from an Alexandrian, through their costume, or apparel.

A person's apparel was an important social statement, concerning the wearer and their rank. Palliser says:

> The apparent paradox is that the very period--from say 1540 to 1640--when society was especially fluid was the time of greatest stress upon order, degree, the Chain of Being, genealogy and the cult of ancestry. Yet it is not really paradoxical. In an age of rapid individual mobility, and of an exceptionally active land market, it was natural

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[2]T. M. Parrott ed., The Plays and Poems of George Chapman (London, 1914); W. W. Greg ed., The Blind Beggar of Alexandria (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1928); Lloyd E. Berry notes in the introduction to his edition of the play that "Neither Parrott nor Greg elaborates on his hypothesis as to the manuscript copy for the printed text" (p. 8). All references are from Berry ed., in Allan Holaday, (general ed.), The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies.

> for concepts of status and deference to be stressed the more.[3]

This is a general statement, but one of the stresses on the official order was revealed in the subjects' dress, and we should look at this to set the performances of The Blind Beggar in a cultural, English context. I say "English" for we shall see that the setting of the play is far less important than it is in the other plays under study. The doctoring of the text has left the play, among other things, as a direct farce about the overturning of the official political order through transgression in apparel.

What makes the display of this concept particularly dangerous is the purpose-success of Cleanthes. We can compare what Peter Hyland has to say about Barabas' disguise:

> In keeping with the ambiguous tone of the play, which prompted T.S. Eliot to call it a 'savage farce,' the general tone of the scene is comic. In order to spy on his slave Ithamore, Barabas disguises himself as a French musician, although the accent given to him is closer to that of the stock stage Italian. His disguise, as disguise frequently does, gives him the position of ironic observer, but all he hears is ill of himself, to the extent that he has to leave because he does not feel well (though this illness may be just a part of his act). The situation is ironic because Barabas in effect becomes the victim of it, and even his plot to poison Ithamore and his

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[3]D. M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth p. 84.

> confederates fails. This perhaps is why the dissembler of tragedy so rarely takes on disguise: he is usually the source of irony, not the butt of it, and cannot afford to risk becoming a comic victim as Barabas does here.[*]

As a 'real' character, Cleanthes can afford to allow his other disguises to backfire; in fact he depends on it. The alternative personas must be got rid of without arousing the investigative concerns of the stage community. Cleanthes therefore causes his disguised characters to be the object of hatred, or at least indifference, and then 'kills' them or has them escape in order to effect the greater plan.

The success of the disguise characters relies on Cleanthes' individual psychological change as well as a public physical change. When we read of the blind beggar's "variable humours", the semantic shifting possible in the word "humours" is overt. It is the chemistry of the man, the humours, that may literally be changed by his changes in apparel.

By creating characters through apparel, who play the victims on Cleanthes' behalf, the real player-character receives no come-uppance. There is no grotesque cauldron-boiling or execution, there is no stripping of his livelihood, nor is there the reduction of him to the state of Mamon's

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[*]Peter Hyland, "Disguise and Renaissance Tragedy", p. 163. Barabas' Italianate accent is significant, as mentioned in chapter three, note 27. It points up another area of confusion, between representation of nationality, and the over-generalization of the foreigner-figure. See The Three Ladies (ll. 1440-1) for the 'tar-brushing' of foreign 'neighbours'.

lunacy that we see in Jack Drum's Entertainment. Pego hints at his ability to undermine all of Cleanthes' work as the new king takes to his throne; and it is the ability for the servant to undermine the master's authority that we see exercised ten years later as Ben Jonson's Mosca fingers Volpone.

What has happened, and what cannot be allowed to happen by the authorities, is that the imaginary creations of character-ranks through apparel have become real. Cleanthes has created characters, including the 'Jew-ish' figure, who are subversive critics of the oppression of an hierarchical society. The disguise characters actually use these social structures (they work apparently within the official codes of dress and rank--the count, for instance, wears a cloak fit for such a man); but, as imitations, disguises, frauds, they are subverting exactly that apparel-by-rank system. What is worse, 'they' (Cleanthes) are doing it successfully. They are acted with, sought after, talked to, slept with, and disposed of, just like real characters, and real human beings. The clothing of the imagination has made the man, or rather the men.

With this success of man-created men in mind, we can consider Steven Mullaney's comment on the significances of the "maisterless men & vagabond persons" who "attend the theatres to "meet together and recreate themselves". He writes that:

In the theater, masterless men could take on a new

> appearance;...Theater played with the social order, representing a cultural and ideological instability whose consequences verged on the apocalyptic[.][5]

Theatre, through its costumed characters, made 'play' with social order. Dressing incorrectly must be stopped because, as Hyland summarizes:

> Disguise is, after all, essentially anarchic, inverting systems and relationships, creating a distance between appearance and reality, turning the world upside down.[6]

English society was in fact divided into twelve ranks in 1533. Henry VIII's act ordered a self-display of subjects' place in the social hierarchy by cut and cloth of apparel.[7] Certain cloths, linings, ruffs, and hose were limited to particular ranks. Members of the English society, then, were made not only to be aware of where they stood on the 'class ladder', but to display it outwardly through costume.

Moreover, this act was not a whim. The sumptuary laws were supported in 1542 and 1555 and Elizabeth was to institute

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[5]Steven Mullaney, The Place of the Stage, p. 51. The Remembrancia note that Mullaney uses about "maisterles men" who "come together & to recreate themselves" is from a letter from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the Privy Council, 28 July, 1597, reprinted E. S. IV, 321-2.

[6]Hyland, op. cit. p. 170.

[7]24 Henry VIII c. 13.

increasingly important proclamations between 1559 and 1597.[9] There is an interesting movement during this time away from statute law and onto a reliance on local enforcement of proclamation orders. The later proclamations:

> differed markedly because they reflected the Queen's disgust at the lack of reform, and thus they (1588, 1597, 1597) dispensed from all the statutory provisions which the proclamations did not repeat. Now regulation was to be on the basis of the proclamation alone, superseding the obselete provisions of the statutes which had not kept up with the fashions.[9]

It is probable that proclamations had some effect, but one of limited time. The issue of proclamations "to enforce" previous ones might be for occasional reasons, such as those concerning the return of the plague in 1592 and 1593, but was often overtly to remind a forgetful population.[10]

The actor on stage dressing in the disguise of a 'Jewish' usurer is particularly interesting. Although Cleanthes identifies Leon for us in words, he would probably have worn

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[9]22 Elizabeth I, H&L II, 454 (1580); 30 Elizabeth I, H&L III, 3 (1588); 39 Elizabeth I, H&L III, 174 (1597); 39 Elizabeth I, H&L III, 179 (1597, "Dispensing Certain Persons from Statutes of Apparel").

[9]Frederic A. Youngs, The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens p. 162.

[10]34 Elizabeth I (1592), H&L III, 108 (adjourning Council Michaelmes term prematurely) & 110 (prohibiting access to court); 35 Elizabeth I (1593), H&L III, 118 (adjourning term), 121 (prohibiting access to court), 125 (limiting Bartholomew Fair), & 128 (relocating term at St, Albans).

some iconic 'Jew-ish' apparel, as I will argue below. The fact of enforced apparel on the Jews of Europe is an important historical basis for using the 'Jew-ish' figure in The Blind Beggar as one of the subverters of apparel law. From the year 826 A.D. we have records of legal impositions on Jews concerning their clothing. This earliest extant record is of the Archbishop of Lyon complaining "about the lavishness of the clothing given to Jewish women by princesses and the wives of courtiers".[11] This is of particular interest to us since the habit of receiving clothing 'above one's rank' from nobility is one that the players of the late sixteenth-century enjoyed.

What is the situation, then, with these Jewish women in the French 'real world', garbed in fine cloth and cut?[12] Clearly they were dangerously close to 'becoming' a higher rank in their appearance and in the respect that they would gain from being favoured by "princesses and the wives of courtiers". Pope Innocent III worried that the indistinguishability of Jewish women from Christians meant that the two religions indulged ignorantly in "accursed

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[11]Alfred Rubens, A History of Jewish Costume p. 80.

[12]Thomas Coryate recalls seeing in a Venice Ghetto synagogue, "many Jewish women, whereof some were as beautiful as ever I saw, and so gorgeous in their apparel, jewels, chaines of gold, and rings adorned with precious stones, that some of our English Countesses do scarce exceede them". Coryat's Crudities i, 372, and see Appendix B.

intercourse".[13] He instigated a system of distinctive dress for Jews, and throughout the thirteenth- and fourteenth-centuries records of laws in Spain, England, Portugal and Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Hungary, and images of Jews under such legal conditions reveal the widespread attempt to control the Jewish population all over Europe through apparel.

The English were aware of these controls very early. Before the expulsion of 1290, we find English paintings (fig. 5.1), drawings and prints (fig. 5.2)[14] and cartoons (fig. 5.3) depicting the Jewish hats and ridiculing the Jews' state in England. Possessed by the devil, they lived as objects propertied to the king. Fig. 5.4 shows an outer garment with a yellow distinctive badge.[15] Sometimes the laws contained subclauses to temper the rules on dress. For instance, a 1412 law of Valladolid stated:

> All Jews and Moors are to wear long robes over their clothes as low as their feet, and are not to wear cloaks; and in all cities, towns and places,

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[13]Rubens, op. cit. p. 81. Rubens is quoting from S. Grayzel, The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 335.

[14]Further drawings, showing the Jew's hat and the tabular badge, are reproduced in Cecil Roth, Essays and Portraits (plates 6, 7, 8, between pp. 82 & 83).

[15]The coloured ring would seem to be the most common form of identity badge. Figs. 5.5A and 5.5B are further examples. Alfred Rubens reproduces documents ordering the wearing of identifiable clothing in A History of Jewish Costume pp. 89 & 96. Notice the patch of cloth on the English Jew in fig. 5.1, which does not seem to conform to any particular shape.

> they are to wear their distinctive red badge. But it is my pleasure, that, to avoid the dangers they might otherwise incur in travelling, they may wear the clothes they now have, as well as in the places they may go to.[16]

It is significant that Moors are included in the law. James Walvin complains of the expulsion order against the black residents of England in 1601, "The arbitrary decision of Elizabeth's government to round up and deport the Negroes" was simplified because the Negroes were more easily identifiable than other nationalities.[17] Walvin's comment seems less credible when we consider the case of the Jews alongside it. The Valladolid law shows that in many ways it was not just literally the difficulty of recognizing particular types of foreigners that concerned the authorities, as the Roman Church had claimed. It was also the need to place those foreigners in a context that was increasingly familiar to the native population as the apparel statutes and proclamations became more frequent and well-policed; to place them in a context of shameful insignia, of impositions upon the strangers for the eyes of the natives.

It was necessary to enforce the clothing law on Moors in Spain to avoid the problems they had experienced in France six hundred years earlier of marginal alien figures usurping high ranks of apparel. Should the imposed appearance of Jews

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[16]Ibid. p. 89.

[17]James Walvin, The Black Presence p. 61.

affect the economy adversely, however, it would be wise to adjust accordingly. In other words, the mercantile skills of the Jews should not be lost by their being prejudiced against in the market-place because of the recognition of enforced apparel. Thus Pope Paul IV, in 1555, "ordered the Jews of the Papal States to wear a green barrette but allowed them to wear a black hat in towns and villages where they were accustomed to trade".[18] It is an endless anthropological, political, and therefore ideological argument whether the apparent leniency of the authority in such law-making as this and the Valladolid law was for the good of the Jews, for the law-issuing body, or for mutual benefit.[19]

The Valladolid law for robes reminds us of figs. 5.4 and 5.5A & B. If I am right in believing the extension of overland trade from England to the Germanic states via Antwerp to be a route for transfer of (anti-) Jewish iconography, then this circular badge was probably more immediately familiar to the London population than the English tabular badge of three hundred years earlier. When Cleanthes, as the Count, says "Now will I turne my gowne to Usurers Cotes" (IX, 42; E4r), it seems probable that such "Cotes" were recognizable to the audience as, in fact, Jewish apparel, be it by a badge or patch on them, or, more probably, by the cut or material of

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[18]Rubens, op. cit., p. 97.

[19]The ineffectiveness of a Venetian Jew's protection when abroad seems to suggest that the 'travelling' clauses were of little value.

the clothing itself.

The "cotes" probably resembled those worn by Gerontus and certainly, if it was actually the same "cote" that was used to dress Barabas on the same stage two years earlier, we are here seeing the careless conflation and confusion of the Jew and the usurer, which develops into a deliberate mechanism of evil attribution as the decade goes on. If this was the case, such a 'sharing' of the identities of the Jew and usurer through apparel (a 're-creation' of the usurer as Jew) would be all the more powerful in an organization where each property, particularly clothing (according to the property lists of Henslowe's Diary), seems to have been assigned carefully to particular characters for their sole use.[20]

Henslowe's Diary records the purchase of "divers thinges" for The Blind Beggar in 1601, in three entries, costing three pounds, 40 shillings, and 10 shillings, and an entry for:

> pd unto the cop(r)e lace man for iiii score ownce of cop(r)e lace at xd & ownce for the manes gowne & a sewte for the blind begger of elex sandria the some of.....iii li xii s 4d.[21]

The main property required for the play would seem to be clothing, and a significant sum spent on provisions supplied by "the litell taylor" and "the cop(r)e lace man" suggests the

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[20]The Diary records for new property for The Jew of Malta suggest that costumes needed replacing. This could be due to their use in other productions; it could also, of course, be due to moths in the wardrobe.

[21]Henslowe, Diary p. 169-70.

concentration on good stage apparel.

The tendency of the Diary, and of the period, to link images or insignia with specific signified objects or people--to make connexions, to apply ideas--is further suggestion that the "Usurers Cotes" are pieces of apparel specifically to be used only by an actor playing the part of a usurer. The "gowne" in the Diary extract quoted above would seem to be for the Count.[22] We see, for instance, in a March 1598 inventory of the Diary, "Item, i Mores cotte" and "Item, Tamberlynes cotte with coper lace".[23] The appropriation of apparel to the realistic, or audience-acceptable, representation of a single character, or type, is strict. We are missing a "Usurer's cotte", but inventories are known to have been lost, and fragments of the Diary have turned up independently of its main body.[24] That a missing one may well contain our elusive entry is confirmed by the appearance in one such separated inventory list of, "faustus Jerkin his clok".[25]

Today we might consider the Elizabethan stage one of controlled dress where we recognize kings by crowns and Romans by togas, and our society outside the theatre one of freer dress allowance. In Elizabethan London, where rank by

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[22]For the "gowne", see The Blind Beggar I, 334 & 336 (B2v) and IX, 42 (E4r).

[23]Henslowe, Diary p. 321.

[24]Ibid. p. 316 & 291-4.

[25]Ibid. p. 293. The inventory is a list of playing apparel in Edward Alleyn's hand, MS at Dulwich.

clothing was increasingly important, the clothing on stage may not have been as significant as clothing outside the theatre-world. The stage may have been a place where the conventions and impositions of clothing were thrust aside.

Henry Peacham's Titus Andronicus illustration, for example, seems to show an alarming variety of costume (fig. 5.6). Even if we accept this picture as a montage of scenes, filling in the selections of the text printed below it in the manuscript, the two halberd carriers on the left suggest an inconsistency of dress type on the stage.[26] One of them wears large-legged Turkish-style trousers, the other a more traditional Elizabethan outfit; and they are led by Titus, who wears Roman garb with laurel crown. Could it be an insignificance of dress on stage that necessitated such

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[26]J. Dover Wilson, in "'Titus Andronicus' on the stage in 1595", Shakespeare Survey 1 (1948) pp. 17-22, and R. A. Foakes, in Illustrations of the English Stage pp. 48-51 provide contrasting arguments on this illustration. Dover Wilson said, over half a century ago, "Without a doubt it is the work of a cunning pen-and-ink artist, who depicts, equally without doubt, what he actually saw at a performance of the play. Nor is it difficult to understand why he selected this particular play and this special moment of it for his picture. The contrast between Aaron and Tamora (obviously played by a blond boy) cried out for black-and-white treatment" (p. 20). Such analyses have become more a matter of doubt, and less one of "obviousness", as Foakes more credibly assesses: "Perhaps all this [inability to connect the picture to a particular scene] helps to explain the scribe's choice of speeches set down as a gloss on the drawing; he could have searched the play in vain looking for a scene which fits the drawing exactly....There is, in fact, no reason to suppose this drawing was made at a staging of the play; it is more likely that it was drawn from recollection afterwards, possibly bringing together into a group separate sketches of individual actors made when watching a performance" (p. 50). See also Andrew Gurr's comment in The Shakespearean Stage p. 182-3.

powerful insignia as the red wig and false nose of the stage Jew? They needed to be different from the other players in a recognizable way; like the yellow or red badges, the stage trappings of the Jew were instantly recognizable, in case the human being was not.

Regulation of the Englishman's apparel (and, after a 1574 proclamation, of women's too) was not only designed to recognize the ranks of the native, then, but to establish a consistency of appearance that would make the Jews with imposed un-English clothing stand out all the more.[27] Our evidence from the Peacham drawing seems to be that the Elizabethan stage provided a dangerously inaccurate representation of the ranks of society that were officially endorsed outside the theatre. The authorities had reason to worry that the audiences were being taught to disrespect the order in society that the authorities had sanctioned.

Peter Hyland usefully confirms a definition of disguise as the changing of appearance and not solely role-playing, such as Hamlet's madness. This argument rejects Muriel Bradbrook's wider definition, and revives Victor Freeburg's analysis of 1915.[28]

Indeed, we see that even when Cleanthes is "the mad brayne Count" (I, 144; A4r), it is not the madness that is the

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[27]16 Elizabeth I (1574), H&L II, 381 (extensive detail).

[28]Hyland, op. cit. p. 161. Muriel Bradbrook, "Shakespeare and the Use of Disguise in Elizabethan Drama", p. 160; Victor O. Freeburg, Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama p. 2.

disguise, but the Count's clothing, his "gowne" (I, 336: B2v), which, he says, "hides my persons forme from beeing knowne" (338). Hamlet, although playing mad, is still recognized as Hamlet. Cleanthes playing 'mad', on the other hand, is recognized only as a new character. The full disguise, and the upset of the conventional order and expectation, works through apparel.

In The Blind Beggar the Jew is used again as part of the subversive catalyst for a plot scheme. As "an idea of energy",[28] he is permanently suggestive of the possibility of transgressing natural or political law. In one of the worst economic years of the late sixteenth-century decades, 1596-7, it seems likely that the lower ranks wore what they could. The tradition of nobles leaving their livery to their servants, for whom it was too fine and often sold the apparel to acting companies, may have led to those recipients taking the risk of wearing the high-ranking clothing.

The issue of the proclamation in 1597 to enforce the apparel laws is corroboration of a general fear of disobedience toward the official social order, and a mark specifically of the importance to the authorities of a person's outward appearance. The centre of representation by outward appearance, the theatre, was therefore watched

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[28]Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Marlowe and Renaissance Self-Fashioning", p. 53.

particularly closely at this time.[30]

Just five months before The Blind Beggar came to the Rose's stage it was being protested that "Stage Plaies" contain:

> "nothing but profane fables, Lascivious matters, cozonning devices, & other unseemly & scurrilous behaviours, which ar so sett forthe, as that they move wholy to imitacion & not to the avoyding of those vyces which they represent, which wee verely think to bee the cheef cause, aswell of many other disorders & lewd demeanors which appeer of late in young people of all degrees, as of the late stirr & mutinous attempt of those fiew apprentices and other servantes, who wee doubt not driew their infection from these & like places".[31]

This is not an unusual complaint, of course, but one which goes some way toward highlighting the specific awareness of the power of outward appearance and of the danger of spectator imitation. The "cozonning" devices in our play can affect

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[30]On 28 July, 1597, the Privy Council ordered "the Curtayne and the Theatre nere to Shorditch...or anie other common playhouse" to be closed for performances and "plucke[d] downe". It was added that the "Justices of Surrey...take the like order for the playhouses in the Banckside, in Southwarke or elswhere in the said county within iii miles of London", APC 1597, 314. The naming of particular theatres north of the river was to change into a concentration onto the south bank. The plucking down order does not seem to have taken force, although plays were ordered to stop for the summer of 1597. On 15 August, 1597 "very seditious and sclanderous matter" in a play on bankside (the mysterious Isle of Dogs) led to the imprisonment of some of the players and writers, APC 1597, 338.

[31]Complaint from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the Privy Council, 13 September, 1595; E. S. IV, 318.

"all degrees" to "imitacion" of Cleanthes' transgression of apparel seemliness, and cause "mutinous" attempt upon the established order. It is perhaps possible to see an added danger in the fact that Cleanthes, a native to the location of the play community, behind a 'Jew-ish' mask, gains a 'home-grown' legitimacy. His rise to the top among his own people is a ripe invitation for imitation by the apprentices and artisans of London against the native upper ranks.[22]

Disguise, as a fully comic and ironic devise, takes to extremes the trope of cultural conflation of rank, through abuse of apparel. Leon is a usurer and therefore is 'Jew-ish'. To be like a Jew one needs to be "botle nosd".[23] It seems certain that here, as in The Jew of Malta, Leon wore a false nose. But here that nose was probably stupendously large. Samathis realizes that Leon is the husband Irus has foretold of and asks Jaquine:

> **Samathis**. What shall I doe Jaquine.
> **Jaquine**. Fayth Mistris take him.
> **Samathis**. Oh but he hath a great nose.
> **Jaquine**. Tis no matter for his nose, for he is rich.
>
> (III, 139-142; C2v)

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[22]The fact that the 'Jew-ish' figure has been taken to the extreme of a stock comic impersonation is strong evidence, I think, that there are several lost plays of the 1580s and early 1590s that figured Jews or Jew-like characters and made them a very recognizable stage figure.

[23]The Blind Beggar VII, 79 (E2r). Chapter seven deals with the Jew's characteristics as features of the devil.

The protest is pathetic while being funny. The idea that Irus can get away with disguising himself as Leon with "a great nose" and then not be recognized without it, or not to have it fall off while cuckolding himself, is preposterous and completely incredible.

This highly improbable set of circumstances can be made a set of impossible circumstances by making the nose larger and more flimsy so that it will fall off and increase the farce. In keeping with the farcical mode, the strings on Leon's nose, beard, or wig, could have been kept visible and even adjusted aside, for the audience, but not the stage characters, to see. This extremity of character signification through apparel that I am supposing is made even funnier when the actor is given barely four lines to change between the apparel of Leon to that of the Count, and six more to change for the part of Irus. The audience seeing him run off stage madly to the line "Ile send the begger/presently for I am now ryding to Corrucus" (IV, 145-6; Dv), and then enter very calmly as Irus, would be in hysterics.[34]

What we have here is a very different use of a Jew-type figure than heretofore. For the 'Jew-ish' figure is put to

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[34]Such comedy provides what Muriel Bradbrook would include as 'disguise', in so far as it provides a partial 'apology' for the sins acted (see note 30, above). In similar fashion to the wicked comedy of The Jew of Malta, the comedy of disguise allows the Jew(-ish) figure's evil to be partially 'cloaked' by laughter.

work as an almost passive stereotype. This is not to say that he does not act, but necessarily he acts only as the facet of the character of Cleanthes. 'Leon' cannot, since he is not a real individual, be acting with self-interest. As a catalyst for the main character, Cleanthes, however, he will destroy the character-idea called Leon. The Jew must always be both destructive and self-destructive. We see this is true of Barabas, Abraham, Shylock and Mamon--Gerontus will always remain our wonderfully enigmatic exception to the rules.

I say the 'Jew-ish' figure is passive because he does nothing more than is expected of a Jew: to lend on usury, to be rich by his trade, and to possess a big nose. Even when Leon attempts to cheat Aristenes out of more money it is simply the apportioning of the appropriate job to the appropriate character. The Count is there to be a fop and to make proud mistakes, thus he kills Doricles; Irus is the holy man and so he hides away; Cleanthes is the strongest and will therefore rule; Leon embodies the Jew and will therefore cheat on usury to become rich.

All the while the audience is aware that there is not really any Jew in the play, just an actor playing a character playing a 'Jew-ish' figure. The reliance on a past tradition of a stage Jew figure means that Leon is not really made the most of, in anti-Jewish terms. This is again how he is passive: he must remain a vehicle for the elevation of Cleathes, and not usurp the principal figure. Leon invites

Samathis (and himself) to her own feast. This begins to suggest the exploitation of the stereotype of the gout-ridden usurer who starves himself at home and eats off others.[22] But once at the feast table, there is no gorging, and the character is curiously 'taken-over' by the underlying operator of this multi-limbed, character-machine. Cleanthes-Leon is calm, "prettie" and "daintie" (III, 105 & 106; C2r), the clothing alone disguising the acts of the real character.

It was during this unsettled couple of years in the middle of the last decade of the sixteenth-century, the time of the first performances of The Blind Beggar, of more bad harvests, and of rising official concern with disobedience as a direct result of the theatres, that the major anti-usury books were being printed. They were returning the minds of the population of London to the reality of the economy; and with the Lopez affair two hard winters behind (though certainly not forgotten), it seems likely that it was largely the renewed concern with this 'judaizing' practice and its effect on the merchant and artisan classes during these lean years that spurred another writer into portraying a Jew and a usurer, in the mercantile setting of Venice, who was designed to argue with the best of the theorists.

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[22]For the usurer and gout, see C. T. Wright, "Some Conventions Regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature", p. 181.

CHAPTER SIX: The Merchant of Venice; or "The Picture-Perfect Trial"

In her introduction to the New Cambridge edition of The Merchant of Venice, M. Mahood says

> [The trial]...scene has an architectural quality to which directors often respond by pyramidal visual effects. It is not perhaps wholly fanciful to relate this to Shylock's scales, a misappropriated emblem of justice.[1]

The apex of the shape rests on the ruling or determining figure and the major parties in the play support the ends of the triangle base. Characters present but not directly involved are placed slightly off the triangular or pyramidal structure. In the theatre today such staging may be aided by scaffolding, sets and staircases. On the 1590s stage such properties were more rare, but Barabas for instance needs to fall from something into the "cawdern" and it seems likely that some moveable structures were used on the stage to raise high-positioned people (we hear of 'pairs' of stairs on stage), and to represent high structures for effects such as we find in act five of The Jew of Malta. The 'arrangement' of the scene on stage inherited much from the developments in two-dimensional art of the Renaissance, and more generally with the dramatic depiction of history.

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[1]William Shakespeare, The Merchant of Venice ed. M. Mahood, "Introduction", p. 37.

In this chapter I want to look at the trial scene in act four as an 'illustration' of 'fairness'. After the blatant misconduct in The Three Ladies, the doubtful dealings in The Jew of Malta, and the 'cozening' in The Blind Beggar, Shakespeare gives to the stage a 'wordy' argument. This argument, we will see, leads to a controlled scene claiming the justification of the ruling city over the Jew, and in doing so predicts the concentration on the strength of the native city as a unit (often against a foreign figure) that we see in the seventeenth century. It also foregrounds the concern with usury, which enjoyed a literary boom during the 1590s and a dramatic one in the seventeenth century. It is this literary, or 'wordy', excursion into the topic that I am emphasizing here. This play moves away somewhat from the mainstream on its contemporary stage by presenting words in action (the text as dynamic force) instead of action in words (the act as message-transmitter; such acts as cheating, killing, usurping, subverting, disguising).

We can look briefly at the woodcut for The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (fig. 6.3), which is not in fact a scene from the play, although it looks stage-like, but is an image derived from a fifteenth-century non-dramatic illustration. Two-dimensional art of the Italian Renaissance and then the English Renaissance was always aware of the motion and staging--the dynamic and dramatic--in a picture, yet it retained a sense of the memorable encapsulated moment,

what Wordsworth called "spots of time". In other words, it froze the 'scene', an effect which suggested dynamism but did not provide it. Elaine Aston and George Savona write that:

> a compositional analogy is to be perceived between stage picture and painting, that stage pictures have been traditionally encoded in terms of the conventions of representation of realist art, and that the processes of decoding learnt for the purpose of 'reading' paintings are applicable equally to the stage picture.[2]

A predecessor of the kind of effect being gained in the Three Lords woodcut is illustrated in figs. 6.1 and 6.2. Giovanni Bellini's altarpieces provide us with contrasting views of a scene, which in turn reveal different aspects of the 'staged' picture presented. The sense of artifice about the figures' poses begins to suggest a stage analogy. Under the influence of his brother-in-law, Mantegna, Bellini chose a 'worm's-eye view' for his 1490 painting. This viewpoint would seem to correspond closely to that of a spectator in the amphitheatre yard, looking toward the stage.

The painter can place his audience in a specific place to emphasize a particular relationship between them and the picture. The playwright, on the other hand, must create his 'picture' through his words, and direction. Once this suggestion of an image has been made, the effect of the characters' positions on stage and what those characters

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[2]Elaine Aston and George Savona, Theatre as Sign-System p. 156.

represent to sections of the audience depends largely on 'viewpoint'. And I argue that the physical viewpoint afforded by placing in the amphitheatre reflects strongly on the psychological and prejudicial viewpoint of each audience member.

In order to be able to see all the 1490 picture the detail must all be packed toward the front of the composition. Not only the views of the groundlings close to the stage are at stake here, but also the members of the audience in an upper gallery. What would it mean to have players hide under a canopy and speak unseen by the high patrons? In the staging I shall propose for the final scene it would be the ducal 'judging' body which would be hidden from view. Would this suggest an independence in the judging ability of the higher-seated patrons, or simply confirm what I shall conclude about the play: that the judge is not necessary, because the audience, controlled by ideology and the precise theatre space, has already judged this scenario through the religious and nationalistic machinations of England?

The figures in the picture plane of the San Giobbe Altarpiece (6.1), at the stage front, are imposing, static figures to the viewer who has been placed below. They are authoritative images. Just as the Madonna must be placed higher than the attendants to invest her with due majesty, so the raising of the whole picture above the spectator's eye-level presents a whole scene of majesty above the world of the

groundling, out of reach physically, distanced psychologically.

By 1505 Bellini had matured and shows us what a higher viewpoint can reveal (fig. 6.2). Our raised viewpoint gives us depth at floor level while still allowing us a view of the ceiling. We are, to put it simply, given the whole picture. Our physically raised viewpoint suggests a spiritual enhancing too, as we are placed on a level with the adorers. We can see how stage-like this painting is, and how the conventions of High-Renaissance Italian painting in general were based around a cult of staged imagery, of occasional artefact, of the historical event portrayed in an enclosed, recreated, illusory-polytechnic environment.

The image is also remarkably static. It is contained by the overt framing of the arches, and appropriately, Bellini has included exit points to the left and right of the picture action. These figures, then, seen from our raised viewpoint, have been enclosed within, and are held by, the space of the domed 'room'; they are absorbed into the composition.

The illusion of containment in the staged space is a further important point to note. This room is an open altar, a lavishly decorated throne-room; but it is open to the outside; it is a piece of architecture solely intended for the moment being shown. On the Elizabethan stage, the architecture (fixed-features) within which the characters are contained remains the same for different situations.

The ability to accept the unchanging background of the amphitheatre as universally mutable setting is helped largely by the way in which the drama of the period writes itself into independent scenes, into blocks of text and event that are placed independently so that one scene does not interfere with another. Yurim Lotman has said that:

> The analogy between painting and theatre was manifested above all in the organization of the spectacle through conspicuously pictorial means of artistic modelling, in that the stage text tended to unfold not as a continuous flux (non 'discrete') imitating the passage of time in the extra-artistic world, but as a whole clearly broken up into single 'stills' organized synchronically, each of which is set within the decor like a picture in a frame.[3]

Keir Elam writes:

> In its more extreme manifestations, the ut pictura spectaculum conceit reduced the actual three dimensions of the stage to something closely resembling the two-dimensionality of a canvas.[4]

Whereas the front figures in the San Giobbe Altarpiece look as though they could walk right out of the frame to the left, and particularly to the right of St. Sebastian, those in the later picture, even if they could leave the frame, would still be behind the pillars at the front, still remain part of the composition's space without invading the spectators'. The

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[3] Keir Elam quotes Lotman, "La scena e la pittura come dispositivi codificatori...", in Lotman and Borisa Uspensky eds., Tipologia della Cultura. (Milan: Bompiani, 1973), 277-91. See Elam, The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama p. 68, and Lotman, p. 278.

[4] Elam (ibid.), p. 68.

lower viewpoint, then, gives features which are cold, hard, individual. The almost straight view 'reveals' the figures less, presenting them as more fused into the whole staged display that cannot be broken up.

The groundlings' viewpoint allows them to be 'separatists' in the sense that they can take the single figure out of the play context and believe them to be an actor, someone imposing themself onto the scene. A higher view promotes the suspension of such disbelief in the actor's character: the actors become characters within the staged setting, as a play, by definition, demands. It may be legitimate to relate this sense of difference to the reaction of the groundlings to citizen comedy, to their 'literal reading' of the offences of satirical portrayal of artisans and apprentices.*

In the light of these analyses, we can review the influence of the staged image in the Three Lords woodcut. Like the 1505 Bellini its viewpoint is almost level and its depth is emphasized by double arches. Because of the height of viewpoint, even when there are only two major characters to be displayed, and when they stand prominently forward, they become locked within the picture. The eye takes in the pair and, following their gazes into the middle of the composition drives between them to survey the faces at the back, which

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*See Jonathan Haynes, "The Elizabethan Audience on Stage", pp. 64-6.

return the stare back to the main figures. This continuous back-and-forth concentration that never leaves the essential staged area is achieved by basic dramatic direction of figure position, stance and facing; this is working in exactly the way blocking would on the stage.

Another painted image with such a stage-like awareness and one illustrating the common bases of structuring two-dimensional and three-dimensional art, of static and mobile forms, as it moved variously from Italy through Europe to England, is Raphael's School of Athens fresco (fig. 6.4). Many paintings would have sufficed for an illustration of dramatic art with triangular or pyramidal compositional structures, but this one also depicts thematic traits directly relevant to the arguments paramount in The Merchant of Venice, and in the Renaissance humanist debate as a whole.

Our viewpoint is good, with the perspective vanishing point located between the two figures-in-one, Plato and Aristotle. Helen Gardner's comments on the fresco are useful:

> A vast perspective space has been created, in which human figures move naturally, without effort--each according to his own intention, as Leonardo might say. The stage setting, so long in preparation, is complete; the Western artist knows now how to produce the drama of man. That this stage-like space is projected onto a two-dimensional surface is the consequence of the union of mathematics with pictorial science, which yields the art of perspective, here mastered completely. The artist's psychological insight has matured along with his

> mastery of the problems of physical representation. Each character in Raphael's School of Athens, like those of Leonardo's Last Supper..., is intended to communicate a mood that reflects his beliefs, and each group is unified by the sharing of its members in the mood.
>
> ...
>
> In the Stanza della Segnatura, Raphael reconciles and harmonizes not only the Platonists and Aristotelians, but paganism and Christianity[.][6]

Parallels of the humanist ideals here depicted with the attempted resolutions in The Merchant trial scene are fairly clear. First, the judging, ducal figure is here split into "the two great opposing camps of Renaissance philosophy", Plato and Aristotle: the balanced scales.[7] They share the apex of the triangle. Like the The Three Lords and Ladies frontispiece, the viewer's eyes centre toward the rear figures despite the larger foreground figures because of the carefully determined viewpoint, and the inward facing suggestions of the two groups of figures in the right and left foreground.

The representation of the trial scene on stage would be set up similarly to define the two sides and the centred judging Duke. The fashion for emblematic images in the late Elizabethan period makes this staging almost a certainty. The longevity of this conception of how the text translates into visual material is apparent not only in modern staging, but

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[6]Helen Gardner, Art Through the Ages p. 612.

[7]Ibid., p. 612.

also in modern artistic representations of the trial scene.[8] Consider, for instance, the centralized composition in the Folger Library relief carving (fig. 6.5).[9] The School of Athens quietly brings together the two schools of philosophy, under the open-skyed structure, under the great Renaissance

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[8]Keith Geary is just one voice in the chorus of dissenters against the simplicity of a two-way interpretation of the argument in the play. He says:

> We must, critics tell us, take sides either with Shylock or with Portia and the Christians, and stand by our choice, for 'How can we [here (sic)] for a moment sympathize with Shylock unless at the same time we indignantly turn, not only against Gratiano, but against Portia, the Duke, and all Venice as well?' The black-and-white judgement that E. E. Stoll's question encourages seems peculiarly inappropriate to a play that argues the falsity of such neat and absolute distinctions. The Merchant of Venice deals in shades of grey and continually raises the problem of appropriate response and judgement, most acutely, of course, in relation to Shylock, who has consistently polarized both audiences' responses and critics' interpretations: diabolical monster or tortured scapegoat? The audience's problem with Shylock is like that of Launcelot Gobbo who, prompted to different courses of action by his conscience and the fiend, puzzles over the 'right' reponse to the Jew. ("The Nature of Portia's Victory", p. 55.)

The quotation is from E. E. Stoll, Shakespeare Studies, p. 318. We must remain aware of the facts of performance. The 'staging' (putting on a platform and putting on a pretence) of a complex argument does not mean that the final outcome is not already determined.

[9]Note also in this image the similarity to the composition of the Three Lords woodcut. In the Folger relief the observer's eye is forced to the centre by the large characters at the edges of the picture, so that we rest for a moment on Portia's image (as substitute judge), before looking back out at Shylock and Antonio. The clenched fist we see on the right hand figure does not seem in keeping with the reserved state of mind of Antonio, but by Shylock's directing of his movement and knife toward him, the identification seems correct.

humanist banner--inherited from the classical Greeks--of being able to hold seemingly irreconcilable thoughts simultaneously and depict them through the art forms and scientific papers in absolutely comparable ways.

The notion of this ability thrilled Keats into writing to his brothers in 1817 that:

> [...] several things dove-tailed in my mind, & at once it struck me, what quality went to form a Man of Achievement especially in Literature & which Shakespeare possessed so enormously--I mean Negative Capability, that is when man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason--Coleridge, for instance, would let go by a fine isolated verisimilitude caught from the Penetralium of mystery, from being incapable of remaining content with half knowledge.[10]

This ability was used by Pythagoras over two thousand years earlier to marry science and art harmoniously; and by Heraclitus to accept "half-knowledge" of the world.[11] It was used by Raphael as he painted this pagan contemplation of the ancient philosophers within the walls of the centre of the Catholic church; and by the Pope who tolerated the significances of the fresco in his "Penetralium"--Orgel writes

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[10]Letter reproduced in Abrams et al. eds., The Norton Anthology of English Literature Vol. 2, p. 862-3.

[11]Heraclitus sits with his head resting on his hand, foreground and centre, in the School of Athens. A pre-Socratic natural philosopher, he believed in the constant transition of things and in natural justice brought about through the law of balanced opposites in the world.

that the fresco reflects the personality of the owner; it is framed only by the structure in which it is painted and that structure is an extention of the person who lives within it.[12] It was used by Portia to temper an apparently unbreakable law; and by Antonio as he held in his mind's balance the justice and injustice of his situation. And by Shakespeare it was "possessed so enormously" as he convinces a visual audience of the simplicity of a two-sided stage battle, while in fact writing the history of an ongoing war caused by generations unable to achieve just this "negative capability", and more simply the inability to see the other side, the alternative argument.

The inability is to reconcile the celestial and terrestrial, the circle and square, the spiritual wish and the physical act. Something of the answer lies in how the argument is constructed. The Renaissance artists found a new structure--not the ancient hemisphere or the octagon/hexagon resolution--that linked the circle and square in a unique way, a practical rather than theoretical way that would work across all genres of artistic representation: this structure was the triangle.

The structure of the Merchant of Venice cries out for a vision of duality, a calming of the multi-sided mêlée we saw in The Jew of Malta. It asks the audience to make a decision

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[12]Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power p. 20; see pp. 20-21 for a brief discussion on the significance of picture frames.

one way or the other, rather than among many options. The side the audience chooses to support is not the issue, however, since they will all choose the same side--that of the Christians. What is important is the route by which that decision is reached.

If John Orrel is right in his belief that the Theatre's prefabrication determined a regularity of structure and certain conformity to Vitruvian-type ideals, then this theatre, in contrast to the Rose, acts as a more passive background to the action. Certainly the 'idea' of the theatre, its placement in the northern suburbs, and the re-congregation of the city crowd, is similar. But a design regularity would provide a pacifying theatre space, one inside which the audience will concern themselves more with words than action; or more precisely, with speech-acts and documented fact more than with physical acts. After all, "at a debate or oration, in the audience's judgment lay half the action".[18]

The Three Ladies of London was a warning for London: a city critique; The Jew of Malta was a warning for the defenders and takers of fortresses: a city critique. The Merchant of Venice, on the other hand, is a warning about justice: a human critique. We should look at how a knowledge or ignorance of the issues involved in the play, and

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[18]Stephen Orgel, op. cit. p. 20. He is talking of Hamlet's soliloquies.

specifically the trial scene compartmentalized the audience into categories of possible response.

These categories do not correspond to the two perception groups of the "two-audience theory", where we simply have a more and a less perceptive section of audience.[14] There is a plebeian-learned audience distinction, but the 'learned' in our division are not finding extra hidden messages in the play that the general throng cannot grasp, but rather are using the words of the play and considering them, using their 'learned' knowledge, to apply the ideas contained in the words to their 'everyday' world and the idea of a generalized 'real life'.

It is legitimate to treat the audience perception of an isolated scene because the Renaissance drama provided a context of pictorial image, of the sequence of self-consciously posed scenes, of static suspension, rather than of dramatic dynamism. To use an appropriate term from physics, the scenes on stage, and on canvas, wood and plaster, possessed potential energy, the ever-present promise of active release of energies.

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[14]Richard Levin says, in "The Two-Audience Theory", p. 272:

> Given this two-audience theory, then, there is no way that we can disprove any ironic reading of any play, no matter how incredible it may seem to us, because our incredulous reaction will simply prove that we belong to the inferior audience that was only supposed to see the play's apparent meaning".

Money and the Stage Jew III

Shylock's Credit

a] The Practical Bond

The most revealing speech in The Merchant of Venice is not what Joseph Papp has called "one of the most eloquent pleas to our sense of common humanity ever uttered on the stage",[18] Shylock's "humanistic rationalisation" of revenge,[19] when he says "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions..." (3. 1. 54-56). Rather, it is a speech in support of his insistence upon the payment of his bond. In this speech he does not resort, as he and the Christians do in several other places, to biblical precedent, arcanely applying theological laws to their own ends. Neither does he return to the pathos-grabbing of the speech above or of the "You call me misbeliever, cutthroat dog,/And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine" (1. 3. 111) speech. Instead he talks in clear, logical terms, backed up by the legal system of Venice, and by the cultural situations he reveals.

The speech is in the fourth act, and is a reply to the Duke's question "How shalt thou hope for mercy, rendering none?" The Christians can self-righteously consider themselves blessed with the 'New Testament' ability to show

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[18]David Bevington ed., The Complete Works of William Shakespeare foreword to The Merchant of Venice (unpaginated).

[19]This is a paraphrase of Maurice Charney, "Jessica's Turquoise Ring and Abigail's Poisoned Porridge", p. 41.

mercy. Shakespeare would reinvestigate the universality and practice of this ability eight years later in Measure for Measure. Shylock's speech here is worth quoting in full:

> What judgement shall I dread, doing no wrong?
> You have among you many a purchased slave,
> Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
> You use in abject and in slavish parts,
> Because you bought them. Shall I say to you,
> "Let them be free, marry them to your heirs!
> Why sweat they under burdens? Let their beds
> Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates
> Be seasoned with such viands"? You will answer,
> "The slaves are ours." So do I answer you:
> The pound of flesh which I demand of him
> Is dearly bought, is mine, and I will have it.
> If you deny me, fie upon your law!
> There is no force in the decrees of Venice.
> I stand for judgement. Answer: shall I have it?
> (4. 1. 88-102)

Shylock is legally "doing no wrong". To take his justification off the legal bookshelves and place it in the midst of contemporary practice, he makes the parallel between his claim for bought flesh and his accuser's unstated claim for purchased bodies. Shylock 'balances' the two sides in the composition of the scene; he aligns himself with the Christians' slaves: they use both him and their slaves like "verie dogges".[17] He does not deny that what is in his mind is revenge. He calls it justice: he "stand[s] for judgement",

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[17]See Edwyn Sandys, A Relation of the State of Religion in Appendix B.

but does not feel a need to hide justified malice. It is a trait learned, after all, "by Christian example" (3. 1. 65-6).

The binary opposition on stage has been aggravated, argues Shylock, by Christian versus Jewish hatred, revenge, and counter-revenge. By working within Venetian law and by revenging "by Christian example" the two sides of the weighted composition are put into even more precise balance. The strictness of Shylock's adherence to the letter of the bond supposes the strictness of the parallel he is making between his owning and treatment of the pound of flesh and the Christians' owning and treatment of their slaves.

But there is another level of parallelism. As well as aligning himself with the slave-owners, Shylock seems paradoxically to be aligning himself with the slaves. He suggests indirectly--and unashamedly--that he is not only now taking his bond, but is doing so "in abject and in slavish" manner. By example from the Christians he fits the treatment to the matter. This seems, at first, to be unbalancing the composition of the argument, but I will show how Shylock brings the slave-owners down to his new level of the "slave".

As I have warned before, we must beware of modern sentiment when considering Shylock's words. Earl Dachslager reminds us:

> The word "slave" of course did not carry the meaning for Elizabethans that it has for modern audiences, nor did it simply mean one who is in bondage. Because the centers and sources of the

> slave trade, as seen, for example, in The Jew of Malta, were the Middle East and Northern Africa, the word essentially connoted a non-Christian, again the infidel.'[18]

For the Elizabethan audience Shylock is not introducing a new aspect of sympathy to the scene, because the slaves are infidels, less-than-men, and women, bought for service. In a moment I talk of the characters as slaves in the sense of 'enslaving', of being in bondage, but here notice the semantic prevalence over the word "slave" that means that Shylock's appeal loses much of its power by being an 'unfaithful' one, contrary to Christianity.

In the beginning of the third act Tubal relates the antics of Jessica and Lorenzo. Shylock's only hope of the continuance of his Jewish blood is lost to the scheming Lorenzo, who becomes hyperbolically the "curse" of the Hebrew nation (3. 1. 79-80). So he puts to the Christians whether they would allow their lineage to be infected by allowing marriage between their heirs and their lessers. Shylock must 'balance' the psychological weight preying on his mind by attacking the Christian minds with thoughts of 'infidel' infection.

Through the analogic argument the defiler of the blood of lineage, Lorenzo, is implicitly labelled 'slave' by Shylock. Lorenzo is just one of the mass of Christians Shylock has

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[18]Earl Dachslager, "The Stock of Barabas", p. 16.

'enslaved'. By owning Antonio's flesh, Shylock makes him slave. By being in debt to Antonio, Bassanio is likewise Shylock's slave, and by condoning the claims for mercy and equity on behalf of Antonio, the Duke--and by implication all of Christendom--is allying himself with the slaves, debasing himself. 'Enslaved' by the Venetian system that determines his hated place as usurer, Shylock will use that system to put Venice into temporary imitative bondage.

Through the law, which the Christians themselves made, a law that demands repayment of debts, a law that does not even covertly or implicitly contain a clause for equity and mercy, but demands legal revenge; indeed, a law straight out of the legal justice of the Old Testament, they have made themselves the slaves to one who knows the use of such law much better than they do. "If you deny me fie upon <u>your</u> law!" (4. 1. 100, my emphasis) Shylock tells them; whichever way the Christians turn their acquired law is insignificant. The Christian law is for mercy and forgiveness, but that law is not relevant here: the decrees of Venice do not demand mercy--fie upon that 'Christian' law. And the Hebrew law of precise judgement is instead laid down by the Christians to be followed by Jew and Christian alike. If the Christians swerve from the letter of that law then "There is no force in the decrees of Venice"--fie upon those laws.

When Portia comes to analyse the situation she perceives that particulars of what may be legally acted by accuser and

accused are determined not in the words existing in the bond document but by that convenient space, what is not written. Assumptions, such as the necessity of blood being spilt in taking the bond, have no force in a law of written precision. Since Shylock has determined to take a pound of flesh Portia confirms that he shall not take "light or heavy" of that weight by "the twentieth part/Of one poor scruple" (4. 1. 326-7).

Certainly Shylock's insistence on precision both allays, and then allows, his own downfall. But it is largely the seemingly random additions of 'acting text' into the unwritten gaps of the bond document that entrap Shylock. It is the act, the practising of the doctrine, and not the text, that Portia is able to manipulate. Shylock is a man of words, a man of fact. He negotiates <u>in scriptis</u> loan deals--he writes down what is agreed upon. Portia lives for the act: there is great staged ceremony in her suitors' attempts for her, and she is disguised now to act a new part. She cannot argue with unchangeable text and so intercepts in the malleable spaces between the textual instruction of what is to happen and the reality of what will actually be seen when that text is acted out.

Herein lies part of the power of performance. Shylock has a strict text that sets up a balanced composition, one that follows artistic, dramatic, and political law. The Duke sits back, able only to see these overt signs that Shylock

does. Portia, on the other hand, understands the subversion of text through performance. This balanced composition can be tilted. Richard Dutton finds a move away from blaming actors to blaming the "poetts" in our period.[18] It is not clear whether this was in ignorance of this part played by 'act-ers' like Portia instead of 'script-ers' like Shylock, or whether Tilney and his men recognized absolutely the cunning writing of "poetts" who left active gaps in text, gaps in which a city is seiged, identity is transformed, houses are burned, and lives are taken.

The text of the play states that Portia is dressed as a man and it is written into the speeches of the other characters that they see her as a man. The action on stage will show that Portia is clearly a woman dressed as a man (or a boy dressed as a woman dressed as a man). The text of the bond states that the pound of flesh will be taken from "nearest his heart" (4. 1. 251). The act itself will show that the quantity of flesh taken will be less than or more than a pound, and that blood will be spilt.

Because of the discrepancy between the text of what is supposed to happen and the visibility of the acts that will occur in the execution of that death-warrant text, Portia is able to provide the missing link in that logical chain. The text for a pound of flesh will require an act of blood for which, in turn--now that the process has been taken out of the

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[18]Richard Dutton, Mastering the Revels p. 96.

Jew's realm of precise text and into Portia's realm of imprecise practice--allows Portia to insist:

> **Portia**. Have by some surgeon, Shylock, on your charge,
> To stop his wounds, lest he do bleed to death.
> **Shylock**. Is it so nominated in the bond?
> **Portia**. It is not so expressed, but what of that?
> 'Twere good you do so much for charity.
> **Shylock**. I cannot find it; 'tis not in the bond.
> (4. 1. 254-259)

The cause and effect chain of acts means that any act that is not fully expressed in the text will leak physical matter, visual substance that will necessitate the imposition or addition of some physicality "not so expressed" in the bond.

The precise, realist, subdued, balanced composition set up in the trial scene begins to falter as the 'expressionism' of Portia is revealed. Observing, yet working around, the rules that have composed the law of Venice, and therefore Shylock's bond, and therefore the nature of the trial scene, Portia begins to 'action-paint', to splash her active colour onto the Shylock-approved 'sober' scene set before us.

Portia's request is still, at this point in the play, beyond Shylock. What determines this exit from the written law into unwritten practice is another Christian ideal, "charity". It cannot be hoped that such a request would have any effect upon Shylock's state of mind or his intention concerning the bond. Rather, Portia is preparing the way for her saving argument: she is playing both prophet and messiah,

the doctor of law working at pointing out the limitation of the old law so that Portia can enter in triumph.

If Shylock will deny the provision of a surgeon because it is not so detailed in the bond, then he cannot argue against Portia's denial of a "jot of blood" (4. 1. 304) for that same reason. By couching her previous judgement on the status of the bond in Christian terms, Portia makes sure that it is impossible for Shylock to accept her request. When she then makes the similar judgement, this time coldly expressing the inadequacy of the bond's written words alone, Shylock has no alternative but to agree to the insufficient law for which he has been arguing all along. Under cover of her abstract art, Portia is confirming the conventional laws that set up the trial in the first place.

"Thyself shalt see the act" says Portia (4. 1. 312), squarely on home territory. Shylock immediately backs down and requests the money. But now the justice of the <u>letters</u> of the law should take over. It is here, after the clever working through of the bond by Portia, that the Christians return that revenge for which Shylock has said they are famous. The new 'unstated' area outside the bond that Portia has opened up becomes a free-for-all, act-judgement centre. Since the punishment for Shylock is not laid down for transgression from the letter of the bond document Portia becomes creative. She invents new text which can easily be put into power by the state. She makes speech-acts that

ensure Shylock's inaction simply in the fact that her text can be enacted without looking to the precision of a written document's text.

Portia revenges. She does not want one drop of Christian blood (4. 1. 307, my emphasis). The punishment: Shylock's "lands and goods/Are by the laws of Venice confiscate/Unto the state of Venice" (4. 1. 308-10); we remember Edwyn Sandys' and Thomas Coryate's lament over the lack of Italian conversions due to the taking of the Jews' goods by the authorities.[20] A new punishment is then added for the discrepancy in the weight of the flesh taken:

> if the scale do turn
> But in the estimation of a hair
> Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.
> (4. 1. 327-329)

But this is not all. Portia uses the fact of Shylock's foreignness to put into practice another law:

> It is enacted in the laws of Venice,
> If it be proved against an alien
> That by direct or indirect attempts
> He seek the life of any citizen,
> The party 'gainst the which he doth contrive
> Shall seize one half his goods; the other half
> Comes to the privy coffer of the state,
> And the offender's life lies in the mercy
> Of the Duke only, 'gainst all other voice.
> (4. 1. 345-353)

The emphases are my own. Portia talks again with the threat

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[20]See Appendix B.

of her speech-acts perlocutionary power, portents of practice to come.

Once the self-binding words of the law have been revealed to contain loop-holes, they can be 'enacted' within those spaces, interpreted to the gain of the dissatisfied party that understands the power of performance. The final lines of the quotation are an insightful questioning of the Venetian Duke's real power (Portia has done the work; the Duke now applies mercy as he sees fit).[21] The written words have been stable, unmalleable, but the spoken words have changed the tack of the whole trial scene. The winds all blowing favourably for Shylock (because unfavourably for Antonio's ships) soon change and his steadfast textual structure is destroyed as it attempts to batten down with analogy and accusation against stronger, arguably not superior, Christian winds.

So now, finally, the spoken word of the Duke will be the act of a Christian, mercy granted to make Shylock "see the difference of our spirit" (4. 1. 365). Mercy is granted to keep Shylock alive so that he can see his world collapse before him; so that, in front of the taunts of the cynical Gratiano, he witnesses his punishment for strictly following the letter of the Venetian Christians' chosen law.

"Since in a mercantile society, social power is derived

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[21]Hakluyt says, "To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory: there is one chosen that ever beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but servant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe hee can doe litle", The Principal Navigations (Glasgow: V, 205; London: II, i, 151).

from money", the Jew's money is highly dangerous to the Christian authorities.[22] The stripping of Shylock's resources is, to the Christian in such a society--and England was increasingly becoming worthy of the label of mercantile nation--necessary for fear of the possibility that:

> as in ritualistic cannibalism, Shylock may hope to magically obtain Antonio's status by having him killed. From a symbolic point of view, as well as in the abstract realm of written law, Shylock is preparing actually to become the Merchant of Venice.[23]

If the duke sits in judgement behind the active Portia and the precise Shylock, we can begin to see a strongly suggested staging of the scene. Like all the images looked at in this chapter, there will be a the dominant dialogue at the front of the stage. For the closer groundlings this will provide the picture of the physical battle. Engaged in the power of the fight, they are given voice by the occasional interpolations of Gratiano. As the Christian side begins to win so his shouts become louder, more frequent. The battle represents more than just this bond, of course; for Gratiano it is the ancient theological feud, and his cynicism feeds the fire of the apprentices who can blame the harsh usurer for

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[22]Camille Pierre Laurent, "Dog, Fiend and Christian, or Shylock's Conversion", p. 16.

[23]Ibid. p. 23. Quoting W. H. Auden, "Brothers and Others", in Richard G. Moulton, Shakespeare as Dramatic Artist (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 226.

helping the dismal economic state in which they find themselves in 1596.

As the yard members hear the wise young lawyer's assistant take apart Shylock's bond, piece-by-piece, it becomes a game, a pantomime of cheering for each stage of the Jew's decline. There is a loss of the sense of humanity, and more specifically of the sense of realistic representation. The groundlings become what I have called 'separatists', and lose the sense of the play-world's context.

Just as the Bellini compositions can separate the figures visible to the eye from a "space without" and from an "everyday space", and suspend the particular adoration event within no other context but its own frame--and the complex ideological implications of that frame's contents--so these members of the audience staring upward are aware only of the trial, of the imminent destruction of the Jew and triumph of the Christian. There is not the retrospective analysis of the play's previous events, events outside this framed scene, of the reasons for those activities; neither is there an extended investigation into the characters' life before the play, into a temporal "space without". One of the Titanic figures must fall, and fall a long way.

The consideration of the 'whole story' is available, however, to those who get 'the whole picture'. Those spectators who are not confronted by the extreme contrast in the foregrounded and rear figures will accept the wider

conflict. The lesser differentiation between emphasis on the characters' physical potency allows the viewer to look to the back of the stage, and to the side; as such, that viewer observes the "everyday space" and conceives of the "space without". This viewer can become part of a 'connective audience': the words that are said are heard, and applied to action outside the staged frame.

However, in The Merchant of Venice, this taking of the words out of the single scene, and into both the "space without" and the "everyday space" is not 'active-revolutionary', as it could have been under the influence of The Jew of Malta. Instead it is a studied critique; the audience on a level with the stage characters, pacified by the regular design of the Theatre, by the clear view, by the 'whole picture', can consider the words on the stage, the words on Shylock's bond page, and the words, stages and performances, and pages outside of this scene, outside of this play, and outside of this theatre. In this sequence of perception there is no innate conflict.

b] The Theoretical Bond

Those in the audience who had read their Miles Mosse (Arraignment and Conviction of Usury, 1595) would not fall into the trap of assuming Usury to be a Jew's sin. They would not necessarily see Shylock as villanous enough to be dealt with as harshly as he is. But we cannot presume to suggest a

radically increased cosmopolitanism in the minds of the theatre-going public in London between 1594 and 1596/7. And it seems certain that the whole audience was expected to, and did, see justice passed in the legal overpowering of Shylock. The 'two sections' of the audience arrive at this conclusion via different ways.

The Mosse readers would be ready to apply representations of usury to their own lives. When Mosse calls the excuse of the usurer that he has no other way to live "miserable" (B2v), he cannot be referring to the Jews of Venice, for whom professions were so severely limited.[24] It seems probable that excuses of historical fact on behalf of Shylock would fall on deaf English ears. When applied to the Jew, then, Miles Mosse is ironically close to the truth when he says "The usurer is such a kind of husbandman who planteth having no

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[24]Simon Luzzatto writes in Discorso Circa il Stato de gl'Hebrei (Venice, 1638) that "The Jews cannot engage in crafts or manufacture, nor can they own real property"; quoted in Pullan, op. cit. p. 159. The trade other than usury for which the Jews were known was dealing in old clothes. Sir Sidney Lee quotes Stow's apparent observation (from a posthumous edition of the Survey) of "a base kind of vermin, or rather as St. Bernard thinks it more convenient to call them 'baptisatos Judaeos', who take themselves to be Christians". This is a description of a contingent of the clothiers and pawnbrokers of Houndsditch in London. (See Sandys (Nv), Appendix B.) The APC (1592-3) records an order on 16 July, 1593 "to suppresse all those that sell olde apparell, a trade greatlie used of late and in no wyse to be suffred in the tyme of the infection" (p. 401). If there were clothier Jews in London and their trade was banned at this time, their situation would seem to have been dire. The link between the infection and the players' acquisition of second-hand clothes is apparent.

ground, & reapeth having no seede" (p. 80; M4v).[23] We remember Barabas becoming wealthy from nothing.

We have seen that the Jew is the villain and theological theory will damn him--the female Jews, on the other hand, are 'gentle'--without giving mitigating historical circumstances a look in. The hypocrisy in this condemnation of the Jewish usurer was rife throughout Europe. We remember the Portuguese, loath to expel a people so useful to trade; or the Italians, courting the Levantine exiles. Mosse gives a number of biblical references against usury (p. 75 ff.; M2r ff.), all of which come from the Old Testament. The Jew who engages in usury, then, according to Mosse's inference, acts against his own faith.

Any belief that the Christian bible (Old Testament and New Testament) made a discrepancy between the condoning of Jews and Christians lending at interest was mistaken. The loophole in the scripture is in the New Testament. In his sixth sermon, Mosse refutes the argument that the New Testament does not condemn usury; the New Testament, he says, misses mention of many "morall lawes" that are taken for granted from the Old Testament to be bad. But this has not stopped Christians 'judaizing'. Mosse notes of usury:

> [T]hough it hath in former time been pleaded against by D. Wilson, concluded against by M. Caesar, and now of later times reproved by M.

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[23]Arabic numeral pagination begins at Cr.

> Turnbull, and examined by M. Smith: yet is it not hetherto thorowly convicted in the consciences of the people, muche lesse put to death and executed as it should.
>
> B4r[28]

So, the close reader of this book or, indeed, the avid listener to the sermons of 1593 contained therein could make the more direct connexion with their own London. Whereas myth among the less educated and xenophobia among the less open-minded would work to execute the evil Jew before his trial, the more contemplative mind could see in this increasingly established stage trope of the usurer-Jew the kind of contemporary comment on London society that was intended in The Three Ladies of London. This does not mean a more sympathetic mind, but one that sees the play-messages in the context of a war and famine-troubled London, not in the context of a cosmopolitan city of humanist tolerance.

It is perhaps not unreasonable to assume a fairly large readership of Mosse's book. He makes the point that his book is printed in London and therefore accessible to the general--and the usurous--public. It is a matter of speculation how many readers could understand and apply some of the book's inferences, as I have done, and how many would simply see it as an unequivocal damnation of usury in all its hurtful forms

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[28]Mosse's references are to: Thomas Wilson, A Discourse upon Usury (1572); Phillip Caesar, A General Discourse Against the Damnable Sect of Usurers (1578); Probably Richard Turnbull, whose surviving work concerns religion; Henry Smith, An Examination of Usurie (1591).

and therefore go no further than playing 'spot the usurer' at the play, condemning the 'great nose' before a fair trial is allowed.[27]

Should an audience member have come into contact with the anonymous The Death of Usury of 1594, they would have been in a position to agree with those shallow-thinking condemners, once they had considered Shylock's dealings with the Antonio-Basssanio partnership. It may be argued that the type of person to read this book , published in Cambridge, would have been one with more of a taste for the boys' companies at inns, or select private occasional performances. During the 1590s, however, the two main boys' companies, the Paul's and the Children of the Chapel, were inactive and their clientele probably resorted to the alternative theatres in the interim.

It seems fairly certain that John Marston saw The Merchant of Venice, probably at the Theatre, before writing Jack Drum's Entertainment for the Paul's boys in 1600. His simplification of the usurer-Jew, with the emphasis not on the intricacies of the usury argument, but on the jealous murderer, might lead us to believe that in fact a serious application of analytical material was better employed in the public theatre than the indoor houses.

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[27]Mosse writes briefly of the execution before trial of usury, ibid. B4r: "...hold it not strange to see, that after The Death of Usurie, published the last yeare by one man, thou hast now the yeare following his Arraignment and Conviction by another. For first many times it falleth out, that malefactors are executed before their examination, Arraignment and Conviction bee published to the world".

The Death of Usury analyses the types of usury that exist, from the foenus naturale and foenus spirituale (the agricultural use of land, and the use of God-given talents and goodness of the heart) to the foenus actuale (the compact bond), a subsection of the foenus politicum. The subsections continue, and as we analyse Shylock's usury bond we cannot help but follow the worst options of the usury 'tree'.[28] In short, Shylock's demand for an assurance in addition to Bassanio's promise to return the loan money, and the bond being written down, show that this Jew is the harshest and most precise of usurers; he is practising the cutting usury condemned universally.

It becomes clear that the Cambridge writer is talking of the usury that is practised among the English Christians, for he makes a comparison with the Jews in general, and reminds the reader of who might be blamed for setting the initial bad example in London. In response to the interrogative section heading we read:

> If our Usurie in money were all one with that of the Jewes, the question were soone answered: for they took after 60. 70. 80. in the 100. It appeares in Graftons Chronicles that about the yeere of our Lord 1264 and in the 47. yeere of the raigne of Henry the 3. King of England, five hundreth Jewes were slaine by the Citizens of London, because one Jewe [sic] would have forced a Christian man to pay

[28]See Appendix A for a diagrammatic analysis of Shylock's bond according to the specifications in The Death of Usury.

> more then two pence for the usurie of twentie shillings the weeke: as for our usurie in money after the rate of 10. in the 100. it comes not to an half-penny a weeke for twentie shillings: and therefore I take it to be the least usurie that is used this day in the land.[29]

It is not clear whether the last clause is ironic, but it seems that with so much interest in the topic of usury there was a serious problem among the London traders, and perhaps also one among the poorer folk who may have borrowed and pawned to survive. The unabated references to, and comparisons of, the usurer with the Jew might suggest the heightened profile of the Jewish community in London. The comparison resurfaces well into the seventeenth century. In a particularly level-headed summary of usury, resigned to the fact that usury is here to stay, Francis Bacon wrote:

> Many have made witty invectives against Usury....That Usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize. That it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a consessum propter duritiem cordis: [a thing allowed on account of the hardness of man's heart:][30]

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[29]Anon., The Death of Usury p. 10 (B4v).

[30]Sir Francis Bacon, "Of Usury", in Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral. See F. G. Selby ed., Bacon's Essays p. 105-6. Bacon was concerned to include this piece in his 1625 edition of the Essays. It was first published in 1597 without the essay on usury. Many writers have mentioned the red-coloured wigs and beards of the usurer and Jew without attempting an explanation for it, beyond mentioning Judas' name. Bacon's use of the word "bonnet" would suggest the kind of hat we see

Of course, the parallelism of this extract is the calling of the usurer "Judaizer", and the usurer being hard of heart: the Jew is therefore by analogy hard of heart. It is this syllogistic fallacy that provided the back-drop for all our plays after The Three Ladies of London.

The well-read patron, then, who has taken the words of the play outside the immediate context, and placed them in a contemporary reflection of the state of London and England in 1596, and who knows the usury theory of the day, would still side with the patron solely led by hate for the Jew, or the one who equates usury with the Jewish infection, still not cleared despite three hundred years of sterilization.

If Shakespeare was attempting to create an apologetic reply to the vicious Jew of Malta with his Jew of Venice, or at least wanted to use the setting of Venice to provide the Jew with a fair trial, neither the printers of the 1598 quarto

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imposed on the Jews in Germany, or the caps of the Italian Jews. These bonnets were for a time red in Italy, as William Thomas tells us, but I can find no connexion to a consistent legal imposition of the colour red in England. It seems more likely that the source lies with the depiction of 'Damnation' in medieval plays and the earlier Elizabethan interludes. In All for Money Judas' "fearfull vizard" may well be intended to be red or orange, to represent the "flames of fire" of the "damned soule". In the 1460(?) play, Wisdom, we see that "Corrupted by Lucifer, Mind becomes Maintenance (the use of power to pervert justice), and leads red-bearded dancers wearing rampant lions on their crests and carrying warders" (see Craik, The Tudor Interlude p. 75). The attribution of ('devil's') horns to the Jew comes from the confusion of the Hebrew word קֶרֶן ("keren"), which means both "ray" (of light) and "horn". It was Moses who came down from Mount Sinai with the second set of tablets of the law, his face radiant (Exodus 34: 29-35).

(who noted Shylock's "extreame crueltie" on the title-page), nor the 'two audiences' at the Theatre, could adopt the setting and agree with that sentiment.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Jack Drum's Entertainment; or "Over-the-Hill"

In the OED we read of "Jack Drum's Entertainment" that it is "a rough reception, turning an unwelcome guest out of doors".[1] In our play, uncited by the OED, this reception is shown by Jack Drum and his community toward Mamon, but is also comically applied to any character who will let themselves be fooled, and that includes Jack Drum himself. In this play Mamon, the old usurer, is in love with the young woman, Katherine. She already has a young lover, however, called Pasquil. Mamon attempts to have Pasquil killed, and poisons Katherine when she refuses to return his amorous advances. Underlying the play is the comedy of attempted sexual liaisons and misplaced trust. Public hatred for the usurer is shown in the burning of Mamon's house and all his goods. He goes mad and is sent to 'Bedlam' for a whipping. Back in the city, Katherine has been cured of Mamon's poison by a wondrous "Juice of hearbes", and the losers in the sexual antics are ridiculed.

In the notes to Richard Simpson's edition of the play we read of the line "Let the Jebusite depart in peace" (Bv):

> By Jebusite, or native of Jerusalem, Jack Drum makes Mamon a Jew. Compare this with the next speech, beginning,--'I, for any Christian,' and with the three facts that (1) Mamon is a usurer, who lends at 'thirty in the hundred'...:[sic] (2)

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[1] OED "drum", entry 3b.

> He is expressly endowed 'with a great nose' (see list of characters, p. 132 and the text, p. 142, l. 208; p. 181, l. 393); and (3) In the treatment he gets at the hands of the dramatist there is a likeness to that meted out to Shylock in the Merchant of Venice....Perhaps the stage popularity of Shakspere's Shylock (1596 or 1597) induced the writer, or writers, of Jack Drum (1601) thus to make Mamon a sort of Shylock.[2]

The definition held as a premiss by Simpson is not accurate; the conclusion, therefore, is not unequivocal. The term "Jebusite" is used by Barabas to describe Lodowick in The Jew of Malta:

> This offspring of Cain, this Jebusite,
> That never tasted of the Passover,
> Nor e'er shall see the land of Canaan,
> Nor our Messias that is yet to come,
> This gentle maggot, Lodowick, I mean[.]
> (2. 3. 303-7)

As Cain murdered his brother, Lodowick will murder Mathias and himself be killed. The "Jebusite" is the rejected one, the outcast. King David dispossessed the Jebusite tribe of

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[2]See The School of Shakspere, vol. 2, p. 208. The note is by J. M. W. Gibbs, who, with F. J. Furnivall, continued editorship of the work after the death of Simpson. The nose references that Gibbs supplies are at B2r and F3v. The ones missed are at C4v, "Ist you must bore my nose"; D4v, "the Usurer made a Tent/Even of his nose"; a second at F3v, "renounce my nose!"; and B2v, "they Masters nose shalbe thy lanthorn and candlelight". All play references are from Q1 (1601).

Canaanites of Jerusalem.[3]

Mamon's nose here certainly is 'real'. Like the Jew of Malta, the actor may be wearing a false nose, but in the fiction of the play that nose is real, unlike Leon's false piece of disguise in The Blind Beggar of Alexandria. In this case the nose might confirm his Jewishness, but there is another feature that becomes important. After the success of Shylock-the-usurer and Barabas-the-devil, it may have been an equally powerful signifier of the devilish Jewish usurer that his body is such as it is. "[T]he yeallow toothd, sunck-eyde, gowtie shankt Usurer Maman" (A2v) is the visible, tangible, bodily existence of what, in The Blind Beggar, was just a nasty joke.

I will go on to show in this chapter that the identification of the character Mamon as a Jew is not so crucial by this date; the conception of the 'Jew-ish' figure, which we saw in the disguise of Leon, is what matters.[4] The figure in this play is, from the outset, exactly what he is billed to be in the list of players at the end of the 1601 quarto. He is Mamon, the money-worshipper; he is the usurer (not a usurer, but the very personification of greed and

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[3]See OED entry for "Jebusite"; it is also a term used to apply generally to the anti-Christian figure, the devil, or more often in the seventeenth-century the Roman Catholic, and the Jesuit.

[4]Many of the illustrative quotations and references concerning the appearance of the usurer in Elizabethan literature appear in Celeste Turner Wright, "Some Conventions Regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature".

usury); it is the more general anti-Christian figure with which the stage community is encumbered.[5] It is this

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[5]There is another play, probably written between The Merchant of Venice and Jack Drum, which suggests the residence of usurer-merchants in London at that time. Further, by making the usurer in the play a Portuguese rather than, say, an Italian, the playwright insinuates a Jewish background. G. K. Hunter writes:

> William Haughton's run-of-the-mill comedy Englishmen for my money: or, a woman will have her will, which he seems to have written for Henslowe about 1598, may be taken as a fair example of stock attitudes (of the more genial kind) to foreigners who tried to live in England. It tells the story of Pisaro, a 'Portingale' usurer-merchant resident in London, whose three daughters are (illogically enough) totally English in outlook. They are wooed one one side by three English gallants, and on the other by three foreigners, a Frenchman, a Dutchman and an Italian. The daughters prefer the English suitors, the father promotes the foreigners; and the plot thus consists of the usual New Comedy type of intrigue and counter-intrigue. In the end the Englishmen (of course) win the girls and the foreigners accept this proof of superiority. (Elizabethans and Foreigners", p. 43.)

Hunter goes on to comment on the foreignness of the suitors as only superficial colouring to the play, and "no part of the moral structure" (p. 44). In his note 8 to page 43 (see p. 247) he writes:

> It is worth while noticing that this 'Portingale' seems to be a Jew, in fact, though the word 'Jew' is never used. He is called 'Signior Bottle-nose' (Hazlitt's Dodsley, x, 522) and elsewhere he is said to have 'a snout/ Able to shadow Paul's, it is so great' (p. 481).

It may well be that, in addition to the influence of the character of Shylock, it is Haughton's method of half-identification--of the introduction of the 'Jew-ish' figure--that we see developed in Jack Drum. If this play was being performed at the Rose in 1588-9, when the Diary ceases to name the plays in performance, it might suggest a taste among the Rose audience for nationalistic plays set against foreign all-comers, keeping the 'Jew-ish' figure as a comedy element, and not a horror piece. Of course, our limited evidence does not allow us to conclude with certainty that the play was successful at the Rose at all. It was printed in 1626 as having "beene divers times Acted with great applause", but this could be the usual marketing phraseology, and almost

generalization, this equating of the 'anti-Christian' deed of usury, and the 'anti-Christian' religious existence of the Jew, that sets us on the path to the ideologically ultimate villain.

Gerontus and Abraham have no domestic history, Leon is invented, and Barabas and Shylock are fathers, the only women in their lives at present being their daughters.[6] Mamon, on the other hand, is old, "over-the-hill" and in love (or in lust) with the young woman, Katherine. The "gentle Jerke of youth"[7] in him is gone, however, leading to the conclusion in a popular song that:

> An old man is a bedful of bones,
> And who can it deny?
> By whom a young wench lies and groans
> For better company.

This song is applied to usurers in later plays; in William Rowley's A Match at Midnight (1633), for instance.[8] And with their age comes their illness. The "bottle-nosed" usurer is often termed a "knave", and we could assume that the Count's diagnosis of Leon, who "is sodainely fallen sicke of a knaves

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certainly a reference to performances later than the period under study.

[6]Portia is a 'man' in confrontation with Shylock, and does not figure in a sexual love relationship with the Jew.

[7]The Blind Beggar III, 76 (Cv).

[8]See William Rowley, A Match at Midnight Act 1, scene 1, in Dodsley, Old English Plays, vol. 13, p. 13.

evill" is talking of the usurer's disease, gout.*

An aspect of the identification of the usurer on the stage that is connected with such a disease is the usurer's appetite. As well as from gout, usurers suffer from dropsy because it represents an insatiability, a greed for something of which they can never get enough. Similarly Jack Drum warns Sir Edward Fortune that his dinner spread is not sufficient for "a yawning usurer" for whom "tis but a bit, a morsell" (Bv). His speech continues into pertinent hyperbole, recalling connections of the usurer's mouth with hell-mouth-like "Jaws"; making topical comment concerning the inefficient struggle in Ireland; providing a stimulus for the audience to apply ideas of usury's ruination of trade; and giving a reminder of Barabas and Lopez, both dangerous Jewish figures subverting the established order:

> if you table him, heele devoure your whole Lordship, hee is a quicksand, a Goodwin, a Gulfe, as hungry as the Jawes of a Jayle, hee will waste

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*The Blind Beggar IV, 117 (C4v). Dropsy is another usurer's illness, and is mentioned later in this chapter. The Count's question to the stage audience, "Which of you are troubled with that disease maisters" (117-8), gives the speech an edge of innuendo; gout was associated in the period with sexual incontinence, which is an abvious ailment for an old man. The tone is reminiscent of Lucio's question, "How now, which of your hips has the most profound sciatica?" Measure for Measure 1. 2. 56. The king of Egypt's (Ptolemy) complete lack of interest in playing on the rhetorical question suggests its inappropriateness for the sober event of the trial going on in scene four. Celeste Turner Wright thoroughly covers these attributes of the usurer, and directing the reader toward her article (op. cit.) would be more profitable than rewriting it here.

> more substance then Ireland souldiers: A Die, a Drabbe, and a paunche-swolne Usurer, devoure whole Monarchies: Let him passe sweete knight, let him passe.
>
> (Bv)

During the second half of the sixteenth century the iconographic and stage figures of usurer, Jew, devil, and beast became confused; at the end of the century, I argue, they became conflated. Almost any vaguely associated disease, vice, or epithet will suffice for this figure on stage in 1600. The usurer as pig, the greedy usurer, returns us once more to suggestions of the Jew. T. W. Craik has said that:

> Cushman's suggestion (The Devil and the Vice, 49) that Satan in Lusty Juventus is dressed as a swine, because Hypocrisy mistakes his voice for "a sowes groaning," is fanciful.[10]

Whether dressed as a swine or not, the devil's groaning like a pig is similar to complaints of the old usurer-Jew's noises. Thomas Lodge, for instance, shows a usurer "grunting sometime for the paine of the stone & strangury".[11]

A direct comparison is made by John Blaxton, when he says of the usurer and the swine, "the one in Furre, th'other in

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[10]T. W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude p. 51, note 3. Citing L. W. Cushman, The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature Before Shakespeare (1900).

[11]Thomas Lodge, Wit's Miserie p. 28 (Cii verso). The chapter title in Lodge is "Incarnate Devils. Of strange and miraculous Devils ingendred by Mammon".

Bristles clad".[12] Robert Tailor even called his usurer "Hog".[13] The pig-Jew connexions take us back to the Judensau broadsheets, and the travelling plays by Hanz Folz. The viciousness of representation reflects a frightening return to medieval anti-Jewish hysteria.

The fur-clad usurer seems to be another double-reference, and a further addition to the medley of derogatory labels. The primary signification is the fox, the cunning cheat.[14] Selimus, the Turk, for instance, partly reveals his status as a cunning infidel, when he says in Selimus that he will "cloath my complots in a foxes skin" (G3r; 1738). The second reference is to a dog, with a tendency to scavenge for food, eat hugely, and bite. Barabas says:

> We Jews can fawn like spaniels when we please,
> And when we grin, we bite; yet are our looks
> As innocent and harmless as a lamb's.
> (The Jew of Malta 2. 3. 20-23)

And Shylock in The Merchant of Venice:

> Thou called'st me dog before thou hadst a cause,

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[12]John Blaxton, in a poem prefixed to The English Usurer (1634), A2r. This is a sixteen-line poem in heroic couplets comparing usurers with swine. It is entitled "The Illustration" and faces a diptych picture on the verso of leaf A. The picture shows a usurer at a table with his money, and in the accompanying frame two pigs revel in "the usurers desire".

[13]Robert Tailor, The Hogge hath Lost his Pearle (1613). See also note 6 above, where the usurer possesses a "snout".

[14]See C. T. Wright, op. cit. pp. 189-191 for the usurer's fur-lined clothing. See also fig. 5.4 for a Jew's fur hat.

But since I am a dog, beware my fangs.

(3. 3. 6-7)[15]

Barabas' words are crucial because they fashion the dog-like character not in usurer's skin, as such, but in the Jew's as a race. When C. T. Wright notes how the appellations for usurers are accelerated ad absurdum:

> The tradition, however, goes a step further: we find fur bedecking even the wretched clothes of the misers lately mentioned. As in the case of gout, the convention ceases to have any relation to facts: the typical usurer starves himself, wears the hangman's wardrobe, but retains the gout and fur of a self-indulgent alderman.[16]

We can detect more than a passing similarity between this myth-building or 'monster-making' of the usurer, and that of the Jews in Europe in the period.

Nowhere in The Blind Beggar is the actuality of Leon's Jewishness confirmed by him being called what has become by the end of the 1590s the usual epithet for infidel strangers, a "devil". It is a significant omission. Ithamore uses a long spoon to eat with his long-nosed devil-master in The Jew of Malta; in the closing scene of The Blind Beggar Bebritius says to Elimine as she chooses Porus, the devil-black king of Ethiopia, for her husband, "Out on thee foolish woman, thou

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[15] "Innocent looks" have not been accredited the Jew on the stage that we know. See also The Merchant of Venice 1. 3. 110-127 for five canine references in a single speech.

[16] C. T. Wright, op. cit. pp. 190-1.

hast chose a devill" (X, 161; F3v); and Leon, as fictional disguise, does not warrant this full appellation of horror.

Early in act two of Jack Drum, on the other hand, we see Flawne (Mamon's servant) enter, "bearing a light before Mamon." He says "Now, me thinks I hold the candle to the divel" (C3v), and Katherine complains to Pasquil that she has been poisoned by "the divel in the shape of Mamon" (F2v). During the decade of plays, we have learned that the audience is often enlightened by the words of the servant. As usual, Mamon's servant serves him while hating him: he says, "Would the day and thy neck were broke togither" (C3r). Most revealingly, in The Merchant of Venice, Lancelot weighs up his thoughts about leaving Shylock's service, inevitably concluding:

> To be ruled by my conscience I should stay with the Jew my master who, God bless the mark, is a kind of devil;...certainly the Jew is the very devil incarnation.
>
> 2. 2. 20-2; 24-5)

The overt similarities in several of Mamon's characteristics and self-expression to Shakespeare's Jew seems to be a firm indication of Marston's intention to put a Jew of his own on the stage.

If we do accept that Mamon is in fact a Jew, we have another question to ask ourselves about the play's 'Jew-ish' character: why is he never directly called a Jew? I think there are two reasons outside of the play text's machinations

that determine this oddity. By the "women's year" (the leap year) of 1600, the stock dress of the 'Jew-ish' usurer would be instantly recognizable. Secondly, the audience concern is no longer to identify a Jew, but to see the composite villain usurer which necessarily includes Jewish features. In other words, we could say that The Merchant of Venice ended the public theatres' 'Jew' plays. What we have now, in Jack Drum, ultimately, is not a Jew, but the fully-formed 'Jew-ish' figure; recognizable methods of Christian revenge against all the facets of the villain are in evidence.

The precious bonds of Mamon as the anti-Christian usurer are shredded. The effective poisons of Abraham and Barabas become in Mamon, as the anti-Christian poisoner, horrific spite, which is countered by the Arcadian antidote of "A skilfull Beldame with the Juice of hearbes" (H4r). The servant does not remain impartial and he will betray his anti-Christian Jew master; Flawne revels in the privilege of listing Mamon's bad fortunes, all working to "laie him up in Bedlame, commit him to the mercie of the whip, the entertainment of bread and water, and the sting of a Usurers Conscience for ever" (F3v).[17]

"Jew" had become something of a bad word in the theatre by the turn of the century; not just a term of abuse, but one that conjured up, for the Christian audience, diabolical

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[17]Pego plays the exception to the role of the betraying servant in The Blind Beggar of Alexandria because his master is Cleanthes, and not Leon, who does not exist.

images. Mamon exists in the play solely to be silenced. Marston's Jonsonian lack of sympathy for this character is a reflection of the times, and his audience. There are no more excuses and apologies for 'Jew-ish' acts.[19] Once more Miles Mosse's comment on "the execution of malefactors" can easily be applied to those stage personifications of the vice, the Jew.[19]

The strength of character we witnessed on Shylock's side does not surface for Mamon. He is the victim of unrequited love, but instead of killing himself in good traditional style--that is Katherine and Pasquil's example--he becomes the assassin (Abraham returns), the lecher (the infidel/ Mediterranean/ Turk influence returns), the old seducer (the medieval Jew as ritual child-murderer returns), the reincarnation of the idea of Leon, but harsher--the idea has become actuality. The Jew figure has, in this play, become fully the devil-possessed 'Jew-ish' icon of Christian 'anti-infidelity'. The figure is an effective sight of horror because, as Nathaniel Hawthorne has noted, "The fiend in his own shape is less hideous than when he rages in the breast of man".[20]

Back in the indoor theatre, probably the Paul's boys'

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[19]See Morse S. Allen, The Satire of John Marston p. 36, for a comment on the Jonsonian link.

[19]See above, Chapter Six, note 27.

[20]Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Young Goodman Brown" (1835), p. 338.

singing school, the audience had probably become familiar with Shylock, enduring the outdoor theatres' "stench of Garlicke" for the sake of a play, while their favourite companies were inactive.[21] The Merchant of Venice had probably played for three seasons at the Theatre, and by 1600 moved south of the River.[22] The audience no longer needed more than one line to tell them the type of villain that they were dealing with. The point now was to see the Christians beat the devil-Jew figure.

In an episode that treats Mamon like the other immigrants of London should be treated (according to Lincoln and the crowd in Sir Thomas More[23]), Flawne tells his master:

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[21]The quotation is from Jack Drum H3v. See E. S. IV, 21 for reference to Jack Drum, Paul's boys, and playing date, location, and repertoire.

[22]A division of social types between the theatres seems to have taken place at this time; not only between the public and private theatres, but also between the south bank and the northern suburbs. Andrew Gurr writes that "It is probably significant of the divergence in taste and fashion that after 1600 (or to be precise, after Kempe left the Chamberlain's Men in 1599) the only playhouses that were named as presenting jigs were the three to the north of the city, the Fortune, Curtain and Red Bull. These were the playhouses covered by the Middlesex County Order of 1612 suppressing jigs" (The Shakespearean Stage p. 159). In his later book, Playgoing in Shakespeare's London, he returns to the point: "What between 1594 and 1599 appears to have been a homogeneous, all-inclusive social range from gallants to grooms and from citizens' wives to whores, in the next years quickly became a stratified social scale divided amongst different playhouses. The northern playhouses then supplied the wants of the lowest social levels, and went on in the same way for forty years. The Globe players and the boy companies aspired higher", p. 153.

[23]See above, Chapter Four, Part One, p.150.

> Your house with all the furniture is burnt, not a ragge left, the people stand warming their handes at the fire, and laugh at your miserie.
>
> (F3v)

The relation of this act emphasizes the foreignness of Mamon, but also suggests his Jewishness. The final repose of the Jew, his house, is gone. The expelled Jews of Venice lost their houses to Christian takers; the homes of the London Jews were their synagogues, their holy centres, only domains safe from the Christian terror. From "The Prophanation of the Host", where the "judensynagog" was torn down and replaced with a Christian church, to Barabas' house, which was turned into a Christian convent, it is the final invasion of the Jew's life, the final destruction of his world within worlds.[24]

The Venetians had forced the Jews to build the Casa dei Catacumeni, the great house of conversion where all Jews were compelled to attend.[25] In the middle of the Ghetto, their own world, the Jews were fed Christianity. The ongoing revenge on the Jew is to take his home. We remember Shylock's far-reaching complaint in response to the Duke's 'merciful' judgement:

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[24]In 1215, John Stow tells us, the walls and gates of London that were wrecked by civil war were repaired "with the stones taken from the Jewes broken houses, namely, Aeldgate being then most ruinous" (I, 30). The homes of the Jews are again 'converted' into the very structures that hold them in subjection.

[25]See Poul Borchsenius, Behind the Wall p. 94.

> Nay, take my life and all, pardon not that.
> You take my house when you do take the prop
> That doth sustain my house; you take my life
> When you do take the means whereby I live[.]
> (4. 1. 371-4)

The portrayal of this trope in the plays of the late Elizabethan stage is one example of the deep and ancient historical influence on the texts, the performance, and audience reception of Jewish and 'Jew-ish' characters on the public theatre stages, and the way in which this box-office success was transferred to the indoor arena. We remember the OED definition: Mamon receives 'Jack Drum's Entertainment' indeed.

The big actions of the Jewish figures on the outdoor stages have become contained evils. Marston's new audience is given a digest of the past twenty years. The staging of the Jew by the London theatres developed the introduction of the Jew and usurer figures in the early Tudor interludes, and of devils and Satan in medieval plays. Extant texts suggest that, by the turn of the century, these developments were "over-the-hill", they had passed their full fruition, reached in about 1593-6.

Stereotyping occurs once an over-familiarity with a particular portrayal of the object in question is gained, and by 1600 Marston was suturing all the strands of the Jew-usurer-devil figure to present to the 'discerning' indoor audience. By doing so, the figure is no longer a potent

contributor to London's cultural dynamic (the 'action' of the city), but a contained, punished figure. Mamon ends up in Bethlem Hospital, another 'world' of its own,[28] where the residents lose sense of their identity and place in space and time. The Jew has been eradicated: he is whipped outside the walls of the 'Christian' city of London.

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[28]Compare Steven Mullaney's analogy of the lazar-houses of London, and the position of the 'outcast', in chapter two of The Place of the Stage.

CONCLUSION

What we see happening to the Jewish figure on the stage in the closing two decades of the sixteenth century is the product of a seemingly paradoxical mix of the London playgoers increasing social awareness, but decreasing willingness to accept the Jewish identification. The sight of a Jew in London became possible in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Spanish and the Portuguese Inquisitions saw the immigration to England both of Jewish exiles and Protestant escapees reach what was, for the London apprentices, frightening levels.

Native reaction to the historical state of England, both economic and political, was evident from the printing presses, through the streets and fields, to the stage. Such a reaction needed a manifesto if it was to win support for its causes, and what is more crucial, action from its supporters. One significant section of the stage manifesto was the use of the Jewish figure.

After the condemnation of London's Usury in The Three Ladies of London, our limited evidence suggests that the stage followed several major policies, three of which I have been highlighting in this thesis. The first is that the 'blame' for the 'judaizing' tendency, the damage to trade, and by implication, the corruption of London's youth, is placed more and more squarely on the Jew both as infidel non-believer and also--against the trend of current academic thought--as racial

outcast. Secondly, the stage writers (consciously, it seems to me) began confusing the figures of the Jew and the usurer, to create a new figure of horror to which further more general attributes could be applied, such as the lustful (or Mammon-driven) murderer. Thirdly, this massive conglomerated figure of theological and racial evil was used as a spur to action. The Jewish figure, and the 'Jew-ish' figure could both be used to perpetrate and perpetuate myths of the damned and ugly Jew within the context of a critique of London specifically, and the states of religion (Christendom), cosmopolitanism and anthropologism generally.

I have pointed out in this thesis how, even under circumstances of extreme violence and evil, the Jew figure could win audience empathy and cause a reaction. This reaction is one which, on a basic level, questions the justification of unequivocal authority; on more complex levels, it attempts to determine ways around, under and above the ruling ideology, subversive ways of denying the existence and strictures of the hierarchical social and political structures, which were so important to maintaining the relatively stable 'society-in-crisis' that England--and the capital city in particular--was. This call from the stage for reaction peaked with the performances of The Jew of Malta in 1592-3, and in these years London saw serious anti-alien disturbances, and also the collaborative writing of the play, Sir Thomas More, which, as far as we know, did not reach the

stage in the period due to the dangerous likelihood of it aggravating the anti-alien situation in the capital city.

As the century came to a close, following the mid-1590s famine and resurgence of unrest both in the city and the provinces, the Jew on stage encouraged general condemnation of the Jew-usurer figure itself as economy-wasting and soul-damaging, thus drawing attention away from the evil city. Although the harshness of Shylock's Venice and Mamon's London is overt, the Jewish and 'Jew-ish' figures on their contemporary stages were undoubtedly seen as evil beyond any actions of the Christians involved.

We should remain constantly aware that revivals and extended runs of plays meant that the chronological frame in which I have presented these plays becomes more and more distorted as we approach the end of the century. One play does not finish just because another begins performance. Hence the imitation called Leon, the very real Jew called Shylock, and the hateful Mamon--three very different aspects of the Jewish figure--could all have appeared on London theatre stages concurrently. This, not surprisingly, complicates any attempt to identify individual traits among the London playgoers concerning their attitudes to Jews and strangers.

There are, however, several significant identifiable pivotal points during the period, beginning with the appearance of the pleasant character of Gerontus; the sight on

stage of the heinously wonderful Barabas is the second; then the 1593 anti-alien disturbances; the Lopez affair of 1593-4; the against-the-grain legitimacy of a Jew's argument for his living and his hatred of the Christians with Shylock in 1596; and finally the 'elimination' of the Jew-usurer in Jack Drum's Entertainment, which heralds a new age of the city of London, Jew-less but usurer-full.

The Jacobean city-comedy would take the tenets of Marston's farce, and of the The Three Ladies of London critique, and thrust them into the sordid, self-deprecating, comic taste of the seventeenth-century. The Stuart succession (the 'imposition' of the Scottish king) probably intensified an already-begun concentration on the study of the identity of the native, the Londoner; the major figures of usury on stage, therefore, were London's own 'Jew-ish' figures--reinventions of the character of London's Usury with vague 'Jew-ish' attributes. From Middleton's Quomodo in Michaelmas Term (1603) to Shirley's Rawbone in The Wedding (1626); and from the the time of the highly influential non-dramatic work of Thomas Adams' Diseases of the Soule (1616) to John Blaxton's The English Usurer (1634), the topic remained fascinating and commercial. This harsh comedy was fashionable for the first four decades of the seventeenth century. Then came the Civil War and the Interregnum. Then came the double Restoration, of the monarchy, but before that, of the right of the Jews to live in England.

[APPENDIX A]

1. The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London

As a play The Three Lords is free from that vein of satire which marks The Three Ladies. By itself the play lacks individuality of its own; only by a continual reference to its predecessor can its true import be gauged.[1]

References to the death of Tarlton (C1r) which took place on September 3, 1588, combined with those to the Armada which invaded England in July 1588, enable us to determine with a fair measure of certainty the date of composition of The Three Lords as between July-September 1588. The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on July 31, 1590.[2]

The appearance of The Three Lords in 1588 was almost definitely accompanied by the revision and revival of The Three Ladies in the same year, and this is proved by the change in the number of years since when Peter's Pence was abolished from '26. yeares' ago in the first quarto to '33. yeares' ago

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[1]The Three Ladies ed. Mithal, "Intro.", p. xxv.

[2]Ibid. p. xxiii. The dating conclusion is odd. Surely the references to Tarlton's death, if they were part of the original text, date the play later than September, 1588, and not between July and September. Mithal continues, "If portions relating to Tarlton were inserted after his death they would indicate how authors used with alacrity such contemporary events as were likely to evoke interest". The later addition of this material is the only explanation for dating the play earlier than September, 1588.

in the second.[25]

If Robert Wilson was still with the Queen's men in 1588-9, then this 'double-bill' could have begun at the Theatre.[26] If the Peter's Pence change indicates performance of the plays, then this is further support for the probability that Robert Wilson took The Three Ladies to the Queen's men with him in 1583, and performed it that winter at the Theatre. Although Wilson does not appear in a 1588 list of the Queen's men it is by no means a full list.[27]

H. S. D. Mithal's insistence that "The two posts to one of which Fraud is tied in the very last scene of The Three Lords and the other which Simplicity actually 'all to burnes' could not have been an integral part of the stage" is understandable.[28] The complete burning of temporary posts at all performances might lead to several difficulties, however, with getting the fire started, and stopping it once it has got going.

The stage direction reads, "Bind Fraud, blind Simplicity, turne him thrise about, set his face towards the contrarie post, at which he runnes, and all to burnes it" (ll. 2299-2300; I4r). There is no direction to place posts on the stage at an earlier point. The assumptive way in which the direction indicates "the contrarie post" indicates its permanent existence, and also its similarity to the post to which Fraud is tied.

Simplicity is blindfolded and will need to occupy the stage-audience with fire-branding while Fraud escapes. The

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[25]Ibid. p. xxiv.

[26]Marphoreas (pseud.), Martin's Month's Mind mentions "the Theater of Lanam and his fellows".

[27]E. S. II, 107.

[28]The Three Ladies ed. Mithal, p. 215.

stage direction instructs:

> Dis. standing behind Fraud, unbindes him, and whiles all the rest behold Simp. they two slip away.
>
> (ll. 2301-2; I4r)

Simplicity has been instructed by Pleasure to charge "thy light against his lips and so (if thou canst) burne out his tongue" (ll.2291-2; I4r). Simplicity may be thrusting the torch at the pillar at mouth-height; "burnes it" may mean "scalding" or "branding" by Simplicity's actions of thrusting the torch. Despite the meaning of "all to" as "wholly, completely, utterly. soundly",[7] this method would occupy the stage audience and save the post.

I suggest this possible interpretation of stage business because it would place the revival of The Three Ladies at a public amphitheatre with stage posts. When the Admiral's men moved from the Theatre to their new Rose theatre in 1591, it is possible that Wilson joined them, and this might help explain (though not entirely satisfactorily) his absence from the Queen's men as early as 1588. Since our next solid record of Wilson connected to a company or theatre, however, is not until an entry in Henslowe's Diary in 1598,[8] we might accept at present the existence of a dramatic 'dark' period, through which Mithal for one has attempted to find glimmers of biographical documentary evidence.[9]

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[7] O. E. D. "All", entry C. 15.

[8] Philip Henslowe, Diary p. 88 & pp 90 ff.

[9] The Three Ladies ed. Mithal, "Introduction", p. lxxx-lxxxv. There are other pointers concerning Wilson's career in this period. Robert Wilson's The Cobbler's Prophesy was entered in the Stationers' Register on 8 June, 1594; Chambers states that "The general character of this play, with its reference (i. 36) to an audience who 'sit and see' and its comfits cast, suggests the Court rather than the popular stage" (E. S. III, 516). Chambers also suggests that "at or before the virtual break-up of the Queen's men in the plague

What does seem fairly certain, however, is that the revived The Three Ladies with The Three Lords were playing at a public London theatre for a significant period at the end of the 1580s, and from the fact of the printing of the second quarto of The Three Ladies in 1592, the combination may well have enjoyed popularity up to that date.

2. The State of the Text of The Blind Beggar of Alexandria

What was it that caused the cutting of some of the most serious parts of the text? T. M. Parrott has suggested that the 1598 text was taken from a manuscript stage copy, but W. W. Greg and later Lloyd Berry sit on the side of the reported text. If the text is a stage copy then we have to ask the question why the cuts were made to leave the farcical quarto text? If it is a memorial reconstruction we can try to console ourselves by judging the reporter to have been the actor playing Irus or Pego, remembering all those changes of character, but not more of the development of the Doricles character. But this 'safety net' conclusion is not good enough.[10] Extant 'bad' memorial texts such as the 1603 quarto of Hamlet suggest that forgotten speeches were at least hammered into place, however roughly, in order to make performance sense of the basic material remembered.

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of 1592-3, Wilson gave up acting, and devoted himself to writing, and occasional extemporizing on themes" (E. S. II, 349). This conjecture would support the probable attribution of the initials R. W. to the 1591 pamphlet, Martin Mar-sixtus. Suggestions of Wilson's death in 1593 and the 1598 and later Robert Wilson being a younger playwright are rejected by Chambers.

[10]The development of Cleanthes' character in the serious (lost) text might depend on a study of Doricles' character, in which case the missing passages should have been remembered. In the period, however, sauch a character study would only accumulate through performance, rather than with a text, since each of the players would only have their own "roll" with which to work before performing.

It is a more convincing conclusion, then, to say that our text is one which was cut deliberately for the stage, and that the cutting was done by the acting company, because the quality of the cutting suggests it was not the work of a playwright.

Why was the removed text apparently not wanted? We might want to add this play to E. K. Chambers' list of 'plays adapted to suit less intelligent audiences' enclave. I suggested the possibility that the 1592 Jew of Malta audiences were likely to concentrate on straight stage humour as a diversion from the rigours of the political and economic trauma. As the worst inflationary and famine-ridden decade progressed to its mid-years peak the audience for The Blind Beggar may again have had no mind for tales of the war of love between the invincible soldier, Cleanthes, and the prince of rustic bliss, Doricles. There was no rustic bliss in England, and the suggestion of such an enchanted land's prince being killed was by now just an inevitability. From being a great battle for the land of ease, the murder of Doricles in 1596 became just another small and predictable part of the Irus gameplan.[11]

Without the development of that Arcadian promise and defeat The Blind Beggar seems to be left with no serious contemporary comment, becoming a bawdy show of cliched word-

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[11]Certainly, the plays Much Ado About Nothing and As You Like It still suggest something to do with rustic bliss. But As You Like It is a court-endorser as much as a country-praiser. The emphasis lies in the ruling structures more than in the setting. These plays are also later (c. 1599) than The Blind Beggar, perhaps written as the upturn in the economic struggle became evident, certainly at a time when the population was looking forward to a new century, with all the optimism that such a watershed brings. Theatre is also, of course, a centre for escapism, and rustic bliss would be attractive for that reason. However, I would suggest that the preferred escapism at this time was one that took the partaker out of the ruling structure and into a reaction, rather than away to a land of passivity.

jokes and cozening. We can see in it revivals of The Three Ladies that tempt us to detect a stagnation of taste from the mid 1580s through the 1590s. The old pun on the title "Count", for instance, is milked for all its worth. Braggadino says:

> Oh I know him well; it is the rude Count, the uncivill Count, the unstayed Count, the bloody Count, the Count of all Countes ... this loose Count,... I could tickle the Count. I fayth my noble Count,...
>
> (II, 28-32; B3r)

And to make the sexuality of the pun more 'manly' we hear Elimine refusing to say the word. "Why hees a what you cal't" she says to Martia (V, 15; Dv). She protests not being able to say the word "Because it comes so neare a thing that I knowe" (V, 19; Dv). Martia immediately understands: "Oh he is a Count" (20). Laughs all round.

3. Shylock's Usury Bond according to the specifications in <u>The Death of Usury</u>

FOENUS NATURALE
(Tillage of ground)

FOENUS SPIRITUALE
1. Giving alms
2. Employing God's gifts

FOENUS POLITICUM
1. Foenus actuale
2. Foenus mentale
(No compact)

FOENUS LIBERALE

FOENUS EX PACTO

USURA EXPLICATA

USURA PALLIATA ("Close and cloked <u>usurie</u>, as when one lendeth money and shroudeth it under some other bargaine")

PACTUM TACITUM

PACTUM EXPRESSUM

Nudum (Return depends on borrower)

Vestitum ("The certen or shrouded compact")

Verbis

Scriptis

The political bond concerns matters of money and humankind's gain or greed. The <u>actuale</u> bond is one where the one who hopes to gain acts in some way to effect that gain. The bond <u>ex pacto</u> is one relying on some kind of solid agreement between the parties involved. Shylock's request for flesh in return for money is in some ways classifying the bond

palliata, although the terms are clear to Bassanio and Antonio. Both parties have expressed their part in the bond agreement, in this case through a written document, scriptis, and the bond for Shylock is "certen"; for either his money is returned to him, or he takes Antonio's life.

[APPENDIX B]

1. Hakluyt on Jews, from The Principal Navigations
(Glasgow: Volume II, pp. 172-3; London 1598-1600: I, 217, 1527)

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Carvels to discover this Spicerie....The Pope...not onely granted that all that should be discovered from Orient to Occident, should be the kings of Portingal, but also, that upon great censures no other Prince should discover but he....

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to discover lands toward the Occident without making any such diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Carvels, and then discovered this India Occidentall, especially two Islands of the sayd India, that in this Card I set forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine gold from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he sent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to give him the sayd Islands. For that by the sentence of the Pope all that should be discovered was his, and that hee should not proceede further in the discoverie without his licence. And at the same time it seemeth that out of Castil into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Jewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Christians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and silver. So that it seemeth that the king of Spaine answered, that it was reason that the king of Portingal asked, and to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would give him the sayd Islands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreede betwixt the sayde kings, that none should receive the others subjects fugitives, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal should pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Jewes had caryed out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in so

doing he would give these Islands, and desist from any more discovering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not give these Islands, but procure to discover more where him thought best. It seemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his ease pay this money. And so not paying, he could not let the king of Spaine to discover: so that he enterprised not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And consented to the king of Spaine, that touching this discovery they should divide the worlde betweene them two.

(Glasgow: Volume V, pp. 204-5; London 1598-1600: II, i, 51, 1581)

The number of Jewes is there [Venice] thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and have also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Jewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offspring use to weare red caps, (for so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Sinagogue upon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their service or prayers, very devoute: they receive the five bookes of Moses, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne over their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

2. Sir Edwyn Sandys on Jews, from A Relation of the State of Religion

...the Jewes (who have no other trades to speake of, then loane of money and old stuffe) are inhibited in many places

the medling any more with bookes, for feare that through error or desire of ucre, they might do them prejudice (Nv).

There is in Spaine a sort of people of the Maurani, (as they terme them) who are baptised Jewes and Moores: and many of them in secret, with all circumcised Christians, who are spread over the whole land, but swarme most in the South parts confining with Affrica, and are in such store, as in many places (as some say) they exceede the true Christians by no small proportion. For as for the Inquisition, which was instituted of purpose against those mungrell Christians, some hundred yeares sithence, at what time King Ferdinande, by chasing the Jewes and Moores, and Arabians, out of the Realmes of Spaine, merited the name of King Catholike: great numbers of them chose rather to make change of their religion in shew, then of their Country in deede, and consented to receive baptisme, which in secret they polluted, or denounced by circumcision, or other superstitions, wherein the Arabians and Moores concurred with the Jewes, and so continued with a false face and double hart, and have transmitted both the one and the other to their of-spring [sic] to this very day.
...
Thus fareth it with gardens, wherein the greater care is taken to pull up the suspected hearbes, then to kepe downe the apparent weedes: what further hopes this sect may have, I know not. This is cleere, that a great part of the Spanish Nobility is mixed at this day with Jewish blood (Qr-Qv)[.]

...the encrease of Athenisme within, of Mahomatisme abroad by which obstinacy the Jewes shake the faith of Christians...(Tr).

Then for the Jewes, they even swarme in the most of the chiefe parts of Italie, at Rome specially, where the least number I could ever heare them esteemed at, is ten thousand and

upwards, though others say twice as many. They have there, at the least, fower or five Synagogues, both there and elsewhere; their Circumcision, their Liturgies, their Sermons in publique, and all that list may resort unto them: yea, in means of enriching themselves, they are so much favoured, that in all places they are permitted to straine up their usurie to eighteene in the hundred upon the Christian, (for among themselves they no where use it) whereas also that summe in a Christian is not tollerated, which causeth many of the Christians to use these Jewes under-hand, in improoving their unlawful rents to their utmost proportion (Xr).

Italie, who have called the Jews in thither, yea, & stil do entice them, whom Fraunce, England, and Spaine, have banished from them long since (Xv).

Thus standeth their case; they have a religion, though something strange to our conceits, as being framed, not only out of the law of the old Bible, but also out of sundry capricious fancies & fables of their Rabbins, yet so hansomly peeced and glued togither, that one part seems to hang to the other not absurdly. And that which they hold, they are so perfit in, that they wil give both a probable account of it out of certaine Morall Philosophie, & reason, (wherein they are well seen) as also make some shew for it out of the Bible it self, wherein they are the skilfullest men (I beleeve) in the world (X2v).

And although for their usurie and guilefull dealing they are generally hated there, and handled like verie dogges, yet some of them I have knowne men of singular vertue and integritie of minde, seeming to want no grace but the faith of a Christian[.]

...

But it doth seem they expect him [the Messiah] out of the

East, whither the Spanish Jewes fled, and have exceedingly multiplyed; for those doe they holde to bee the Tribe of Juda, and the other in Germanie, and Italie to be of the tribe of Benjamin, who in honour of the more noble Tribe, and to correspond with them the better, do learne the Spanish tongue which those still retaine (X4v).

The last discouragement to men, especially of their mettall, is, that at their conversion to Christianity, they must quitte their goods to the Christians. And the reason is, for that in Baptisme they renounce the divell and all his workes, part whereof, are the Jewes goods being gotten, eyther of themselves, or of their ancestors by usury. Now this is such a cold comfort to a a man set on the world, (as that Nation is wonderfully) that for my part I have not hard of any converted in those parts, save some Physitians, with some of their children, who by friendship to the Pope, have obtained dispensation to retain their goods stil, in as much as they were gotten by their honourable profession (Y2r-Y2v).

3. **From Thomas Coryate's Crudities** (1608)

His visit to the Ghetto at Venice.

I was at a place where the whole fraternity of the Jews dwelleth together, which is called the Ghetto, being an Iland: for it is inclosed round about with water. It is thought there are of them in all betwixt five and sixe thousand. They are distinguished and discerned from the Christians by their habites on their heads; for some of them doe wear hats and those redde, onely those Jewes that are borne in the Westerne parts of the world, as in Italy, &c. but the easterne Jewes being otherwise called the Levantine Jewes, which are borne in Hierusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople, &c. weare Turbants upon their heads as the Turkes do: but the difference is this: the Turks wear white, the Jewes yellow. By that word Turbent

I understand a rowle of fine linenn wrapped together upon their heads, which serveth them in stead of hats, whereof many have bin often worn by the Turkes in London. They have divers Synagogues in their Ghetto, at the least seven, where all of them, both men, women and children doe meete together upon their Sabboth, which is Saturday, to the end to doe their devotion, and serve God in their kinde, each company having a several Synagogue.

...

One custome I observed amongst them very irreverent and profane, that none of them eyther when they enter the Synagogue, or when they sit down to their places, or when they goe forth againe, do any reverence or obeysance, answerable to such a place of the worship of God, eyther by uncovering their heads, kneeling, or any other external gesture, but boldly dash into the roome with their Hebrew bookes in their handes, and presently sit in their places, without any more ado[.]

...

I observed some fewe of those Jewes especially some of the Levantines to bee such goodly and proper men, that I said to my selfe our English proverbe: To look like a Jewe (whereby is meant sometimes a weather beaten warp-faced fellow, sometimes a phrenticke and lunaticke person, sometimes one discontented) is not true. For indeed I noticed some of them to be the most elegantand sweet featured persons, which gave me occasion the more to lament their religion.

...

In the roome wherein they celebrate their divine services no women sit, but have a loft or gallery proper to themselves only, where I saw many Jewish women, whereof some were as beautiful as ever I saw, and so gorgeous in their apparel, jewels, chaines of gold, and rings adorned with precious stones, that some of our English Countesses do scarce exceede them, having marvailous long traines like Princesses that are borne up by waiting women serving for the same purpose. An

argument to prove that many of the Jewes are very rich.

...

Truely it is a most lamentable case for a Christian to consider the damnable estate of these miserable Jewes, in that they reject the true Mesias and Saviour of their soules...and it is pitifull to see that fewe of them living in Italy are converted to the Christian religion. For this I understand is the maine impediment to their conversion: All their goodes are confiscate soon as they embrace Christianity: and this I heard is the reason, because whereas many of them doe raise their fortunes by usury, in so muche that they doe not onely sheare, but also flea many a poore Christians estate by their griping extortion; it is therefore decreed by the Pope, and other free Princes in whose territories they live, that they shall make a restitution of all their ill-gotten gains, and so disclogge their soules and consciences, when they are admitted by holy baptisme into the bosom of Christs Church. Seing then when their goods are taken from them at their conversion, they are left even naked, and destitute of their meanes of maintenance, there are fewer Jewes converted to Christianity in Italy, than in any other country in Christendome. Whereas in Germany, Poland, and other places the Jews that are converted (which doth often happen, as Emmanuel Tremellius was converted in Germany) do enjoy their estates as they did before.

...

I casually met with a certaine learned Jewish Rabbin...and at last descended to the perswasion of him to abandon and renounce his Jewish religion and to undertake the Christian faith, without the which he would be eternally damned....In the end he seemed to be somewhat exasperated against me, because I sharpely taxed their supersticious ceremonies. For many of them are such refractory people that they cannot endure to hear any reconciliation to the church of Christ, in regard they esteeme him but for a carpenter's sonne, and a silly poore wretch that once rode upon an Asse....But to shut

up this narration of my conflict with the Jewish Rabbin, after there had passed many vehement speeches to and fro betwixt us, it happened that some forty or fifty Jewes more flocked about me, and some of them beganne very insolently to swagger with me, because I durst reprehend their religion: Whereupon fearing least they would have offered me some violence, I withdrew myselfe by little and little towards the bridge at the entrance into the Ghetto, with an intent to flie from them, but by good fortune our noble Ambassador Sir Henry Wotton passing under the bridge in his Gondola at that very time, espyed me somewhat earnestly bickering with them, and so incontinently sent unto me out of his boate one of his principall Gentlemen Master Belford his secretary, who conveighed mee safely from these unchristian miscreants, which perhaps would have given mee just occasion to forsweare any more comming to the Ghetto.

[Notice the shift from Coryat's interest in the location of the thousands of Jews, through his fascination with their appearance, and then his failure with the Rabbi, and his final angry sentiments against the Jews. The "goodly and proper men" become "miscreants" because of the religious disagreement.]

[APPENDIX C]

1. Hugh Broughton's Letters, 1597-1611

In 1598 Hugh Broughton wrote to the Queen, explaining his quest:

> "to kind[l]e far off the light of the Gospell, winninge such favour of migthy [sic] states that it might turne to the comon good of Christendome....I printed an answear to my Lordes grace: shewing the principall effect: thinking that his gr. wold have sent for an whole copy or have written: that in this so weighty bysines, to doe good to all the world, no shadow of negligence or delay should appeare. But because that is not done, I have printed the whole Epistle unto your M....The answerer should be, my L. G. for lerned fame & auctority....yf his G. knoweth nought in Ebrew: Greke will doe as well."[12]

The following year, Broughton sent a letter in seven languages to the Lords stating that "It is high time (right honorable) that some order were taken...in answearing D. Abraham Ruben the Ebrew his Epistle..."[13] No action seems to have been taken by Elizabeth, as in 1605 Broughton writes to Abraham ben Rubens in Constantinople:

> "Famous sir, I promised to shew you the ways of our fayth largely, when the King of Scotland should be King of England. The day is come, and what I longed for I have seen. And now I wil declare in print what I did before in

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[12] An Epistle of an Ebrew Willinge to Learn Christianity (1598), Aiir-Aiiv-Aiiiiv; STC 3860.

[13] Epistolae Variae et Variarum Linguarum de Byzantiacis Hebraeis (1599), in English, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, A2r; STC 3862a.3.

writing."[14]

By 1609 support from the King was still tentative:

> Your Highnes readinesse, my liege Lord, to honour the Gospel, and the kingdome which advaunced Constantine your Majesties auncestour, to rul the worlde, is nowe come to high hope, that Jewes and Christians from Bizantias Rome to Albion, desire an absolute treatise for this cause. If it please the K. to differre no lo[n]ger, long expected allowance, these treatises promised to the Jewes of Germanie, as the Princes have my letters, shalbe soon taken in hand. The new Testament to speak by the phrases of Law & Thalmud, which the holy most learned Apostles translate: next that, and Ebrew treatise shewing that the Prophets made this their marke: that God in Christ reconciled the world unto him selfe. The third should enlarge al S. Paules Epistles to the Ebrewes, be co[n]sent of Rabbines upon the olde Testament, to teach the same that the new Testament hath. I have celebrated over the worlde, your Majesties most religious affeveration in the yere of redemption 1596. For a thousande poundes an yeere for clearing the Bible: and your message by a Knight your fewer 500. pounds annuitie. As God hath blessed the King, so your Princely honour in the principal cause of all studie, will shew readie Royal liberalitie: and stirre up al the Princes of

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[14]The Familie of David, for the Sonnes of the Kingdome, with a Chronicle unto the Redemption (1605), IIiv; STC 3856.5. This is a parallel Hebrew and English text, marking the time Broughton had been authorized to begin sending new translations to Constantinople. This book, as others containing Hebrew, has been printed to be read from right to left. The signatures therefore appear on what would regularly be the verso of the leaves. The 'verso' in my signature reference, therefore, appears on the right hand page of an open book.

Christe[n]dome with speedie zeale without delay."[25]

A feud over religious practice and contact with the Jews, which turned personal, between Broughton and the Archbishop Richard Bancroft probably did not help Broughton's case with the King. Bancroft apparently accused Broughton of calling him "Athean, vilain, jew, traytour", and of forging the Rabbi's letter, and Broughton feared for his life from opponents to his "hope in the scottish mist":

> "[...] a plot was layd to kill me: hindering some hopes more then 40000 souldiers: & 300. french Crownes were offred me to hasten away: I beleved it not, till it came so nere that even Beza made accompt I should never go away[.]"[26]

It seems more like wishful thinking on Broughton's part that he should be considered worth such trouble. The following year, Broughton had still not been satisfied of the King's promises for money, and wrote:

> "Your Majestie, gracious King, being moved the last winter by a letter, for allowance to open the New Testament in Ebrew by Thalmudiques, to satisfy Jewes desire, and Turkes expectation, sayd redily, as Syr Th. Overbury told, you would give 500. pounds annuitie that way....Because my age fleeth, I humbly request so much sone to be performed."[27]

Another year later, in 1611, he reminds the King how convenient his residence in Basel would be for the long-proposed translation and printing task:

> "This summer might at Basil, where plently is of Ebrew

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[25] A Most Humble Supplication unto the King for Present Performance of Long Purposed Allowance (1609), unpaginated.

[26] A Petition tho the Lordes Chancelours of Both Universities (1609?); B2r; STC 3877.7.

[27] A Petition to the King to Hasten Allowance for Ebrew Institutions of Ebrewes (1610?), A2r (right-to-left).

> Printers, serve me for to expound in Ebrew, the Apocalyps."[18]

We are left, very unsatisfactorily, in 1611 with a letter to the Lords expressing Broughton's sadness at the lack of response to his requests, but also displaying a dedicated man's stamina in prodding away at the powers-that-be:

> "I heard, R. H. of a most honorable bent of the K. for clearing in Ebrew & Grek by the Apoc. all the Bible: & my desire that way is stird by newes from Graecia. One Edw. Crain a shipper of N. Castell: was long in Thrace: where Jewes daily rejoyced of our knowledge in the law, hoping to learn from us salvation. And one came with him to Venice, for Leyden,, hearing (by the post of Collen belike) that I meant stay there. He wold be fully instructed of me: that hee might returne to save his nation. And I whole fiften yeres craved allowance to shew Christ through the Bible. But Satan hindred all hitherto.
>
> ...
>
> Five Hebrew litle works the most Eloquent Rabbin of all the worlde, as prage censured, Rabbi Ruben sent into England for me. Beside that which I printed to the delite of all Christendom: But the libellers crew that libelled I forged the first of six: bezzled them: that poor Ruben died in unperfect hope. A copie of one a merchand hath in Ingland. And the Turky marchants might find who had them. I wold request the K. to try who were the Atheistes that durst so deale to hinder the glory of Christendome: & salvation of Abrahames sonnes. I have lately complayned to your Lordships a litle: But I reserve this to myne owne complaint to his sacred Majestie. To whom I have to

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[18] Petition to the King for Authority and Allowance to Expound the Apocalypse (1611), unpaginated.

shew the original of Abraham Rubens Epistle printed[.]"[18]

2. The Statutes of Jewry

c. 1275-8

[Parallel French and English, Statutes of the Realm, 1, entry 221]

Forasmuch as the King hath seen that divers Evils, and the disheriting of the good Men of his Land have happened by the Usuries which the Jews have made in Time past, and that divers Sins have followed thereupon; albeit he and his Ancestors have received much benefit from the Jewish People in all Time past; nevertheless for the Honour of God and the common benefit of the People, the King hath ordained and established, That from henceforth no Jew shall lend any Thing at Usury, either upon Land, or upon Rent, or upon other Thing: And that no Usuries shall run in Time coming from the Feast of Saint Edward last past. Nothwithstanding [sic], the Covenants before made shall be observed, saving that the Usuries shall cease. But all those who owe Debts to Jews upon Pledges or Moveables, shall acquit them between this and Easter; if not they shall be forfeited. And if any Jew shall lend at Usury contrary to this Ordinance, the King will not lend his Aid, neither by himself nor his Officers, for the recovering of his Loan; but will punish him at his discretion for the Offence, and will do justice to the Christian that he may obtain his Pledge again.

And that the Distresses for Debts due unto the Jews from henceforth shall not be so grievous, but that the Moiety of

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[18] A Declaration unto the Lordes, of the Jewes Desire these Fiftene Yeres for Ebrew Explication of our Greke Gospell (1611), IIiv-IIiir; STC 3857.

the Lands and Chattels of the Christians shall remain for their Maintenance; and that no Distress shall be made for a Jewry Debt, upon the Heir of a Debtor named in a Jew's Deed, nor upon any other Person holding the Land that was the Debtor's, before that the Debt be put in Suit and allowed in Court.

And if the Sheriff or other Bailiff, by the King's Command hath to give Seisin to a Jew, be it one or more, for their Debt, of Chattels or Land to the Value of the Debt, the Chattels shall be valued by the Oaths of good Men, and be delivered to the Jew or Jews, or to their Proxy, to the Amount of the Debt; and if the Chattels be not sufficient, the Lands shall be extended by the same Oath before the Delivery of the Seisin to the Jew or Jews, to each in his due Proportion; so that it may be certainly known that the Debt is quit, and the Christian may have his Land again: Saving always to the Christian the Moiety of his Land and Chattels for his maintenance as aforesaid, and the Chief Mansion.

And if any Moveables hereafter be found in Possession of a Jew, and any Man shall sue him, the Jew shall be allowed his Warranty, if he may have it; and if not, let him answer therefore: So that he be not herein otherwise privileged than a Christian.

And that all Jews shall dwell in the King's own Cities and Boroughs, where the Chests of Chirographs of Jewry are wont to be: And that each Jew after he shall be Seven Years old, shall wear a Badge on his outer Garment; that is to say in the Form of Two Tables joined, of Yellow Felt, of the Length of Six Inches, and of the Breadth of Three Inches. And that each one, after he shall be Twelve Years old, pay Three pence yearly at Easter of Tax to the King, whose Bond-man he is; and this shall hold place as well for a Woman as a Man.

And that no Jew shall have Power to infeoff another, whether Jew or Christian, of Houses, Rents, or Tenements that he now hath, nor to alien in any other Manner, to to make

Acquittance to any Christian of his Debt, without the especial Licence of the King, until the King shall have otherwise ordained therein.

And, Forasmuch as it is the will and sufferance of Holy Church, that they may live and be preserved, the King taketh them under his Protection, and granteth them his Peace; and willeth that they be safely preserved and defended by his Sheriffs and other Bailiffs, and by his Liege Men; and commandeth that none shall do them harm, or damage, or wrong, in their Bodies or in their Goods, moveable or immoveable; and that they shall neither plead nor be impleaded in any Court, nor be challenged or troubled in any Court, except in the Court of the King, whose Bond-men they are. And that none shall owe Obedience, or Service, or Rent, except to the King, or his Bailiffs in his Name; unless it be for their Dwellings which they now hold by paying Rent; saving the Right of Holy Church.

And the King granteth unto them that they may gain their living by lawful Merchandise and their Labour; and that they may have Intercourse with Christians, in order to carry on lawful Trade by selling and buying. But that no Christian, for this Cause or any other, shall dwell among them. And the King willeth that they shall not by reason of their Merchandise be put to Lot or Scot, nor in Taxes with the Men of the Cities or Boroughs where they abide; for that they are taxable to the King and his Bondmen, and to none other but the King.

Moreover the King granteth unto them that they may buy Houses and Curtilages, in the Cities and Boroughs where they abide, so that they hold them in chief of the King; saving unto the Lords of the Fee their Services due and accustomed. And that they may take and buy Farms or Land for the Term of Ten Years or less, without taking Homages or Fealties, or such sort of Obedience from Christians, and without having Advowsons of Churches; and that they may be able to gain their living in the World, if they have not the Means of Trading, or

cannot Labour; and this Licence to take Lands to farm shall endure to them only for Fifteen Years from this Time forward.

3. Documents Relating To Lopez

a) From a letter appealing for the life of Ruy Lopez

[From the servant of Don Salamon (Alvaro Mendez), in Mytilene, to Lord Burley. London, 7 February, 1594.]

[...] And as I further see that this unhappy man is of the same blood as my master, I realize that it is my duty and honour to make this supplication to her Majesty and to your Excellency, praying humbly on behalf of my master, who is most devoted to her Majesty and to her most noble kingdom, as he has shown up to now and will be ready to show always by deeds which the occasions will make possible: to postpone the due execution of this unfortunate man for some time until my master will have time to communicate about this affair with her Majesty and your Excellency, from which, as you may be assured, a great satisfaction will come forth from her Majesty and your Excellency, as time will show.

[The CSP Dom 1591-4 records another letter endorsed "The request of the messenger of Don Solomon", for 10 April, 1594, praising the Queen and Lord Burghley; and emphasizing Burghley's favour with the Grand Seignior while mentioning "Dr. Lopez's fall", p. 482.]

Lopez may not have appreciated the seriousness of his position. He writes from the Tower on 26 February, 1594, to Sir Robert Cecil, in an attempt to arrange business matters. The request is that he may conduct his business, with Cecil's aid, such that other parties remain unaware of his position in prison. Two days later Cecil himself was writing to Thomas Windebank of the confession that the "villain" [unnamed in the letter] had given at a hearing at Guildhall that day. CSP Dom 1591-4, p. 444.

b) Calendar of State Papers (1591-4) entries concerning the trial of Doctor Lopez

[p. 445] Heads of the indictment against Dr. Lopez:

31 Jan. 1590, he conspired the death of the Queen, and to stir up a rebellion and a war within the realm, and overthrow the commonwealth.

7 May 1590, he adhered to Philip, King of Spain, and divers other aliens, the Queen's public enemies.

31 Aug. 1591, he yielded his service to the King of Spain, and sent secret messages and intelligences to him and his ministers, of things done for preservation of the realm, that they might prepare their forces and direct their purposes accordingly.

1 Oct. 1591, the King of Spain sent him a jewel by Emanual Andrada, as a token of favour for services against the Queen and realm, which jewel, Nov. 1591, he traitorously accepted.

12 Sep. 1593 [1592?], he conferred with Stephen Ferrera de Gama, as to how his traitorous purposes might be effected.

20 Jan. 1593, Em. Andrada conferred with him for poisoning the Queen, which he undertook to do, 20 Feb. 1593, through Andrada; Lopez also treated and Stephen Ferrera de Gama corresponded with Count Fuentes and Stephen de Ibarra, concerning his traitorous purposes; and 17 Sept. 1593, procured a sum of money to be given to Gomes d'Avila to deliver the letters.

30 Sept. 1593, he undertook through them to kill the Queen by poison for 50,000 crowns, to be paid by the King of Spain.

30 Oct. 1593, he had often enquired whether any answers had been received, and said that after he had performed the same, he would go to Antwerp and thence to Constantinople, where he would dwell.

[for Lopez's alleged misdeeds at length, see pp. 445-449]

4. Usury law, 1545-1600

37 Henry VIII c. 9. (1545).
Marginal note: "None shall sell Goods and buy them again, within Three Months, at reduced Price".

"...that noe person or persons of what estate degre or condicion soever...shall have receyve accepte or take, in lucre or gaynes, for the forbearinge or givinge daye of payment of one hole yere...above the some of tenne poundes in the hundred".
Marginal note: "Penalty on Persons transgressing this Act, Treble Value and Fine and Imprisonment".

The Act does not extend to "the performance of any other true covenantes made or to be made uppon a just and true intent hadd betwene the parties, other then in cases of Usurie interest corrupt bargaynes shift or chevysance".

5 & 6 Edward VI c. 20 (1551-2).

The Act of Henry the Eighth "was not ment or intended for mayntenance and allowaunce of Usurie, as dyvers parsons blynded with inordinat love of themselfes have and yet doo mistake the same, but rather was made and intendid against all sortes of kyndes of Usurie as a thing unlawfull, as by the tytle and preamble of the saide Acte it doth playnely appeare, And yet nevertheles the same was by the saide Acte permitted for the avoyding of a more yll and inconvenyence that before that tyme was used and exercysed: But Forasmuche as Usurie is by the worde of God utterly prohibited, as a vyce most odyous and detestable, as in dyvers places of the hollie Scripture it is evydent to be seen, which thing by no godly teachinges and perswations can syncke in to the hartes of dyvers gredie uncharitable and couvetous parsons of this Realme, nor yet by anny terrible threateninges of Goddes wrathe and vengeaunce that justly hangeth over this Realme for the great and open Usurie therein dailye used and practysed they will forsake

such filthie gayne and lucre, onles some temporall punishment be provyded and ordeyned in that bihalfe: FOR REFORMACION wherof, Be it enacted by thaucthoritie of this pre[se]nt Parlament, That from the firste daye of Maye which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God a thousande fyve hundred fiftie and twoo, the saide Acte and Statute concerning onely Usurie Lucre or Gaynes of or for the Lone forbearing or geving dayes of anny somme or sommes of moneye, be utterly abrogate voyde and repealed."

13 ELIZABETH I c. 8 (1571).

Revives the Act of Henry VIII, and repeals Edward's, which "hathe not done so muche good as was hoped it shoulde, but rather the said Vyce of Usurye, and specially by waye of Sale of Wares and Shiftes of Interest(es) hathe much more excedingly abounded, to the utter undoinge of many Gentlemen Marchauntes Occupiers and other, and to the importable Hurte of the Common wealth".

"Offendours shall and maye also be punished & corrected according to the Ecclesiasticall Lawes heretofore made agaynst Usurie".

The following acts revive, or demand continuance, of 13 ELIZABETH c. 8: 27 ELIZABETH I c. 11 (1584-5); 29 ELIZABETH I c. 5 (1586-7); 31 ELIZABETH I c. 10 (1588-9); 35 ELIZABETH I c. 7 (1592-3); 39 ELIZABETH I c. 18 (1597-8).

The proclamation 23 Elizabeth I (1581) H&L II, 485, was issued to clear confusion and "frivolous questions" about the life of the 1571 statute, which was due to expire. It stated that "the said act and statute was not determined or expired at the end of the said last session of parliament, but doth yet stand in full strength and force until the end of the first session of the next parliament, which hereafter shall have fortune to be newly summoned".

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*This book appears with the secondary sources because it is largely a critical commentary on the proclamations, as opposed to an edition of original documents, like Hughes and Larkin.