

THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE



Mirrors in Shakespeare
and Early Modern English Drama
Power, Gender and the Magic
of the Theatre

Valentina Finger



ARDEN STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA

Mirrors in Shakespeare and Early Modern English Drama

ARDEN STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA

Arden Studies in Early Modern Drama offers fresh approaches to the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries, and places Shakespeare in dialogue with other playwrights of the period. The volumes are energized by the discoveries of recent editorial work and by experimenting with how they can work on stage. Accommodating a range of new perspectives on how these plays operate and why they still matter, the series makes new writing from emerging scholars available for the first time.

Series editors

Lisa Hopkins, Sheffield Hallam University, UK
Douglas Bruster, University of Texas at Austin, USA

Published titles

Atrocity in Early Modern Drama

Sarah Johnson and Georgina Lucas

Early Modern Bonds of Trust and Risk: From Shakespeare to Milton

Edited by Joseph Sterrett, Alison Findlay and Helen Wilcox

Materializing the East in Early Modern English Drama

Edited by Murat Ögütcü and Aisha Hussain

Money and Magic in Early Modern Drama

David Hawkes

Interruptions in Early Modern English Drama

Michael M. Wagoner

Staging Britain's Past: Pre-Roman Britain in Early Modern Drama

Kim Gilchrist

Imagining Cleopatra: Performing Gender and Power in Early Modern England

Yasmin Arshad

Early Modern Theatre and the Figure of Disability

Genevieve Love

Mirrors in Shakespeare and Early Modern English Drama

*Power, Gender and the Magic
of the Theatre*

Valentina Finger

THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE

LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
Bloomsbury Publishing Inc, 1359 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA
Bloomsbury Publishing Ireland, 29 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, D02 AY28, Ireland

BLOOMSBURY, THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE and the Arden Shakespeare logo
are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2026

Copyright © Valentina Finger, 2026

Valentina Finger has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents
Act, 1988, to be identified as author of this work.

For legal purposes the Acknowledgements on pp. xi–xii constitute an
extension of this copyright page.

Cover design: Elena Durey
Cover image © Keystone/Getty Images

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be: i) reproduced or
transmitted in any form, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying,
recording or by means of any information storage or retrieval system without
prior permission in writing from the publishers; or ii) used or reproduced in
any way for the training, development or operation of artificial intelligence (AI)
technologies, including generative AI technologies. The rights holders expressly
reserve this publication from the text and data mining exception as per Article
4(3) of the Digital Single Market Directive (EU) 2019/790.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for,
any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given
in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher
regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have ceased
to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: HB: 9781-3505-3500-8
ePDF: 9781-3505-3502-2
eBook: 9781-3505-3501-5

Series: Arden Studies in Early Modern Drama

Typeset by Newgen KnowledgeWorks Pvt. Ltd., Chennai, India

For product safety related questions contact productsafety@bloomsbury.com.

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

For Benji

Contents

List of Figures	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction: Mirror stages of the early modern English playhouse	1
1 Imperial mirrors in <i>Richard II</i> and <i>Macbeth</i>	13
Imperial mirrors: Tudor monarchs and specular (super)vision	13
Brittle glory: The fragmented mirror in <i>Richard II</i>	21
Barren sceptre: The prognostic mirror in <i>Macbeth</i>	37
Interlude 1: Imperial mirror stages	52
2 Exemplary mirrors in <i>Edward I</i> and <i>Bussy D'Ambois</i>	55
Exemplary mirrors: Rulers as models of ideal (self-)government	55
Suit of glass: The specular body in <i>Edward I</i>	60
Glassy glory: The deflected hero in <i>Bussy D'Ambois</i>	75
Interlude 2: Exemplary mirror stages	95
3 Cosmetic mirrors in <i>The Duchess of Malfi</i> and <i>The Devil's Charter</i>	99
Cosmetic mirrors: Female rule and the agency of appearances	99
Tangling hair: The glass world of <i>The Duchess of Malfi</i>	108
Painted face: The doubled mirror of <i>The Devil's Charter</i>	129
Interlude 3: Cosmetic mirror stages	147
4 Natural-magic mirrors in <i>The Alchemist</i> and <i>A Game at Chess</i>	149
Natural-magic mirrors: Glass technology and the theatre of illusion	149
Dark glass: The trick mirrors in <i>The Alchemist</i>	155
Egyptian glass: The Jesuit mirror in <i>A Game at Chess</i>	172
Interlude 4: Natural-magic mirror stages	189

Conclusion: The mirror up to theatre	193
Notes	203
References	207
Index	241

Figures

1	Stage photograph of Johan Simons's production of Shakespeare's <i>Richard II</i> at the Burgtheater in Vienna (2021)	35
2	Engraving by an unknown artist (probably nineteenth century and not, as stated in the biographer's caption, eighteenth century) showing Catherine de' Medici's catoptromantic session with Nostradamus	38
3	Manuscript page from the Diary and Account Book of Philip Henslowe, kept between 1592 and 1609 (Dulwich College Archive, MS VII, folio 12v)	62
4	Picture showing the 'Hall of Mirrors' at Versailles (established under Louis XIV and restored in 2007), a material manifestation of the French court's 'mirror of confusion' referred to in Act 1, Scene 2 of Chapman's <i>Bussy D'Ambois</i>	85
5	Nineteenth-century photograph of a table mirror from the collection of the Louvre Museum in Paris formerly believed to have been owned by Marie de' Medici but actually acquired by her grandson, Louis XIV, later in the seventeenth century	109
6	<i>Death and the Maiden</i> , oil painting from the English school (c. 1570). The artwork with the inscription 'Mors ultima linea rerum est' ('Death is the thing which is last in line') is an example of the role of mirrors in pictorial <i>memento mori</i> setups, which are closely related to the material niche genre of the <i>miroirs de mort</i>	131
7	Objects from John Dee's magical apparatus on display at the British Museum in London including a rock-crystal ball and the black obsidian mirror with its wooden case	157

- 8 Illustration of one of the mirror tricks notoriously
performed by the convicted 'witch' Catherine Monvoisin
in seventeenth-century Paris 174

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone at Bloomsbury who made the publication of this book possible. Especially, I heartily thank Jade Grogan, who has endorsed this project from day one. I would probably never have dared to submit my proposal without the encouragement by Alison Findlay, Kim Gilchrist, Gordon McMullan and Lucy Munro, whose support and advice I much appreciate. The research for this book was enabled via funds of the DFG (German Research Foundation) provided by the CRC (Collaborative Research Centre) 1369 Cultures of Vigilance at Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich, and I would like to thank Alexander Zons as the CRC's representative. I am also much obliged to Sylvia Herfurth (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Eva-Ludwig Glück (Burgtheater), Anna Gubis (Shakespeare Birthplace Trust), Manja Kayser (bpk-Bildagentur), Lucia Rinolfi (British Museum) and Freddie Witts (Dulwich College) for making sure that the process of compiling the illustrations added to this book went so smoothly.

Grateful thanks are due to everyone whose invaluable commitment allowed me to produce this piece of research. This book was born as a doctoral dissertation at Ludwig Maximilians University Munich, whom I thank for giving me an academic home since my first days as a student. The same goes for King's College London, which became my academic home away from home after accommodating me during my study stays. My work on this project benefitted greatly from the assistance by Elena Natroshvili and Milena Paschert, as well as the feedback offered by Katrin Bauer, Nicky Beaven, Anne Enderwitz, Alina Enzensberger, Anna Hordych, Andreas Mahler, Jonas Kellermann, Elisa Leroy, Anouska Lester, Susanne Scholz, Gregor Specht, Franziska Stolz, Katharina Strika and Bettina Vitzthum. To them, as well as to the numerous other wits whom I met while working on this project and whose comments made it so much better, I remain deeply indebted.

My thanks go to my wonderful students and colleagues at Ludwig Maximilians University, especially Ingo Berensmeyer and Martin von Koppenfels who co-supervised this project. Most of all, I thank Tobias Döring. This book would not exist without him. While I will never be able to adequately express my appreciation for all the years of continued support and confidence in me and my work, these lines are an attempt at acknowledging my heartfelt gratitude.

Beyond the world of academia, this book would also not exist without the unswerving backup from my friends and family. I thank my grandparents for enthusiastically promoting my academic career. In the first (even if technically last) place, I want to thank my parents. Their love, patience and encouragement are the foundation on which all of the above is grounded.

Introduction

Mirror stages of the early modern English playhouse

Among the finds at the excavation sites of the Rose and Globe playhouses in London's South Bank were two fragments that belonged to sixteenth-century mirrors. One is a shard of mirror glass, the other a piece of wood that might have formed part of a mirror's frame. The thickness of the shard's glass suggests that it is 'not from a handheld mirror but a fixture' (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 210). 'In the specific context of a playhouse', it might have been 'some kind of decorative/usable feature either for the public or for checking players' make-up' (ibid.). The wooden frame might have contained a mirror made of mica (a silicate mineral) instead of glass, since glass, 'for this size, would have been extremely expensive' (ibid.). However, either possibility 'is a completely open question' (ibid.). Being fragile and prone to all kinds of damage, mirrors, while their existence is undisputed and meaningful in early modern England, survive only in small quantities. But they survive in vast numbers in the writings composed during the era: in manuals, treatises, trading documents, wills and, above all, texts written for the stage.

This is a book about mirrors in early modern English plays and playhouses. It addresses both the material and the verbal presence of mirrors in the dramas by both Shakespeare and his contemporaries. At the centre of each of the following chapters is the question of what dramatic mirrors can tell us about the period's material and theatrical culture. As I argue throughout this book, mirrors that appear materialized (as stage props) or verbalized (as tropes in speech) in the early modern playhouse operate *like* mirrors beyond the stage. By this

I mean that the mirrors discussed here *reflect* and *invert* the images they confront. They are used to address topics like sovereign authority, gender relations, and the changing role of natural magic. In this sense, they provide *reflections* of and upon relevant subjects. But instead of only reproducing (mirroring as imitating) established discourses, it will become apparent that the mirror scenes examined in this study critically negotiate contemporary issues and provide alternative perspectives by challenging conventional views. In this sense, they stage *inversions* of prevalent opinions.

Applied as a dramatic vehicle of meaning-making, we will see that ‘the physical image in the mirror spins into a kaleidoscope of literary and visual associations’, which results ‘in the multiple reverberations, the echoes, the twists and contortions, the physical and cosmological speculations, embedded in the language of mirrors and reflections’ (Kelly 2002: 17). This book is an attempt to untangle some of these complexities. One needs to be alert that, in each of the plays chosen as case studies, ‘the mirror sometimes seems to represent one thing and then stand for its opposite’ (Frelick 2016: 10). Accordingly, one must allow the physical and verbal mirror images to be *productive* rather than merely *reproductive* (re)sources of knowledge. Proceeding from their use of mirrors, I will dare to speculate on some of the contexts and meanings of these plays. As a result, the mirror for me in this book, as for the Renaissance writer Rafael Mirami in his treatise *Specularia* (1582), becomes valuable as ‘a research key’ (Castaldini 2018: 199).

Decades of scholarship have made clear that the ‘relationship between the stage and early modern culture [was] not ... a mere reflection’, but rather ‘a process of critical engagement, mutual appropriation and constant rivalry’ (Döring 2006: 7). When theatre-making, as Hamlet puts it, is to ‘hold ... the mirror up to Nature’ (3.2.21–2), then looking into the mirror of the theatre is an experience of both recognition and alienation, which always produces an affect and some sort of learning. By concentrating on mirrors *in* drama, I pursue the idea that ‘plays *are* mirrors in this active sense’ (Haley 1993: 35, my emphasis). We will see

how understanding stage mirrors contributes to our understanding of broader debates current in England around 1600. Mirrors in this sense are instruments not only of representation but also of what has been called 'presentification' (Teuber 2002: 14) of normally lesser-accessible sights and knowledge.

The periods examined in my four chapters are the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I (1558–1625). All the plays I discuss were written and first performed between circa 1590 (*Edward I*) and 1624 (*A Game at Chess*). When I refer to dramatic and non-dramatic texts and historical events beyond this interval, this is to add further contexts to the materials in question. The plays studied in detail are four tragic history plays (*Richard II*, *Macbeth*, *Edward I* and *Bussy D'Ambois*), two tragedies (*The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter*) and two satirical comedies (*The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*). This generic diversity highlights this book's main argument, namely that mirrors were constituent of early modern theatricality as such.

Rayna Kalas suggests that 'it would not ... be an exaggeration to say that the English household was effectively glazed between 1560 and 1640' (2007: 190). As the following chapters show, mirrors indeed were everywhere in early modern English society and culture. They pervaded the written discourse in the form of mirror myths and *speculum* literature. They served as metaphors in the arguments of enemies and defenders of the theatre, opponents and proponents of cosmetics and in writings on religious as well as secular themes. They make appearances in virtually every genre of early modern visual culture beyond the theatrical apparatus, most popularly in *vanitas* tableaux and allegorical representations of vices and virtues as diverse as pride and prudence. They were used in experimental science, especially for research into optics. Before Baconian empiricism, they were among the equipment of the natural philosopher or magus, who also employed them for what we today would classify as occult activities. They were tools for producing optical illusions. As such, they were components of legerdemain and entertaining spectacle. To high-quality glass mirrors, which around 1600 were still luxuries, pertains that 'the more transparent the surface

of the mirror the more effectively it becomes invisible as an object' (Anderson 2007: 105). In early modernity, however, mirrors, regardless of their materiality or degree of transparency, were blatantly visible in all spheres of life.

While the mirrors in only eight plays will be discussed in detail, mirror props are required for at least thirty-two plays staged between the 1580s and the 1640s. Specular imagery of some kind is woven into the text of virtually every play written during the period in question. I believe that together they operated 'as cross-reflecting mirrors' (Shapiro 1975: 55), with both mirror props and mirror tropes lingering in the memory of audiences and evoking various associations when they returned to the stage as parts of other performances. It is helpful to imagine mirror imagery on the early modern stage to be a component of what Harry Newman has described as '*a material culture of metaphor* in Shakespearean drama' (2019: 9). Much like tangible specular objects, figurative mirrors (in)form 'material memories' (Jones and Stallybrass 2000: 2).

Stephen Greenblatt has famously shown that stage props are among 'the circuitous channels through which social energy could be circulated' (1988: 9). I will illustrate that the stage mirror is such a channel. It has the ability to concentrate and process social energy at the nexus of the theatre and society, in Greenblatt's terms. It materializes – or, as a metaphor, verbalizes – social memory, as Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass theorized it. This qualifies it as a witness to early modern mentalities and views. Drawing on the concept of the "life histories" or "careers" (Appadurai 1986: 41) of objects as discussed in (New) Materialist studies, Andrew Sofer and Douglas Bruster were among the first to identify what they respectively called *The Stage Life of Props* (Sofer 2003) and 'The dramatic life of objects' (Bruster 2002). This book is my endeavour to contribute to the broad spectrum of critical explorations of literary materialism that have emerged since their seminal studies. I suggest widening their original approaches by discussing 'the stage life of props *and tropes*' as well as 'the dramatic life of objects *and words*'.

Sofer argues that no object 'arrives on stage innocent', but 'bring[s] [its] own historical, cultural, and ideological baggage on stage with [it]' (2003: 17). 'As they move from play to play and from period to period', Sofer adds, 'objects accrue intertextual resonance as they absorb and embody the theatrical past' (ibid.). Bruster, too, points to the 'mobility' of props being 'transferred from one character, play, and genre to another' (2002: 70). It is exactly their detachedness that 'allows them to relate characters to each other, and to larger elements in their dramatic worlds, as well as to qualify those relations' (ibid.: 71). The mirrors discussed in this book assume 'a central function in accumulating and disseminating theatrical meanings' (Richardson 2011: 34). They are 'vibrant objects', giving 'a physical form around which words and ideas can cluster' (ibid.). Unraveling the immaterial issues materialized or verbalized in stage mirrors makes it possible to consider their meanings in the respective plays. It also helps approach the role of mirrors and mirroring for early modern theatrical representation itself.

This is not the first attempt to study mirrors in early modern drama. Critics have identified the mirror as 'the metaphor most commonly used to describe the relationship between art and life in Shakespeare's plays' (Banks 2000: 1) and as 'one of Shakespeare's most important metaphors' (Cohen 2006: 151), and the decades around 1600 have been named literature's 'Age of the Mirror' (Grabes 1982: 14). However, this book differs from previous approaches to studying mirrors in early modern English drama in at least three ways: it involves plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, tying together close readings with context orientation; it combines widely read and studied plays with plays which have received little critical attention and some whose specular devices have never before been discussed in detail (*Edward I* and *The Devil's Charter*); and each chapter ends in what I call an 'Interlude', offering space for considering the prominent role of the (meta)theatricality of the specular setups discussed. This prepares readers for the book's final argument: that mirrors are figures of early modern theatricality, and that on stage they materialize or verbally visualize the very mode of theatrical representation.

As early as in the founding decade of New Historicism, Stephen Greenblatt observed that 'Renaissance writers ... return[ed] again and again to the image of the mirror' (1988: 7–8) to negotiate the character of the theatre: 'The mirror is the emblem of instantaneous and accurate reproduction; it takes nothing from what it reflects and adds nothing except self-knowledge' (ibid.: 8). However, as Greenblatt continues, and as the studies in this book make clear, 'for the Renaissance more is at stake in mirrors than an abstract and bodiless reflection' (ibid.):

Both optics and mirror lore in the period suggested that something was actively passing back and forth in the production of mirror images, that accurate representation depended upon material emanation and exchange. Only if we reinvest the mirror image with a sense of pressure as well as form can it convey something of its original strangeness and magic. And only with the recovery of this strangeness can we glimpse a whole spectrum of representational exchanges where we had once seen simple reflection alone. (ibid.)

For Greenblatt, this sort of mirror represents the project of New Historicism to go beyond 'the level of reflection' (ibid.: 11) pursued by earlier scholars. The New Historicist idea that literature is not a 'parasitic reflector of historical fact' (Howard 1987: 15) but rather actively engages with both society's past, present and future is demonstrated by the following readings. Apart from that, they are more indebted to New Materialist approaches acknowledging and trying to make sense of the material 'reality' of (or as suggested by) stage plays. Douglas Bruster has claimed that 'scholars who "read" mirrors and other physical objects ... are doing materialism' (2003: 203). While Bruster's conclusion is intentionally simplistic and slightly polemic, this perhaps is what this book, at least in parts, does after all: it is 'doing' materialism by 'reading' mirrors. But still more than that, it engages with the textually suggested materiality of stage mirrors to, on a further level of analysis, discover their meanings, both material and immaterial.

Bruster's comment refers to Debora Shuger's essay 'The "I" of the Beholder: Renaissance Mirrors and the Reflexive Mind', probably the

foundational text of New Materialist studies of mirrors, in which Shuger argues that 'the object viewed in the [early modern] mirror is almost never the self' (1999: 22). Rather, Renaissance subjects were trained to see in mirrors all sorts of exemplary images. This distinct mode of mirroring 'suggests that early modern selfhood was not experienced reflexively but, as it were, relationally' (ibid.: 37). According to Shuger, (mirrored) selves in early modernity are not an essence but products of social relations.

The theatre, which is always produced in the course of interactions between actors and audiences, is the art of dialogue. Like the mirror, it establishes connections and engages with, rather than only reproduces, 'reality'. Like theatrical representation, specular reflection is not a process of imitation but of constructing the self via some other. The mirrors discussed in the following chapters never reflect what they are expected to show. As outlined above, they reflect *and* invert. All mirror passages in the eight plays examined in this book evoke contemporary contexts and discourses (*reflection*), but they challenge and twist their principles (*inversion*).

This book consists of four chapters. Each chapter explores one type of inversion. In Chapter 1, the mirrors are supposed to reflect and support the omnipotence of monarchs. They provide, however, only visions of the protagonists' future powerlessness. In Chapter 2, the mirrors reflect idealized versions of governing individuals. But in the end, they expose the fallibility of these ideals. In Chapter 3, the mirrors seem to be props in a tableau of feminine vanity. Instead, they turn out to reflect the female characters' subversive power that invites patriarchal violence. In Chapter 4, the characters believe that they are facing natural-magic truths. In fact, however, they see only optical trickery in specular tools, which, ultimately, reflect upon the nature of the theatre.

Chapter 1, 'Imperial mirrors in *Richard II* and *Macbeth*', discusses mirrors in relation to conceptions of sovereignty and masculinity in two Shakespearean plays. *Richard II* and *Macbeth* are the only plays in the Shakespeare canon that unambiguously feature a mirror as a prop (there may have been mirrors handled by the Fool, Albany or

Lear himself in *King Lear* as well as by Autolycus selling his trumpery and trinkets in *The Winter's Tale*, but these are only speculations). The connections that exist between the plays and the reigning monarchs (Elizabeth's identification with Richard II; James's Scottish ancestors in the mirror held up to Macbeth) help examine the processes of reflection as they spread beyond the limits of the stage.

The first inversion traces the fall from empowerment leading to disempowerment. I read Shakespeare's *Richard II* and *Macbeth* in the light of the literary tradition of 'imperial mirror' narratives. Rulers since antiquity had been associated with specular instruments that allowed them to oversee and control their realms. Stories of this sort circulated widely in early modernity and were also told about the Tudor kings Henry VII and Henry VIII. This chapter shows how the plays evoke but also challenge elements of this tradition. While imperial mirrors traditionally function as technologies of power, in *Richard II* and *Macbeth* they act as tools to visualize the rulers' loss of authority. The mirrors in both plays make their stage appearances in moments of weakened sovereignty and contribute to the monarchs' fall from rather than rise to power.

Chapter 2, 'Exemplary mirrors in *Edward I* and *Bussy D'Ambois*,' addresses notions of ideal(ized) government in George Peele's *Edward I* and George Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*. *Edward I* is the only extant play from the early modern period in which a king literally enters the stage as a mirror. Edward's stage appearance in his coronation suit of glass is complemented by the excess of mirror imagery employed to characterize the protagonist in *Bussy D'Ambois*. Like *Richard II* and *Macbeth*, both plays are infused with subversive potential in relation to the reigning monarchs. *Edward I* is an Elizabethan history play that, while influenced by the recent triumph over the Spanish forces under Elizabeth's command, implies criticism of her government's handling of the question of succession. *Bussy D'Ambois* is a Jacobean history play that, via its nostalgic praise of Elizabeth's reign, challenges her successor James I's authority.

The second inversion illustrates transformations from ideals to anti-ideals of (self-)government. I consider *Edward I* and *Bussy D'Ambois* two dramatic engagements with the 'mirror for princes' genre. *Speculum* books that provide exemplary mirrors for readers to modify their behaviours had been popular in England since the Middle Ages. Since the first publication in the *Mirror for Magistrates* series in 1559, and even earlier, theatre audiences also were familiar with the subgenre of 'mirrors for princes'. I show that Peele and Chapman adapted the genre's premise but made sure to let it fail. The flawed *exempla* in the persons of Edward and Bussy betray the exemplary quality of authority figures. Facing the failures of those postulated as models to emulate, audiences are invited to question idealizations of the powerful elite.

Chapter 3, 'Cosmetic mirrors in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter*', discusses the approach of male authors to what they consider female transgressive agency in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*. These plays are examples of the popularity of dressing-table (or face-painting) scenes in Jacobean tragedy. This trend is connected to the period's penchant for spectacle nurtured by the masque culture at the court of James I. But the scenes also contribute to the seventeenth-century theatre's increasing reflection on its own constructedness. My selection of two Jacobean tragedies invites comparisons and illustrates how playwrights of the same era and genre pursue different approaches.

The third inversion shows how the cosmetic mirror as an emblem of vanity is converted into an image of agency. I understand the mirror scenes in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter* as dramatizations of the well-established *vanitas* tableau that shows a woman beautifying herself in front of her mirror. Early modern print culture had promoted the dissemination of this allegory. Cosmetics were a much-debated topic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Women, and also men, who applied them were mostly considered victims of their conceitedness. This chapter illustrates how in the tragedies of Webster and Barnes the common *vanitas* tableau is reproduced but also reworked on the stage. The beautification practices of the female protagonists mark them not

as passive victims but as agents in control of their appearances. The subversive potential that both the Duchess of Malfi and Lucretia Borgia assume in their respective plays is curbed by the violent interventions of male characters. Placing the female characters at their mirrors, the authors do not ridicule face-painting women but acknowledge the 'threat' emanating from women's powder rooms that challenges masculine superiority.

Chapter 4, 'Natural-magic mirrors in *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*', explores the overlapping theatricality of scientific demonstration and occult ritual in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* and Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*. This final chapter draws on two Jacobean satirical comedies to investigate the changes that affect the stage mirror in the light of the 'Scientific Revolution'. *A Game at Chess* was staged circa fourteen years after *The Alchemist* was first performed. Still, the two plays' similarities in their handling of (pseudo-)magic mirrors as well as the climactic enactment of the notion of the mirror *as* a stage in Middleton's play validate the hypothesis that those years witnessed a demystification of the magic stage mirror.

The fourth inversion is the exposure of magic as a product of science (or *natural* magic) and theatrical show. I approach *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess* as dramatic examples of a transitional era that witnessed the gradual explaining away of 'actual' mirror magic as effects of trickery and play-acting. Methods to create optical illusions in or by mirrors had been discussed by scholars since ancient Egypt. In the decades around 1600, a decline in representations of the actuality of occult practices was accompanied by several revolutionary progresses in the field of optics. This chapter demonstrates how the trickster characters in both plays masquerade their legerdemain with mirrors as skilful magical manipulations of mirrors to deceive gullible victims. In earlier plays with magic mirrors, those mirrors are usually marked as actual magical devices within the world of the plays. Jonson and Middleton allow audiences to see behind the curtain: their mirrors are marked as instruments of make-believe *in* the plays and *on* the stage.

In the book's closing pages, the mirror is established as a figure and agent of early modern theatricality. As illustrated by the archaeological finds at the sites of the Rose and Globe playhouses, mirrors were present in spaces of performance. But they also actively create and themselves become performative spaces. Their presence not only fostered theatrical display. Instead, prop and trope mirrors came to represent the principles of theatricality. As specular stages upon the stage, they were held up to the theatre in complex processes of reflection and inversion.

Imperial mirrors in *Richard II* and *Macbeth*

Imperial mirrors: Tudor monarchs and specular (super)vision

In early modern England, monarchs were linked to mirrors via two narrative traditions. One is the ‘mirror for princes’ genre, which is the subject of Chapter 2. The other is what I (adopting Eileen Reeves’s term) call the ‘imperial mirror’ tradition. Stories of this type circulated in a vast number of variants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They all involve sovereign figures who consult telescopic or prognostic mirrors for the purpose of specular surveillance. Accordingly, an ‘imperial mirror’ is ‘a legendary mirror or combination of lenses and mirrors with which ancient rulers had supposedly surveyed foreign enemies and their own fractious empires’ (Reeves 2008: 11). After 1608, as news of the progresses made in telescopic technologies spread over Europe, writers increasingly imported those legendary mirrors of bygone times into the public mind of the present. Rather than being ‘props of an irretrievable past’, their texts suggested that such devices might still be in use, either ‘in regions remote from the reader’ or among ‘the more astute members of a European audience’ (ibid.: 15).

This chapter argues that the speculations on imperial mirrors in the literary discourse around 1600 also had an impact on the mirror scenes in Shakespeare’s *Richard II* (1595) and *Macbeth* (1606). I show how the dramatizations of confrontations between monarchs and mirrors in

these plays seize upon legends of imperial specularity to (re)negotiate the nature and limits of sovereignty. While the specular encounters of both Richard and Macbeth evoke conventions of 'imperial mirror' narratives, they belie common expectations of the instrument to enhance vision, knowledge and exercise of control. Instead, Shakespeare remodels his kings' mirrors into dramatic surfaces that reflect their individual and genealogical collapse.

The 'imperial mirror' theme is probably as old as what Theodore Besterman calls the 'Legend of the Magical Tower' (1924: 9). This net of legends covers myths of urban defence systems, the Pharos of Alexandria being the most famous example, which allegedly involved mirrors that 'shone over all the town and warned the inhabitants in time, by reflecting the enemy while he was still at a great distance, of any threatened invasion' (ibid.). References to similar setups operated by or against England trace back at least to Roger Bacon's thirteenth-century note on how Julius Caesar had 'great Glasses' installed at the French coasts 'to view the site and disposition of [b]oth the Castles and Sea-Towns of great *Britain*' (1659: 20).

Two urban myths circulating between England and the continent linked a Tudor ruler to an imperial mirror. The first myth features in at least four travel reports, produced between 1605 and 1616 by Johann Jacob Grasser, Peter Eisenberg, Justus Zinzerling and Philipp Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania. Their accounts, while varying in detail, relate how the founder of the dynasty kept at his command in Richmond Palace 'a large circular mirror, in which King Henry VII. by means of magic saw what was passing everywhere both by sea and land' (Rye 1865: 128). The second myth concerns Henry VII's son and successor, Henry VIII, who, in 1541, feared a Catholic invasion from the Franco-Spanish alliance. In April of that year, the French ambassador Charles de Marillac recorded an exchange between the king and an Italian expert in mirror manufacture. He recalls how the latter 'has given the king ... to understand that he can make a mirror and place it on the summit of Dover Castle, and that looking into this mirror one would be able to see all the ships leaving from Dieppe [in France]' (Reeves

2008: 49; for the original letter, see Kaulek 1971: 289). Apparently, the man was given money and sent to Dover. But no information survives as to whether a mirror was ever installed.

Both myths address aspects of the connection existing between monarchs and mirrors in discourses on sovereignty. The device advertised to Henry VIII (like his father's less explicitly politically marked one) is designed for the purpose of (cross-)territorial surveillance. The reports referring to Henry VII's mirror also indicate its central position in the royal armamentarium for attaining and maintaining intellectual supremacy. They address questions of legitimacy and lineage, and the significance of the royal image beyond the individual ruler's death.

In their respective reports, all four travellers agree that the Richmond mirror was kept in the palace library among 'many old written and printed books' (Rye 1865: 128). Johann Jacob Grasser also implies a connection between that mirror and the 'secret passages used by this king [i.e., Henry VII]' (ibid.). The secret library and its secret passages associate the device with the Foucauldian 'apparatus of knowledge' (Foucault 1995: 126) as established by governmental systems. Mirrors have been in the service of knowledge acquisition throughout human history: in theory, the act of reflecting has been treated analogously to the state of knowing, for 'knowledge is none other than reflection and contemplation' (Torti 1991: 7);¹ in practice, the development of glassmaking forwarded the rise of surveillance technologies. J. K. Petersen reminds us that only 'when humankind learned to fabricate metal and glass, it became possible to observe objects farther away, or smaller than the unaided eye could see, and surveillance entered the technological realm' (2013: 3). The emergence of reflective and refractive materials gave 'rise to spy glasses, spectacles, mirrors, and telescopes' (ibid.: 13).

In the palace library, Henry VII's mirror reportedly was kept alongside a 'portrait of the King when a young man, together with his wife' (Rye 1865: 172), as well as a visual rendering of 'the Genealogy of the Kings of England from Adam' (134). Its spatial proximity to pictorial manifestations of the English royal lineage topically links it to the themes

of intergenerational continuity and legitimate succession. Benjamin Goldberg observes that in early modern writings ‘the reflection of an image within a mirror is a distinct analogy to reproduction’, with the mirror serving as a symbol of ‘the process of generation of the individual’ (1985: 128–9). As I will show, Shakespeare appears to use specular tropes and props with this in mind to reflect upon masculine-monarchical failures to reproduce family resemblance (in the sense of outward semblance, but also in the Wittgensteinian sense of a shared genealogical identity without overall likeness). The suggested triangle of mirror, portrait and pedigree promotes the memory of Henry VII as incorporated into a line of ancestrally sanctioned royal bodies and promises the continuity of rightful rulership by virtue of family ties. As such, the Henrican mirror assists the dynasty’s legitimization efforts known as the Tudor Myth.

Juxtaposed via the details surrounding the Richmond mirror are Henry VII’s individual likeness (his portrait) and his place in English history (the pedigree). Yet another antagonism is created by pairing the eternal youth of the painted counterfeit with the ephemeral image the king might have beheld when looking *at* his face *in* the mirror (rather than *through* the glass *into* his realm). This evokes the split identity of sovereign figures composed of what has been labelled ‘the king’s two bodies’. Extensively theorized by the lawyer Edmund Plowden in the Elizabethan era, and prominently studied by Ernst H. Kantorowicz, the theological-political notion of the monarch having ‘in him two Bodies, *viz.* a Body natural and a Body politic’, the first ‘a Body mortal, subject to all Infirmities that come by Nature or Accident’ and the second ‘a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government’ (Plowden 1816: 212a), was a vital component of the legal discourse in early modern England.

The complex bond between the Richmond mirror and the body of Henry VII is illustrated by the narrative of their joint destruction. When the first Tudor monarch died in 1509, the glass allegedly ‘broke in pieces of itself’ (Rye 1865: 172), and the walls of the chamber subsequently remained ‘besprinkled with his blood’ (*ibid.*). This detail introduces

the mirror as inextricably adjunct to the king's surveillant gaze. As an extension of Henry's royal eye, the spying glass evokes 'the association of the mirror of the eye with the window of the soul', and, like the eye, the mirror 'breaks at death' (Grabes 1982: 107). The ephemeral mirror image is replaced by the natural body's blood commemorating Henry VII's corporeal existence. While the blood and the broken mirror mark the perishing of the mortal individual, the king's immutably young portrait remains at the palace as a representation of the immortal body politic incorporated into 'the genealogies of all the Kings of England' (Rye 1865: 172). It thus seems that, when evoked in the context of sovereign corporality, mirrors tend to be located on or indeed to mark the pronounced but blurry boundary between the King as a concept and the king as individual, between the related yet opposed spheres of the political and the physical.

It is not my purpose to prove that Shakespeare was familiar with the details of the legends discussed above. Still, I am confident that he had access to 'imperial mirror' stories *like* those circulating around both Henry Tudors. They were present in the public mind throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, and they were linked to questions of governmental surveillance, genealogical legitimacy and regal identity. In the light of this narrative tradition, two theoretical frameworks inform my readings of *Richard II* and *Macbeth*. First, I argue that the scenario of a monarch ruling with the aid of a mirror reimagines the act of governing as establishing and assuming control of a scopic regime (in the sense of Martin Jay's reformulation of Christian Metz's cinematic term); and second, I argue that the scopic regime's structure is best characterized by a modified version of Michel Foucault's concept of panopticism.

Jay defines scopic regimes as '*systems of visibility*' that indicate 'a non-natural visual order operating on a pre-reflective level to determine the dominant protocols of seeing and being on view in a specific culture at a specific time' (2008: 4515). A 'regime', according to that definition, 'involv[es] a disciplined gaze or organized visual field that permeates a culture' (ibid.). Elsewhere, Jay observes that 'the

privileging of the visual [in the Renaissance] [was] abetted by such inventions as the telescope and the microscope' (1988: 3). In turn, telescopic and microscopic instruments in that era were commonly conflated with imperial mirrors, since their potential for warfare has always attracted the powerful elite. Rethinking sovereign supervision by means of specular technologies, I apply the idea of scopic regimes as defined by Jay in the literal sense of governmental systems (regimes), in which policing power is exercised through the binary constellation of seeing and being on view. In such regimes, the 'disciplined', and disciplining, gaze of rulers 'permeates' kingdoms via specular monitoring screens. As a result, the authority of specularly supported *scopic* regimes envisioned in 'imperial mirror' narratives rests upon the authorities' mastery of *telescopic* mirrors.

Imperial mirrors support strategies of governmental disciplining by deploying visual technologies of power. I agree with Nancy M. Frelick's observation that 'mirrors have perhaps always been (in the service of) "technologies of power" of one kind or another (in a Foucauldian sense)' (2016: 16). Of the *galeries des glaces* at the French absolutist court, Frelick notes that they 'served as a reflection of the infinite power of the Sun King, Louis XIV, ... turning the court into a kind of fishbowl or prefiguration of Bentham's Panopticon' (ibid.).

Frelick's conclusion introduces the second theoretical framework I use for approaching the relationship between sovereignty and specularity in *Richard II* and *Macbeth*. Michel Foucault bases his theory of panopticism on Jeremy Bentham's late-eighteenth-century design for the 'panopticon', an architectural-carceral model revolving around a centrally positioned inspector, who is '[over]seeing without being seen' (Bentham 1995: 43). Bentham suggests that 'the centrality of the inspector's situation' provides him not only with a 'perfect view' (ibid.) but also endows him with the power of 'apparent omnipresence' (45), so much so that 'the persons to be inspected should always feel themselves as if under inspection' (43).

For Foucault, the supervising individual's 'state of conscious and permanent visibility ... assures the automatic functioning of power'

and eventually ‘render[s] its actual exercise unnecessary’ (1995: 201). In Bentham’s layout, Foucault identifies ‘the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable’, for, while ‘the tall outline of the central tower’ is visible all the time, ‘the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so’ (ibid.). Accordingly, the effectiveness of the panoptical structure lies in the inmate’s internalization of the inspector’s gaze.

Central to Foucault’s argument is the (post)modernness of panopticism and the ‘inversion of visibility’ (ibid.: 189), which, he notes, occurs between the early modern and the post-classical period. This ‘inversion’ he describes as a transition from monarchical government based on ‘the pomp of sovereignty, the necessarily spectacular manifestations of power’, to the modern state’s invisible ‘exercise of surveillance’ (ibid.: 217). For Foucault, then, there cannot exist any analogy between early modern and contemporary governmentality. To this, I object that panopticism indeed provides a suitable concept for studying the sovereign gaze in early modernity once the surveillance potential of imperial mirrors is considered.²

Two main parallels connect the panopticon and the imperial mirror: the materiality of the setup surrounding the inspecting individual and the effect this has on those inspected. The panoptical inspector is envisioned as overseeing the inmates from a central tower that evokes the magical towers of ‘imperial mirror’ legends. He is placed ‘in a kind of lantern’ (Bentham 1995: 105), with two peepholes pierced in its covering, which are ‘no larger than the aperture of a common spying-glass, and, like that, closed by a piece of glass’ (105–6). Within this setup, the semblance of an inspecting presence can be created and maintained by the silhouette of ‘any opaque object’ (ibid.: 106). This ‘partial visibility is equivalent to invisibility’, and it does not weaken but contributes to the illusion of an ‘all-seeing’ gaze (Božovič 1995: 13).

Of ‘Elizabethan practices of obtaining visual information’, Susanne Scholz and Daniel Dornhofer suggest that ‘even rumours about their existence were enough to produce anxiety’ (2013: 3). Like those secret spying activities, and like the ambiguous presence and feared

omnipresence of the panoptical inspector, stories of imperial mirrors likely created an uneasiness that the monarch could be watching at any given moment. These parallels turn a sovereign overseeing, or *believed to be* overseeing, the realm with the aid of an imperial mirror into a prefiguration of the panoptical inspector. They both are powerful figures, obscurely yet ubiquitously visible as dazzling irradiations of light (in the sense of the actual brightness of the panopticon's lantern and the figurative beams of the popular metaphor of the monarch as the realm's radiant sun), and they both use spying glasses for observing their subordinates.

As I have demonstrated, the 'imperial mirror' tradition encompasses questions related to power politics, genealogical legitimization and the multiple identity of rulers. Their setup anticipates (post)modern theories of scopic regimes and panoptical control. In the remainder of this chapter, I show how Shakespeare processes and challenges the elements of 'imperial mirror' narratives in *Richard II* and *Macbeth*. On the verge of the general adoption of telescopic technologies at European courts, the relationship of monarchs to mirrors was a topic of public interest. At the same time the genre of the history play flourished in England. In most plays of this type, 'Kingship is a major theme' since 'the fascination with kings and Kingship seems to have been particularly intense' among playwrights working around 1600 (Tillona 1980: 2). Staging history plays could be a strategy of monarchical propaganda. However, as illustrated in my readings of *Richard II* and *Macbeth*, it could also be a politically subversive act.

Roy Strong notes that the Shakespearean chronicle plays throw 'a penetrating spotlight ... on the fragility of kingship' (2005: 229), and David Bevington similarly identifies in that period 'a vogue for English history plays about weak kings' (2002: 351). Plays participating in this trend 'depict a decentralized and desanctified monarchical institution in which the king is limited by councilors, peers, and common subjects' (Bezio 2015: 95). I will argue that such processes of exposure and deconstruction are at work in the reworkings of imperial mirrors in *Richard II* and *Macbeth*. The interaction of monarchs and mirrors in

these plays is the first of the four inversions produced by the dramatic use of specularity, which I discuss in this and the following chapters. The mirrors of Shakespeare's weak monarchs are supposed to serve as technologies of power. Instead, they are portrayed as tools that reflect (on) their impotency.

Brittle glory: The fragmented mirror in *Richard II*

Elizabeth I famously saw herself reflected in Richard II. In 1601, a few months after Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, had been executed for treason, she made clear that she had not missed the connection between the prevented coup against her and King Richard's deposition as re-enacted in Shakespeare's play, of which the conspirators had arranged a performance the day before their insurrection. As she 'fell upon the reign of King Richard II.' while reviewing historical records with the registrar William Lambarde, she allegedly declared: 'I am Richard II. know ye not that?' (Nichols 1823: 552). The special performance of *Richard II* on the eve of Essex's rebellion provided the most recent point of reference for Elizabeth's remark. However, she had been associated with Richard before 1601 (for example, by her councillor Francis Knollys; qtd. Albright 1927: 691). Both the queen herself and the prosecutors at the Essex trials likely had long been familiar 'with Elizabeth's political nickname, "Richard II"' (ibid.).

A second anecdote related to a thwarted conspiracy against Elizabeth (later named the 'Throckmorton Plot') illustrates the relevance of mirrors as monitoring instruments. In 1582, Mary Stuart, whom Elizabeth's adversaries schemed to install in her stead on the throne, was a prisoner in England. In that year, an English agent patrolling on the Scottish border noticed 'a suspicious man who posed as a tooth-drawer, discovered he was a servant of [the Spanish ambassador Bernardino de] Mendoza's, and learned he was carrying letters for Mary and [the Duke of] Guise hidden behind a looking-glass' (Kinney 1975: 139). The suspect escaped, but the looking glass was left behind and 'revealed the

existence of the “Enterprise...” (Neale 2001: 271). Christopher Pye identifies a topical link between this incident and Shakespeare’s *Richard II*, in that the plot and the play share a preoccupation ‘with treason, with transgressed boundaries, with mirrors that both conceal and betray too much’ (1990: 82–3). The conspiracy plot is uncovered only ‘because the investigator of political crimes knew to look closest to home, in the “little looking-glass” where he recognizes himself’ (ibid.: 82).

In *Richard II*, the investigating monarch, too, sees an ambiguously familiar face in the mirror that reveals a political conspiracy. As he ‘turn[s] [his] eyes upon [himself]’, he sees ‘a traitor’ (4.1.247–8). Richard’s reflection represents treason. The play of his name reverses the effects normally expected of imperial mirrors. Traditionally, imperial mirrors invest monarchs with the visual omniscience of the panoptical inspector. Richard’s mirror only confronts him with an unintelligible sight of himself. Imperial mirrors are installed as alert systems to make approaching dangers visible before they penetrate the centre of political power. Richard’s mirror brings him face to face with his fall from authority. Instead of warning him of the imminent invasion by Henry Bolingbroke, it forces him to behold its consequences.

Having surrendered his royal regalia to the future king Henry IV, Richard is challenged to recite a list of accusations that the usurper’s party lays to his charge. But, instead of acting the part scripted for him, he asks Bolingbroke to ‘command a mirror hither straight, / That it may show [him] what a face [he] [has], / Since it is bankrupt of his majesty’ (4.1.265–7). The mirror will serve him as ‘the very book indeed / Where all [his] sins are writ’, Richard declares, ‘and therein’, he adds, ‘will [he] read’ (274–6). Once the mirror is brought onto the stage, he addresses the image it presents to him under the watchful eyes of the conspirators. While Richard’s interaction with his reflection has been productively discussed within a great variety of contexts, it has never been considered in the light of the ‘imperial mirror’ tradition. This chapter fills this gap by demonstrating how what had been told about imperial mirrors provides a prolific framework for assessing the monarch’s role(s) in *Richard II*.

In what follows, I connect the play's mirror episode with three components of 'imperial mirror' narratives as outlined above. First, I show how *Richard II* stages an inversion of scopic power between Richard and Bolingbroke by exploring and juxtaposing their respective politics of (in)visibility (a topic revisited in the *Henry IV* plays). Second, I argue that Richard's alienation from his specular likeness and his breaking of the glass point to the rupture with(in) royal genealogy resulting in and from his deposition. Third, I draw on Ernst H. Kantorowicz's considerations to enhance our understanding of how the mirror scene represents the climax of Shakespeare's negotiation of the theory of the king's two bodies in this play. My concluding thoughts will then illustrate how Richard's broken mirror recalls the falls of powerful empires as they had legendarily followed on the destruction of their imperial mirrors.

Theatre of eyes: Exercising politics of (in)visibility

No record survives on the material reality of the mirror prop used for the earliest stagings of *Richard II*. As far as the 'reality' of the play is concerned, the stage directions since the First Folio ('*Enter one with a Glasse*'), and references to it in the dialogue, identify it as an object made of glass.³ Glass and metal mirrors coexisted in the late sixteenth century when *Richard II* was first staged. The various connotations attached to either reflective material were often, depending on the contexts and purposes of the reference, mutually exclusive. For example, a glass mirror could signify truth because it duplicated reality more lucidly than most polished metals. For the same reason, because its precise duplications rendered imprecise the lines between reality and virtuality, it could signify falsity. A metal mirror, too, could signify falsity because it provided only a shadowy reflection of the world. But, at the same time and for the same reason, it could signify truth because its vague silhouettes did not attract vain contemplations, instead calling to mind that the clearest image is to be found in the mirror of God.

These conflicting materialities are implied in the bargaining about the mirror between Richard and Bolingbroke. Richard asks for a 'mirror' (4.1.265). In reaction to his rival's request, Bolingbroke commands an attendant to 'fetch a looking-glass' (268). The term 'glass' is then adopted by Bolingbroke's followers (269) and Richard himself (276; 279):

No deeper wrinkles yet? Hath Sorrow struck
 So many blows upon this face of mine
 And made no deeper wounds? O flatt'ring glass,
 Like to my followers in prosperity,
 Thou dost beguile me. Was this face the face
 That every day under his household roof
 Did keep ten thousand men? Was this the face
 That like the sun did make beholders wink?
 Is this the face which faced so many follies,
 That was at last outfaced by Bolingbroke?

(277–86)

Soliloquising with his reflection, Richard acknowledges that the glass at the same time deceives him (it re-enacts courtly hypocrisy by reflecting the king's immaculate image) and shows the truth (it makes him aware of this phantasmagoria of flattery that defined his existence). Richard's verbal shift from his *mirror* to Bolingbroke's *glass* in the course of the scene may be understood as expressing an emerging awareness of his earlier blindfolded state.

For Richard, the mirror scene is a recognition scene. He recognizes his beguilement by delusion and deceit. His address of the mirror as a 'flatt'ring glass' that 'beguile[s]' his cognition recalls a simile used by George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589):

And this phantasie may be resembled to a glasse ..., for some be false glasses and shew things otherwise than they be in deede, and others right as they be in deede, neither fairer nor fouler, nor greater nor smaller. There be againe of these glasses that shew thinges exceeding faire and

comely, others that shew figures very monstrous & illfavoured. Even so is the phantasticall part of man (if it be not disordered) a representer of the best, most comely and bewtifull images or apparances of thinges to the soule and according to their very truth. If otherwise, then doth it breede *Chimeres* & monsters in mans imaginations, & not onely in his imaginations, but also in all his ordinarie actions and life which ensues. (1589: 14–15)

Shakespeare seems to have borrowed from Puttenham's description for the sequel to *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, when Prince Hal expresses his puzzlement at the resurrection of the presumed dead Falstaff: 'Art thou alive, or is it fantasy / That plays upon our eyesight?' (5.4.134–5).

Like Hal, Richard decides 'not [to] trust [his] eyes' (1H4, 5.4.136). Richard's mirror monologue is modelled after Faustus's reaction to the chimeric apparition of Helen of Troy in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1592). The literary image of Helen mourning her fading beauty in front of her looking glass reaches back to Ovid and had been continued into early modernity by writers such as Austen Saker (in *Narbonus*, 1580), John Lyly (in *Euphues*, 1580; repeated verbatim by Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury*, 1598), Thomas Adams (in *The Blacke Devill, or The Apostate*, 1615) and Thomas Heywood (in *The Iron Age, Part Two*, 1612–13). In Marlowe's play, Helen is one of Puttenham's '*Chimeres* & monsters' bred by the imagination. She is a phantasm controlled by the devil. Shakespeare's textual reference to Faustus's delusion at the sight of Helen's face, and Richard's implied identification with Helen in their shared lamenting at the sight of their reflection, predetermines the mirror scene as a moment for addressing the fatality of Richard's impaired vision.

In Act 4, Scene 1, Bolingbroke arranges Richard's presence on stage to make him resign his royal office 'in common view' (R2, 4.1.156). He deprives Richard of the right to manage his own visibility. Richard's deposition is staged as a public spectacle. Instead of the monarch watching the many, the many watch the monarch. While Richard with his 'desperate theatricality' (Gilman 1978: 109) may actively contribute

to the stage-managing of his final performance as king, Bolingbroke's view dominates the scene. Bolingbroke's seizure of power has been read as 'the uprooting of one worldview by another' (Eisaman Maus 2016: 889, my emphasis). I suggest taking this observation literally in the sense of a new way of *viewing* and a shift in the scopic regime to the benefit of Bolingbroke's visual politics.

In respect of their strategies of (in)visibility and the imagery attributed to them, Richard and Bolingbroke are established as mirror-inverted images of each other. The occurrence of the imagery of burning fire and purging water corresponds to the contrasting strategies of visual self-presentation pursued by Richard and Bolingbroke. Richard first embodies the traditional concept of the king as the sun radiating at the centre of his realm's universe. He is envisioned as ruling 'like the sun' (4.1.284) whose 'violent fires' (2.1.34) will transform into a 'shooting star' when his royal 'sun sets weeping in the lowly west' (2.4.19–21). By contrast, Bolingbroke expects to arrive as the 'yielding water' once he '[on the earth] rain[s] / [His] waters' to quench Richard's flames (3.3.58–60). The expected confrontation with his antagonist Bolingbroke imagines as 'no less terror than the elements / Of fire and water' (55–6). Richard, by contrast, warns his adversaries that 'water cannot wash away [their] sin' (4.1.242). He shares with his supporters the strong belief that 'not all the water in the rough rude sea / Can wash the balm off from an anointed king' (3.2.54–5).

Their respective approaches to visibility politics are described retrospectively in *1 Henry IV*. Henry Bolingbroke, now King Henry IV, lectures his son, Prince Hal, 'on the proper management of one's political visibility and the importance of avoiding overexposure' (Kahn 1981: 73). Echoing the ocularphobic admonition of George Hakewill, who, in *The Vanitie of the Eie*, argues that '*often seeing is the meanes to draw both things, & persons into contempt*' (1608: 22) and 'that presence much weakneth report, and diminisheth reverence' (26), Henry tells Hal that he has 'lost [his] princely privilege' having become a 'common sight' (3.2.86–8). He cautions his son that by being 'so lavish of [his] presence' (39), he is repeating the mistakes of his own predecessor, Richard II.

According to Henry, Richard enjoyed 'being daily swallowed by men's eyes' (70). He made himself so excessively visible that, eventually, he may still have been 'seen, but with such eyes / As, sick and blunted with community, / Afford no extraordinary gaze' (76–8). While Henry implies that Richard's politics of overexposure led to his deposition, his own politics of *invisibility* instead 'did help [him] to the crown' (42). Propagating a strategy of 'being seldom seen' (46), Henry compares his presence to 'a robe pontifical, / Neer seen but wondered at' (56–7). While Richard II fell into triviality due to his excessive visibility, Henry IV believes that his (like the panoptical inspector's) systematic (in)visibility intensified the effect of his presence and gained him the public opinion.

Serving as a prequel to *1 Henry IV*, *Richard II* shows how this tactic indeed helped Bolingbroke 'to the crown'. Its success is illustrated by an inversion of the fire–water imagery as well as by the reactions of those watching the new king's triumphal procession. Once the sun-king Richard is no longer 'rising in [his] throne, the east' (R2, 3.2.50) but instead descends 'like glist'ring Phaëton' to 'the base court' (3.3.178–80), he envisions his unkinged self as 'a mockery king of snow' melting in 'the sun of Bolingbroke' (4.1.260–1). George Puttenham described figurative speech like this as 'an inversion of sence by transport' (1589: 128). Such an 'inversion' of meaning by transporting imagery from one to the other seems to unfold between Richard and Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke, now the sun, transforms Richard into water.

When Bolingbroke, soon to be crowned Henry IV, parades through London, the Duke of York recalls how the residents 'darted their desiring eyes / Upon his visage' (5.2.14–5). While greeting Bolingbroke with 'many greedy looks' (13), the same eyes 'did scowl on gentle Richard' (28). York compares this reaction to Richard's entrance after Bolingbroke to how 'in a theatre the eyes of men, / After a well-graced actor leaves the stage, / Are idly bent on him that enters next' (23–5). The success of Bolingbroke's public self-performance illustrates how in the realm the control over the scopic regime has turned together with the shift in political authority. As Bolingbroke takes centre stage,

Richard slides into unsightliness. Now Bolingbroke, anticipated in Richard's crown-as-well metaphor, is the empty bucket 'dancing in the air' (4.1.186), boldly visible at the peak of his power. Richard, instead, is transformed into the lower bucket 'full of water [and tears]' that, although it is also filled with a legitimate claim to the throne absent in the other, sinks to the bottom to remain 'unseen' (188–90).

'Now mark me how I will undo myself' (203), Richard introduces his final attempt at controlling his royal appearance. He again uses the imperative form 'mark' to direct Bolingbroke's attention to the broken mirror that shows how '[his] sorrow hath destroyed [his] face' (290–1). His efforts to regain dominance over the scopic regime are accompanied by a refusal to surrender to Bolingbroke's visual politics. In the new king's reformed scopic regime, Richard no longer enjoys being looked at. Faced with his imminent deposition, he likens himself to Christ suffering before the eyes of Pontius Pilate's mob. He curses all those 'that stand and look upon [him]' (237). While Bolingbroke and his supporters observe him closely, Richard complains that he 'cannot see' (244) clearly because his eyes are blinded by his tears.

As his distressing attempt at self-reflection results in his breaking of the glass, Richard asks permission to leave the scene. When Bolingbroke asks him where he desires to go, Richard answers: 'Whither you will, so I were from your sights' (315). The king who excessively sought public attention now ironically uses his last request to escape it. 'Disappearance is the direction of Richard's role', writes Scott McMillin, 'the hero progresses toward something intractable to the theatre, something summarized by the word "unseen"' (1984: 49). In keeping with his wish, he is conveyed to the Tower, where he spends the fifth act 'walled from sight' (ibid.). Richard's call for a mirror in a moment of political crisis evokes the image of rulers relying on specular defence systems. However, what Richard sees in his mirror makes him aware of his loss of control due to his defective sight and corrupted visual politics. As a result, he spends the final scenes of his play and life occupying the other extreme of the panoptical structure: as a prisoner, carefully watched by his keepers, but kept blindly in the dark.

A hundred shivers: Cracking the glass of genealogy

Not only is Bolingbroke introduced as more competent than Richard in managing visibilities. He is also more successful in maintaining and expanding family ties. His claim to Richard's throne notoriously lacks legitimacy. Yet his character appears to be firmly anchored in ancestral interdependencies. The Lancasters are represented as cultivating a strong loyalty among blood relatives, which seems to exclude only their cousin Richard. Like the historical Richard II, and also like Macbeth, as I discuss later, Shakespeare's Richard is a king without an heir. Bolingbroke, by contrast, is allied with his father, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, his uncle, the Duke of York, and he is full of hope for a promising future for his son, the later Prince Hal (*R2*, 5.3.20–2). Richard mostly appears as an isolated figure, surrounded only by the flatterers whom he disowns in his mirror speech. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, whose descendants will continue the line of English kings, actively interacts with members of his family.

Various references to the family resemblance among members of the House of Lancaster highlight their shared identity. The Duchess of Gloucester pictures the sons of Richard's grandfather, Edward III, as 'seven fair branches springing from one root' (1.2.13). Her late husband, Gaunt's brother Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, she glorifies as 'the model of [their] father's life' (28). Similarly, Bolingbroke, after his father's passing, 'see[s] old Gaunt alive' (2.3.118) in his uncle York. He evokes the resemblance between the brothers (and, implicitly, between himself and York's son, Aumerle) to gain York's support in reclaiming his 'rights and royalties' (120). References like these create intergenerational mirroring effects that turn members of the Lancaster family into copies of their ancestors in appearance and character.

Richard instead is made aware that he might have his father's 'young and princely' face (2.1.175) but differs markedly from his style of rule when directing violence against 'kindred blood' (182). Trying to restrain Richard from seizing Bolingbroke's estate, York reminds him that he, too, rules only 'by fair sequence and succession' (199). But Richard

notoriously disrespects familial bonds. Like a mirror duplicating an image but flipping right to left, Richard represents an inverted image of his father, resembling him on the surface but reversing him in quality. When, having dashed the glass to the ground after his deposition, Richard mentions the 'sorrow [that] hath destroyed [his] face' (4.1.291), Bolingbroke makes clear that Richard for him is an appearance without substance: 'The shadow of your sorrow hath destroyed / The shadow of your face' (292–3). Richard's show of sorrow ('shadow' as playacting) is as insubstantial as his image in the mirror ('shadow' as reflection). Despite Richard's insistence on an essence 'within', Bolingbroke views his grief only as 'external manners of laments' (295–6). To his opponents, Richard is merely a shadow, a poor reflection of his father's legacy.

I suggest that Richard's inability to recognize any resemblance between his physical appearance and its reflection is a symptom of his failure to live up to the expectations preserved in his father's facial likeness. He expects to see 'deeper wrinkles' (277) because he anticipates that his inner turmoil has had a visible effect. Instead, he still sees the smooth face of his father as he looked 'with the number of [Richard's] hours' (2.1.177). He cannot identify with the image of a man held in such a high esteem as that is held *up* to him in the mirror. I second Anna Riehl's idea that Richard's breaking of the mirror is an attempt 'to interject these symbolic cracks in place of the absent "deeper wrinkles", thus closing the gap between his two bodies that meet in his mirrored countenance' (2010: 5). The 'two bodies' that, according to Riehl, require pairing are one king's body natural and body politic. In fact, the same applies to the political bodies of Richard and his father, who only share a physical (natural) likeness.

When Richard breaks the glass and, with it, destroys his father's image, he symbolically deprives himself of the only legitimizing feature left of his genealogical inheritance. The shattering of the mirror represents his impotency to adequately perform both as a man *and* monarch. It points to the end of his rule as king and to the discontinuity in succession due to the absence of an heir. This reading is supported by a parallel the play draws between Richard's comment on the glass being

‘cracked in an hundred shivers’ (4.1.289) and a simile employed earlier by his aunt, the Duchess of Gloucester, to describe another rupture in legitimate succession. The seven sons of Edward III she depicts not only as seven branches from their father’s root but also as ‘seven vials of his sacred blood’ (1.2.12). Trying to convince Gaunt to take revenge on Richard for his involvement in the murder of her husband, she says that with Gloucester’s death one of these vials ‘is cracked, and all the precious liquor spilt’ (19). Like the mirror reflecting the face of royalty, the vial containing the royal blood is ‘cracked’ at the hands of Richard. Having broken the genealogical glass filled with his uncle’s blood without respecting the bonds within their family, Richard, too, is now deposed and soon after this scene eventually murdered by those supposed to be bound to him as their king and kin.

Before he calls for the mirror, Richard enacts what Walter Pater was probably the first critic to call an ‘inverted rite’ (2011: 198) of the coronation ceremony of mediaeval monarchs. Inversion implies the carnivalesque and the occult, but it also is a process of mirroring: Richard performs all the elements of the ritual in reversed order. He ‘undo[es]’ (4.1.203) himself by divesting himself of his crown and sceptre, weeping away the balm of his anointment, dispossessing himself of his property and revoking his oaths and the sum of his legislation (204–13). Performing a rite of decoronation, Richard erases all royalty from his identity. The result is a ‘total annihilation of his kingly personality’ and a ‘nullification of all his actions’ (Loftus Ranald 1977: 193). Richard II virtually wipes himself out of the line of English kings. The broken glass, as a result of his attempt to efface the paternal face that reminds him of his inherited sovereignty, symbolizes this break with, and within, royal genealogy.

Bankrupt of majesty: Splitting the king’s two bodies

A third crack attends the cracking of Gloucester’s vial and Richard’s mirror. Richard directs the crowd’s attention to it some 50 lines before he breaks the glass. Earlier in the play, Henry Percy, Earl of

Northumberland, had sworn to Richard that Bolingbroke has no ambitions to usurp the throne, but only returns from banishment to reclaim his Lancaster titles and properties. When, despite this promise, he is still forced to collaborate in his own deposition, Richard accuses Percy of ‘cracking the strong warrant of an oath’ (4.1.235). For Richard, the oath cracked at this point is not only Percy’s. It also is his own, which he had sworn when assuming the ‘sacred state’ (209) of kingship. Having given his consent ‘t’undeck the pompous body of a king’, he now ‘find[s] [himself] a traitor with the rest’ (248–50). While, in most cases, a monarch’s body natural and body politic were thought of as ‘together indivisible’ (Plowden 1816: 213), opponents of deposed English monarchs (notably Edward II, Charles I and, of course, Richard II) invoked the superiority of the body politic, which ‘contains the Office, Government, and Majesty royal’ (ibid.). For Bolingbroke and his supporters, the ruling king’s ‘grievous crimes / Committed by [his] person and [his] followers / Against the state and profit of this land’ justify having Richard ‘worthily deposed’ (4.1.223–5).

The cracking of the oath, which results in the breaking apart of the body politic and body natural, is made visible via the broken mirror. Richard’s natural face gazing into it does not match the ideal reflection of royalty. For Ernst H. Kantorowicz, the mirror scene in *Richard II* ‘is the climax of that tragedy of dual personality’ (2016: 39). When he breaks the mirror, ‘there shatters not only Richard’s past and present, but every aspect of a super-world’, with ‘the features as reflected by the looking-glass betray[ing] that he is stripped of every possibility of a second or super-body – the pompous body politic of king’ (ibid.: 40).

With the verbal clue (‘For there it is, cracked in an hundred shivers’), Shakespeare has his king dissolve the duality of the two bodies residing in his person. Bolingbroke’s body natural is the next to be turned into what Kantorowicz calls a ‘super-body’, a ‘*physis*’ endowed with the ‘*metaphysis*’ of divine kingship (ibid.). Like Henry VII’s imperial mirror, which, in the legend discussed above, breaks when the king dies, I suggest that Richard’s breaking of his mirror introduces both his dethronement *and* his death, the collapse of his super-existence *and*

the end of his life as a consequence of his forced return into a single corporeal state.

Umberto Eco characterizes the mirror as a 'threshold phenomenon' (1986: 216). By reflection, mirrors mediate between the onlooker and their image; they 'vanquish ... separateness' in an 'inherent movement ... toward fusion' (Krauss 1976: 56). But, at the same time, reflection 'demonstrates the unstable boundaries between the inner and outer realms of the subject' (Anderson 2007: 107) and thus 'challenge[s] ... familiar lines of identity' (Bedford and Kelly 2007: 97). Richard's case illustrates these ambivalent effects of mirroring between fusion and separation. He faces the mirror in a moment of personal and political crisis. While he hopes to see a wrinkled face to fuse his inner and outer condition, he is confronted with a still greater challenge to his identity as both man and monarch. The mirror scene in *Richard II* reflects (upon) the threshold between the king's two bodies and renders this conflict visible as a potentially dangerous, and arguably irresolvable, weakness of Elizabethan political theory.

Richard's shattered reflection hints both at the expiration of *his* body natural and the perpetuation of *the* body politic. For Kantorowicz, the breaking of the mirror marks a moment of exchange: 'the *demise* of Richard, and the rise of a new body natural' (2016: 40). In addition to that, when he breaks the glass, Richard does not (dis)solve his conflict but rather faces *confusion* in the dual physical effect of broken mirrors: the shards at the same time fragment and multiply his facial reflection. As in the Catholic belief in transubstantiation and the presence of Christ's entire body in each piece of broken bread, which informs the Eucharist ritual, Richard's mirrored face becomes both pluralized and dissected. The glass's hundred shivers symbolize the ephemerality *and* the eternality of royal authority in the theory of the king's two bodies and represent the brittle glory that the crown temporarily bestows.

Shakespearean drama often associates power with brittleness: Richard III sees his kingdom standing on 'brittle glass' (*R3*, 4.2.61); Edward III dismisses attempts to defy his claim to the throne of France as 'dusty heaps of brittle sand' (*E3*, 1.29); Hotspur mourns the loss of 'brittle life'

(1H4, 5.4.77). Richard II's repetition of the word 'brittle', followed by the word 'cracked' (R2, 4.1.287–9) when pointing to the broken glass evokes the dangerous frailty of a power relying too heavily on unstable political concepts. In performance, the sound of 'brittle' and 'cracked' might have been exploited for an onomatopoeical effect. With affordable, small-sized glass mirrors widely available in England from the middle of the sixteenth century, the Lord Chamberlain's Men could have used an actual glass prop when first performing *Richard II* at the Theatre around 1595. When Richard (Charles Edwards) dashed the mirror to the ground in director Simon Godwin's *Richard II* at Shakespeare's Globe in London (2015), the fragmented glass remained in its frame to produce a kaleidoscopic play with reflections. While today's rebuilt Globe doubtlessly has resources to replace the reflective surface on a regular basis, I doubt, however, that at the Theatre a glass was broken and replaced for each performance.

Rather, I suggest that the scene's stage effect was the result of an interplay between visual and acoustic stimulation. It is conceivable that among the 'several Feats and Knacks ... wrought by Glasses of various Figures and Shapes' of sixteenth-century 'Naturalists' (Gilpin 1677: 35) there, too, might have been trick mirrors that produced the illusion of broken glass without actually breaking. Alternatively, it was possible to create reflective surfaces by applying 'burnished silver' (White 1987: 114), as Filippo Brunelleschi had famously done it for his first public demonstration of linear perspective as early as around 1415 to have the moving skies reflected on canvas. I believe that the hard sounds of 'brittle' and 'cracked' at the moment of Richard's demolition of the mirror could have served as substitutes for the real clinking of splintering glass. That way, the materiality of the mirror and the (meta)physicality of Richard's two bodies are fused on the audiovisual level of performance.

Richard addresses the 'brittle glory' of his face directly after admitting that it was 'outfaced' by Bolingbroke (4.1.286–8). The faces of the two kings, Richard II and the future Henry IV, merge in these



Figure 1 Stage photograph of Johan Simons's production of Shakespeare's *Richard II* at the Burgtheater in Vienna (2021). Photograph by Marcella Ruiz Cruz; with kind permission of the Burgtheater.

lines. Perhaps, in original stagings of *Richard II*, the actor playing Richard 'held [the glass] almost threateningly, as if [he] is "reading" the course of Bolingbroke's past and present treachery' (Schuler 2004: 166). The potential of such an interaction has been explored in at least two rather recent productions of the play. In Godwin's 2015 production at the Globe, Richard made Bolingbroke (David Sturzaker) face the mirror when he recalls how he was 'outfaced' by him. At the Burgtheater in Vienna (2021; dir. Johan Simons), Richard (Jan Bülow) and Bolingbroke (Sarah Viktoria Frick) gaze into the mirror together, their reflections temporarily overlapping. According to such readings, when the deposed Richard prompts his rival-successor to 'mark ... the moral of this sport' and to see how 'sorrow hath destroyed [his] face' (4.1.290–1), he not only draws attention to his own condition. He also appears to remind Bolingbroke (in the manner of 'mirrors for princes' as discussed in Chapter 2) that his face and royal glory are now as 'brittle' as were Richard's, and that they might as well break.

Conclusion: The breaking of the imperial mirror

The moral of Richard's example is that there is no security in sovereignty. Given the trend among Elizabethan chronicle plays to undermine the notion of royal omnipotence by 'redefining the monarchy in terms of limitation and participation' (Bezio 2015: 95), I believe that the mirror scene is a warning to monarchs that glass is brittle, and so, too, is glory. Considered in this light, it pairs the objectives of two narrative traditions: those of 'mirrors for princes' and those of 'imperial mirrors'. With the mirror *scene* as a metaphorical mirror of the first type, the mirror *prop* is a mirror within a mirror. *Richard II* has often been categorized as a *de casibus* tragedy (the story of Richard II's fall is among the *de casibus* complaints in most editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates* series). In print, the scene had been censored until after the death of Elizabeth I. If the Elizabethan authorities in 1597 (when the play's first quarto was printed) feared that popularizing the story of a king's deposition could arouse similar thoughts in the queen's political enemies, the Essex rebellion in 1601 would prove them right.

In *Richard II*, Shakespeare betrays the tradition of mirrors as monarchical technologies of power. But the play still shares with 'imperial mirror' stories the certainty that the breaking of the specular device inevitably involves the deprivation of power. The destruction of imperial mirrors legendarily led to the fall of the Roman Empire as well as the cities La Coruña and Alexandria. According to those legends, all of their governments owed their political supremacy to the mirror at the heart of elaborate defence systems, and all of them were tricked into its demolition by rivalling nations. On the imperial mirror of Rome (whose loss among English authors is retold, for example, by John Gower in *Confessio Amantis*), the fourteenth-century chronicler Jean D'Outremeuse notes in *Ly Myreur des Histors*: 'If the Romans had guarded this mirror well, they would still be the rulers of the world' (trans. Reeves 2008: 17).

All of the story's variants have in common the inextricable link between the loss of the mirror and the loss of authority, which also

characterizes *Richard II*. I suggest that their plot element of sovereignty weakened by the failure of the royal apparatus of (super)vision had an impact on Shakespeare for modelling Richard's mirror scene. His 'flatt'ring glass' is an inverted 'imperial mirror', reflecting individual frailty rather than projecting imperial power. Understanding the connections popularly believed to exist between mirrors and monarchs in Elizabethan England helps grasp the significance of the Ricardian stage mirror for addressing questions concerning regal identity and authority, politics of visibility and (in)visibility, masculine (im)potency and genealogical anxieties that Shakespeare explores in this play.

Richard II is the only surviving early modern history play to act out on stage the deposition of a lawful king. The power of plays to affect the attitudes and behaviours of audiences likely motivated the Essex conspirators to pay for a special staging of that specific play on the eve of their attempted coup against Elizabeth. On the night of 7 February 1601, it thus became a mirror for the queen demonstrating the fate that may befall unsatisfactorily ruling monarchs. To the account of the historical Richard II's death in *The Annales of England*, John Stow added John Gower's epitaph to the deposed king. Richard is marked as a 'Mirroure for the world ... / which [should] in Golde be sette, / By which all wise men, by foresight, / their prudent wittes may whette' (qtd. Stow 1592: 516). When the actor playing Richard pretended to shatter the glass on the eve of the rebellion, this act (like the breaking of imperial mirrors that signalled the end of imperial power) was meant to symbolize the end of Elizabeth's reign. It was staged as a prognostic mirror like the glass encountered by the unfortunate king in *Macbeth*.

Barren sceptre: The prognostic mirror in *Macbeth*

The prognostic mirror's 'show of eight kings' (4.1.110–1 s.d.) in Act 4, Scene 1 of *Macbeth* is related to the rule of James VI and I of Scotland and England as well as Catherine de' Medici's in France. Queen Catherine gained considerable political influence after the death of her husband,

the French king Henry II, in 1559, and she managed to maintain it throughout the reigns of her three sons. Legend has it that she, too, consulted an imperial mirror. Her clairvoyant and royal confidant was Michel de Nostradame, known as Nostradamus. According to one anecdote, he presented to Catherine, 'beeing desirous to know what should become of her children, and who should succeed them' (Matthieu 1612: 42), a magic mirror that revealed the future of the kingdom.⁴ Catherine is reported to have beheld a 'glasse representing a hall, in which either of them made as many turns as he should raigne year'es' (ibid.). She first saw her son, Henry III, setting out to make his turn, as Henry I, Duke of Guise, one of Henry III's greatest adversaries in the so-called War of the Three Henrys, 'crost him like a flash of lightning' (ibid.). She then saw Henry III supplanted by Henry III of Navarre, later Henry IV of France, who 'presented himselfe, and made 22. turnes, and then vanished' (ibid.: 43).



Figure 2 Engraving by an unknown artist (probably nineteenth century and not, as stated in the biographer's caption, eighteenth century) showing Catherine de' Medici's catoptronic session with Nostradamus. From Eugène Defrance's *Catherine de Médicis, ses astrologues et ses magiciens-envoûteurs* (1911); with kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Biogr. 3252 o, p. 159.

As cryptical as the witches' mirror show in *Macbeth*, the apparitions in the Nostradamian mirror depict the line of succession 'crost' by intervening forces. Like Catherine (and similar to Richard II), Macbeth sees his posterity crossed and cracked. To King James, who is likely to have witnessed a performance of the play, on the other side, the same mirror may have signified the proliferation of his line in the past and present. The Stuart family's legendary descent from Banquo formed part of the Stuart Myth. While critics disagree on the question of whether *Macbeth* was designed as a piece of flattery to the king or superficially makes use of flattery to cover up subversive intentions, most agree that Shakespeare's choice of the Macbeth (hi)story for the next tragedy he composed to be performed by the King's Men is related to their new patron James's accession to the English throne three years earlier in 1603.

As it is the case with the mirror in *Richard II*, no evidence survives on the form and materiality of the mirror prop used in Act 4, Scene 1 of *Macbeth*. Both the text and the stage directions refer to it as a 'glass' (4.1.110–1 s.d.; 118). When Macbeth visits the witches for the second time to ask for advice on how to handle the political crisis caused by his regicide, he remembers the future they foresaw for Banquo's progeny during their first encounter. He asks them whether 'Banquo's issue [shall] ever / Reign in this kingdom' (4.1.101–2). In response, the witches produce a performance of 'shadows' intended to 'show his eyes, and grieve his heart' (109–10). Their triplicate direction to 'show' (106–8) is answered by the appearance of '*a show of eight kings, the last with a glass in his hand; and BANQUO*' (110–1 s.d.).

Like the mirror scene in *Richard II*, the specular vision in *Macbeth* has not yet been linked with the 'imperial mirror' tradition. In this section, I show how Macbeth's staring into a mirror to learn about the future of his realm evokes the prognostic mirrors allegedly employed by the rulers of the popular legends. The tyrant hopes to see his triumph over the rival claimant to the throne of Scotland and the fruitful persistence of his own line. Instead, he is confronted with a future that explicitly negates his role in it. The imperial mirror, supposed to support the king

as an extension of his gaze by projecting it onto a temporal territory still unseen, is turned against Macbeth. It is held up to him by another king, whose control over the image(s) in the mirror demonstrates superiority in terms of political and sexual prowess. For Macbeth, like for Angelo, who in *Measure for Measure* (1604) considers the functioning of the law in these terms, it becomes a 'glass that shows ... future evils' (*MM*, 2.2.99).

My reading of Shakespeare's remodelling of the 'imperial mirror' tradition in *Macbeth* pursues three observations. First, I show how Macbeth's ocularphobic refusal to see (both in the sense of visual perception and cognitive understanding) results in a loss of scopic control and culminates in his fatal delusion when faced with the optical trickery employed by the enemy forces. Second, I argue that the mirror's infinite reflection marks the moment when the tyrant's effort to establish a surveillance state reverberates and entraps him in a panoptical cell of perpetual self-scrutiny. Third, I seize on the prevalent notion of Macbeth's realm as an inverted world whose mirror invertedness is connected to its ruler's genealogical failure. I then add some thoughts on the role of mirrors in and for potential stagings of *Macbeth* under the eyes of James I and on how this reveals connections to Jacobean theories of sovereignty.

Seared eyeballs: Facing the Gorgonian king

Throughout his reaction to the show of kings, Macbeth expresses his discomfort. His response accompanies the witches' spectral spectacle while also providing indirect stage directions:

Thou art too like the spirit of Banquo; down:
 Thy crown does sear mine eyeballs. And thy hair,
 Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first.
 A third is like the former. Filthy hags,
 Why do you show me this? – A fourth! Start, eyes!
 What, will the line stretch out to th' crack of doom?
 Another yet? A seventh? I'll see no more;

And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass
Which shows me many more; and some I see
That twofold balls and treble sceptres carry.
Horrible sight. Now, I see 'tis true;
For the blood-boltered Banquo smiles upon me
And points at them for his.

(4.1.111–23)

Driven by his desperate wish to 'see no more' (117), Macbeth closes the scene by expressing his resolution to suffer 'no more sights' (154). His panic-stricken reaction recalls the terror suffered by Catherine de' Medici, who 'was said to have fled shrieking' (Wright 2006: 217) upon seeing the fate of her sons in the magic mirror. Nicolas Pasquier writes that 'after [the last apparition] everything became invisible, because the Queen Mother did not want to see any more' (trans. Bullough 1973: 521; for the original French, see Pasquier 1623: 10).

As he rejects to engage with the visual clues provided by the witches' apparitions, for Macbeth, too, everything becomes 'invisible' in the sense of indiscernibly unclear. Avoiding the sights offered by the imperial mirror means missing out on its warnings and meanings. Consequently, he 'stands ... amazedly' (4.1.125), unable to understand what he has seen ('What? Is this so?' [123]). Like the 'fatal vision' (2.1.36) of the floating dagger that made '[his] eyes ... the fools o'th' other senses' (44), Macbeth mistrusts the 'false creation' (38) of this spectacle. Earlier, he also 'dare[d] not [look at]' (2.2.53) Duncan's corpse and Banquo's ghost. Confronted with the ghostly Banquo, whom he had arranged to be '[swept] ... from [his] sight' (3.1.121), he entreats him to 'quit [his] sight' (3.4.95). In that moment, Lady Macbeth, too, is not able to see. While Macbeth urges her to 'see there ... [.] / Behold, look' (65–6), her ignorance of Banquo's murder manifests itself in her inability (or unwillingness) to engage with his image. Not knowing for the Macbeths is equivalent to not seeing.

Macbeth's suspicion of 'encounters with visual images' created by 'visual instruments (mirrors, the imagination)' (Clark 2007: 254) leads him into disregarding (also in the literal sense of not looking at) the apparitions in Act 4, Scene 1. This later entails his fatal blindness to the

fact that the moving wood actually is the enemy troops bearing boughs and that Macduff's Caesarean birth qualifies him as a threat to his life. *Macbeth*, the play, has been characterized as being preoccupied with visual processes, and the play's protagonist confronts its overly visual world with ocularphobia. By ocularphobia in Macbeth's case, I mean, as Stuart Clark defines it, 'the principal epistemological doubts expressed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries concerning the degree to which the eyes and the visual faculties might simply be mistaken about the physical reality of what they perceived' (ibid.: 28).

According to the period's radical advocates of ocularphobic tendencies, mirrors represent the delusive sinfulness of sight because the eye is 'a living looking-glasse, & the looking-glas againe a dead eie' (Hakewill 1608: 18). Suspecting both the witches' mirror and his eyes of deceiving him, Macbeth's deeply rooted scepticism towards the visual makes him a blind man unable to succeed in a world dominated by visibilities. He expresses his fear that seeing will destroy him, but the same is true for not looking. Macbeth lacks what scholars of visual culture have termed 'visual' (Mitchell 1994: 16) or 'optical literacy' (Smith 2015: 316). Being unable to read signs and sights, his mirror does not support but misleads his sovereign gaze.

Macbeth's ocularphobic reaction to the show of kings recalls responses to stage plays from the antitheatricalist fraction. Like Macbeth, who describes the physical harm caused by watching the witches' ghostly parade, early modern antitheatricalists feared 'ocular infection and humoral alteration' (Stelzer 2020: 201) by both pictures and performances. A 'logical next step' (Barish 1981: 89) to the Reformation's animosity towards religious images, secular spectacles, too, were considered 'invasive forces' (Pollard 2005: 17) that 'could exert harmful effects on the body and soul' (82). The Galenic medical authority informed the Renaissance notion of bodies as 'perilously open, both to absorption and spillage' (ibid.: 93), which made the bodily surface 'not a sealed boundary' but 'a permeable membrane through which manifold hostile objects could enter the body and wreak havoc in it' (Moss 2010: 513).

The membrane covering the eyes was among those permeable boundaries deserving protection. Galen had suggested that the eyes 'need to be completely pure for the precision of their function', which is why 'they clear out all the superfluity generated in them through perceptible channels in the nose and eyelids' (*Hygiene* 1:73K). According to the intromission theory of sight, the transport of particles through such channels functioned both ways. Stephen Gosson warns his readers to watch out 'that no corruption of idols, enter by the passage of [their] eyes & eares into the soul' (1582: no page [equals B8v]). John Northbrooke, who in 1577 published the earliest surviving antitheatricalist treatise, also cautioned the public that in the theatres they will 'see that which shall be greivous unto [their] eyes: for our eyes are as windowes of the mynde' (1577: 61). His warning is echoed almost verbally in the witches' prompt to the shadows to 'show [Macbeth's] eyes, and grieve his heart' (4.1.109). I do not argue that Shakespeare is quoting from Northbrooke in *Macbeth*. But I suggest that antitheatricalist anxieties about the impact of theatrical vision(s) pervade the play's mirror scene.

Macbeth's seared eyeballs are symptomatic of the invasively destructive force attributed to theatrical show by antitheatricalist writers. Earlier in the play, Macduff describes the spectacle of Duncan's corpse as 'a new Gorgon' that 'destroy[s] ... sight' (2.3.71–2). The Gorgon Medusa, whose sight turned onlookers into stone, shares with Macbeth the fate of eventually being defeated and destroyed by reflected images. According to Ovid, Perseus 'had looked upon the image of that dread face reflected from the bright bronze shield' (*Metamorphoses*, Book 4, 782–3) that he had been given by the goddess Athena. The Medusa myth illustrates how mirrors can provide 'indirect knowledge' via 'indirect vision' by 'allowing mortals to catch a glimpse of what would otherwise be blinding or deadly' (Frelick 2016: 3–4).

For Medusa, as well as for Macbeth, the Gorgonian glass's power to make visible invisible sights proves fatal. Seeing his absence in the future staged for him in and with the mirror represents Macbeth's 'personal Gorgon, the sign of his own futility and damnation' (Garber

2008: 103). The witches' imperial mirror is turned against him like Perseus's martial shield is turned against Medusa. Self-reflection marks the end of both tyrannous agents. Like Perseus, who carries the head of Medusa as a weapon, Macduff exhibits Macbeth's severed head on stage. This aggressive act of visual display eventually makes a sight out of the ocularphobic monarch and 'transform[s] him into yet another "new Gorgon," a warning sign to Scotland and to the audience of tragedy' (ibid.: 100). Like Medusa, Macbeth is tricked into defeat by optical deception. His confrontation with the mirror and the triumphant exposure of his head demonstrates his deprivation of control over both his vision and his visibility. He thus ends the play blinded by death and having been metamorphosed into a public spectacle.

Crack of doom: Multiplying the panoptical gaze

Macbeth's relationship to mirrors is intrinsically flawed. He is haunted either by an excess of speculation or by the lack of it. When Banquo's ghost appears to him in the banquet scene, Macbeth notices that the apparition has 'no speculation in those eyes / Which [it] [doth] glare with' (3.4.93–4). He means that Banquo's eyes are dull and sightless.⁵ He also means, however, that, having been murdered by Macbeth's commission, Banquo has no sensible future.⁶ All that remains of the man whom the witches prophesied that he '[shall] get kings' (1.3.67) is a disembodied shadow. The lack of speculation marks 'the absence of speculative thought – any intelligence – in the eyes of this specter' (Hunt 2011: 42). Paul Dean argues that 'when the living Macbeth looks into the dead man's eyes [and] ... sees no reflection of himself', this is 'not only because the eyes are not "real" but because *there is no reflection to see* – he is as good as dead already' (1999: 221). Death, the absence in the future, turns Banquo and Macbeth into mirror images of each other and thereby connects the ghost's apparition with the show of kings. In the eighth king's mirror, as in Banquo's lifeless eyes, Macbeth does not see himself. Both the ocular lack of speculation and the excess of speculation in

the mirror's infinite show of kings foresee Macbeth's future absence caused by the force of death.

Kenneth Muir reads 'speculation' here as 'the intelligence arising in the brain but seen in the eyes' (Arden, 2nd Series, 3.4.94n). When Macbeth meets the witches for the first time, he refers to their prophecies as 'strange intelligence' (1.3.76). In the late sixteenth century, with the Elizabethan espionage network thriving, terms like 'intelligence' were 'relatively new coinages' (Bright 1996: 49) for denoting secret information gained via spying activities. Like Elizabeth's, Macbeth's regime is maintained by machinations of intelligencers. We learn that he counsels with witches, hires killers and 'keep[s] a servant feed' (3.4.130) to spy on Macduff. From Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Shakespeare could have learned that the historical Macbeth allegedly 'had in every noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fee with him, to reveale all that was sayd or done within the same' (1577: 249). Macbeth's superior knowledge, the *Chronicles* continue, is connected to his royal office, 'for kings ... have sharpe sight like unto Linx, and long eares like unto Midas' (ibid.).

The Arden editors remark that James Shapiro '(in correspondence) suggests [that the presence of the glass is] a reference to the royal mirror on display at Richmond Palace which supposedly had magical properties' (4.1.110.1n). I believe Shapiro is right in assuming a connection between the witches' mirror in *Macbeth* and imperial mirrors of the kind attributed to Henry VII. Like the Richmond mirror, Macbeth's glass shows him a scenario usually hidden from his view. Like Henry VII, Macbeth is a monarch who looks into a mirror because he is 'bent to know' (3.4.132) the future of the realm. Instead of gathering intelligence, however, the glass shows him a future whose realization premises his demise. Like the mirror in *Richard II*, the specular surface in *Macbeth* brings the king face to face with the end of his reign.

The apparition of the show of kings marks the moment when Macbeth's strategies of surveillance turn against him. The witches' glass does not allow him to panoptically oversee others through time and space. Instead, he finds himself 'caught within speculation'

(Goldberg 1987: 252). It is tempting to imagine that the show of kings was originally performed as 'a parade round the stage', threateningly encircling Macbeth before being 'brought to a halt in a static line prior to a final exit through the other stage door' (Thomson 1992: 160). Such a staging would expose Macbeth to the multiplied gaze of Banquo's glaring eyes. While Richard II sees a fragmented image of his broken self, the separation of Macbeth's body natural from the body politic of kingship is visualized in a prospect of infinity.

When two mirrors are positioned in a way that they face each other, any object placed between them, and each mirror itself, is reproduced infinitely in ever smaller visual echoes. Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks include a vivid description of this effect of infinite mirroring. In a paragraph on linear perspective and visual perception, Da Vinci compares the 'endless images of the objects' of which 'all are represented in all, and all in one' to a setup with 'two mirrors ... [that] face each other exactly' (1970: 40). He explains how the first mirror

will be reflected in the second and the second in the first. The first being reflected in the second takes to it the image of itself with all the images represented in it, among which is the image of the second mirror, and so, image within image, they go on to infinity in such a manner as that each mirror has within it a mirror, each smaller than the last, and one inside the other. (ibid.)

For Macbeth, the show of kings provides a similar spectacle of infinite mirroring. The first king is 'too like the spirit of Banquo' (4.1.111). The 'hair' of the second looks 'like the first' (112–13). The third, too, 'is like the former', and the entrance of the fourth makes Macbeth fear that Banquo's 'line [will] stretch out to th' crack of doom' (114–16), with the eighth king's glass 'show[ing] [him] many more' (119). In this scenario, Banquo is like the object placed between two mirrors in Da Vinci's optical experiment. If the eighth king held the mirror up to James I in a potential court performance of *Macbeth*, the kings Macbeth and James would have found themselves on opposite sides of the glass, both looking in the same mirror held up by the eighth mirror image of

Banquo between them. For Macbeth, the infinite mirroring of Banquo predicts his fruitless future. For James, it reviews his line's prolific past.

Surrounded by the glances darting from the eyes of his rival's infinite reflections, Macbeth finds himself trapped in a mirror maze. As soon as the show of kings vanishes, it is replaced by the witches' 'antique round' (4.1.129). Their dance, too, was potentially performed *around* Macbeth. Throughout his second meeting with the witches, Macbeth appears caught, standing 'amazedly' (4.1.125) in a state of sensory overload. Not able to control the images produced by the mirror, he is turned from an agent of surveillance into its target. The panoptical structure is reversed: instead of the king watching his subjects from a centralized position of power, the tyrant finds himself observed via a supernatural specular setup.

Unlineal hand: Inverting the fruitless regime

The show of kings is not only an optical phenomenon projected via the prognostic mirror. It is also, as John H. Astington shows, reminiscent of 'processional display[s] of monarchs' that aimed at 'legitimizing the current monarch' and were 'particularly employed by the Tudors' (2017: 165–6). Depictions of the "'line of kings" motif' in various media often consist of 'an impressive parade of successive rulers without much sense of individual character and physiognomy' (ibid.). Especially monarchs marking a dynasty's 'legendary beginnings' are often 'hardly distinguishable one from another' (ibid.: 165). Banquo stresses the mirroring among the Stuart rulers emerging from his legacy by 'point[ing] at them for his' (4.1.123). While the Norton editors have Macbeth refer to the second king as the 'heir' (4.1.112) of the first, most other modern editors read the First Folio's 'haire' (1623: 144) as a reference to the colour of Banquo's 'hair' (Arden, 3rd series, 4.1.112). Both meanings imply hereditary features shared by all kings. Like the resemblance fortifying the lineal power of the Lancasters in *Richard II*, the future success of the House of Stuart is signified by the specular bond among its members.

James VI and I was the ninth monarch of the Stuart dynasty. According to the *Chronicles*, his mother Mary, Queen of Scots, ‘now [i.e., in 1587] reigneth, being the eight[h] person from [the first Stuart king] Robert [II]’ (Holinshed 1587: 245). Modern critics disagree as to the identification of the eight *kings*. The play provides no hint that the eighth monarch holding the glass is female. Still, Mary was queen in her own right. This means that her ‘presence in, no less than her absence from the pageant must necessarily trouble its putative assertion of patrilineal succession’ (Kastan 1999: 222). Not including Mary in the line of kings stretching to James and his progeny ‘effaces the maternal link that comprised James’s legitimate claim to the English throne’ and infuses the moment with an ‘ambiguity clouding the legitimacy of the sovereign’ (Coddon 1989: 497). No records survive that tell us how James reacted to potentially seeing *Macbeth* performed or if he was (made) aware of the challenge to his sovereignty implicitly staged with it. For James, the mirror scene may be seen as obliquely subversive. For Macbeth, it not only disrupts his genealogical legacy but deconstructs it entirely.

Macbeth’s failure to succeed as the head of the body politic is connected to his failure to reproduce his body natural. ‘He has no children’ (4.3.219), says Macduff. While Banquo’s line ‘stretch[es] out to th’ crack of doom’ (4.1.116), Macbeth ‘is unable to extend himself physically’ (Barmazel 2008: 122). Children, especially male children, ‘guarantee succession, the continuity of the human bond through time’ (Wintle and Weis 1991: 133). His childlessness also means that ‘Macbeth has no son to perpetuate the blood feud’ (Hawkins 1982: 165). Like Richard II, he remains a barren king. While the witches promise Banquo that he shall ‘get kings, though [he] be none’ (1.3.68), Macbeth is denied the chance to create a legacy via ‘nature’s copy’ (3.2.39). Raging against his rival’s prosperity, he complains:

Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown
 And put a barren sceptre in my gripe,
 Thence to be wrenched with an unlineal hand,

No son of mine succeeding. If't be so,
 For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;
 For them, the gracious Duncan have I murdered;
 Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
 Only for them; and mine eternal jewel
 Given to the common enemy of man,
 To make them kings, the seeds of Banquo kings.

(3.1.60–69)

For Macbeth, his sterility 'becomes obsessive' not only because it threatens the continuity of his rule but also because it 'strengthens doubts about [his] masculinity' (Hawkins 1982: 165). Lady Macbeth, while submitting herself to acts of defeminization, confronts her husband with the threat of emasculation by repeatedly questioning his virility. The play is preoccupied with 'images of a masculinity and a femininity that are terribly disturbed' (Adelman 1985: 93).

The Macbeths' efforts to royalize themselves pervert both their gender identities and the world around them. Macbeth's kingdom has been characterized as a 'hypermasculine world' (Goldberg 1987: 259). A *hyperreal* world, as Jean Baudrillard theorized it, is 'no longer at all specular or discursive' (1994: 2). When simulation supersedes representation, 'the mirror stage is abolished' (ibid.: 97): 'no more mirror of being and appearances, of the real and its concept' (ibid.: 2). Similarly, the witches' specular simulation does not show Macbeth's reality but shadows of a future that does not yet exist. Without the logic of the mirror, 'fair is foul, and foul is fair' (1.1.9), and 'nothing is, but what is not' (1.3.144). Apocalyptic happenings mark the mirror-inverted netherworld ruled by Macbeth's 'unlineal hand' (3.1.62).

What Allan R. Shickman identifies as 'one of the most persistent motifs in *King Lear*, that of "the world turned upside-down ..."' (1991: 83), also applies to *Macbeth*. In early modernity, the sphere of witchcraft was often considered not 'a bizarre incongruity in an otherwise normal world', but instead 'it was that [normal] world mirrored in reverse' (Clark 1980: 127). In *Macbeth*, the mirror-inverted

world created under the influence of witchcraft recalls the description of Merlin's 'glassie globe' (Book 3, Canto 2, 21.1) in *The Faerie Queene*, which is 'like to the world it selfe, and seem'd a world of glas' (19.9). Witches were often associated with the powers of mirrors. Macbeth's interactions with them appear to absorb him and his entire realm into a 'world mirrored in reverse' (Clark 1980: 127), ruled by a tyrant, whose unlineal hand holds a barren sceptre and on whose head rests a fruitless crown.

This tyrant's line terminates in the mirror. Similar to how Richard II's interaction with the mirror completes the ritual of his deposition, the mirror show in *Macbeth* 'represents ... Macbeth's de-coronation progress' (Carroll 2014: 369). Ernst H. Kantorowicz argues that the show of kings exposes 'the plurality of persons necessary to make up a corporation' (2016: 387) in the sense of the theory of multiple royal bodies. Macbeth fails to produce the plurality needed to maintain rule. The mirror reflects his genealogical failure by showing him a plurality of other royal bodies who will inherit the crown after the expiration of his body natural.

Conclusion: The performance of the imperial mirror

In contrast to *Richard II*, the king in *Macbeth* does not break the mirror upon seeing in it the end of his rule. Original stagings of the play might, however, have involved a different broken glass. Peter Thomson suggests that Macbeth might have raised a glass to propose a toast at the banquet. Based on a potential intertextual reference in Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607), he imagines how, 'fingers numbed, [Richard] Burbage lets the glass slip from his hand' (1992: 158) at discovering Banquo's ghost. If there was a glass slipping out of the host's hand at the sight of his undead rival, its splintering might have been linked to the crack in Macbeth's genealogy demonstrated in the other glass's show of kings.

Iain Wright speculates that the show of kings *in* the mirror might have been staged *with* a mirror. He suggests the possibility that the spectral

parade was realized on stage with 'proto-magic lanterns' (2006b: 225). His suggestion is supported by the chance that an early form of the magic lantern of the later seventeenth century might have been used for theatrical purposes by Cornelius Drebbel, a Dutch inventor working in London, whose name appears on a petition to James to build a theatre specialized in optical effects. Still earlier, at the sixteenth-century French court of Catherine de' Medici, Nostradamus's show of kings, too, might have been effected by means of a 'hidden mirror' (Robertson 1831: 344, my translation).

Macbeth is bedazzled by the mirror of the witches, whose spectral spectacle tricks him into murdering again instead of reflecting on the meanings of the apparitions. Like Macbeth, the king *in* the play, James, the king who likely attended a performance *of* the play, too, might have been bedazzled by the mirror. If the mirror was held up for him to see, or imagine seeing, his 'many more' (4.1.119) successors, James would literally have seen himself reflected in a play composed to reflect his interests. With eight Stuart monarchs represented on stage, James would have been the first of the glass's 'many more' rulers. He would have found his reflection at the same time written into the plot and produced by his presence in the audience.

However, the magic of the show might have made James, like Macbeth, blind to its subtle meanings. Critics have observed how the play can be read as questioning James's political beliefs. It has been interpreted as a warning 'of the inherent dangers of imperialist and absolutist thought' (Kinney 1993: 39). The 'spectral identification' (Goldberg 1987: 252) of Macbeth with James reminds us in retrospect that the Stuart line, too, would not last until doomsday. On a surface level, the specular device that failed to support Macbeth's authority seems to support James's. The one's reflection is absent while the other's is infinite. But below the surface, the mirror potentially held up to James appears to function less as a prognostic imperial mirror and more as a premonitory 'mirror for princes' of the kind I discuss in Chapter 2.

Interlude 1: Imperial mirror stages

The mirror scenes in *Richard II* and *Macbeth* are Shakespeare's inventions. Some details concerning Richard's deposition and Macbeth's reaction to the prophecies are referenced in the historical sources. But the mirrors involved in their stagings are not. Accordingly, both mirror scenes are *theatrical* moments in two respects: they were devised explicitly for the stage, and they add rich metatheatrical material. Both kings eventually consider themselves actors in the plays of their life. Richard explains that he 'play[s] ... in one person many people' (5.5.31), performing roles from king to beggar. Macbeth, whose 'act[ing]' turned the kingdom into '[his] bloody stage' (2.4.6), compares his life to 'a walking shadow, a poor player, / That struts and frets his hour upon the stage, / And then is heard no more' (5.5.23–5).

Both Richard's (self-)performance in front of the mirror and the play-within-the-play of the show of kings in *Macbeth* are moments of metatheatre. Richard's facing of the mirror has been characterized as 'one of the most dramatic scenes in Shakespeare' (Doebler 1974: 87), a 'theatric event' (Sillars 2019: 39) and 'a climactic *coup de théâtre*' (Forker 2001: 12). The show of kings in *Macbeth* has been described as informed by 'theatricalizing language' (Carroll 2014: 369) and 'theatrical devices' (Orgel 1999: 145), with the glass itself considered 'a metatheatrical sense-making object' (Garrison 2020: 57), 'operat[ing] in a way that resembles the function of the performance itself' (54). Indeed, I suggest that the sum of stage events in Act 4, Scene 1 of *Macbeth* could be regarded as a play-within-the-play in five acts, with the show of kings as the climactic final act before the performance ends with a traditional dance.

In this chapter, I have argued that in *Richard II* and *Macbeth* the narrative tradition of imperial mirrors is evoked but its principles are inverted. Imperial mirrors (whose services fail in both plays) are supposed to invest their viewing subjects with supreme spectatorship of scenes normally hidden from view. This setup is intrinsically theatrical. On the mirror's specular stage, the royal spectator watches events that

stretch through time and space. Like Richard who at the same time performs and watches the 'shadow of [his] sorrow' (*R2*, 4.1.294), Macbeth, too, watches a performance of 'shadows' (*Mac*, 4.1.110). Both scenes invite audiences to reflect upon notions of sovereignty, theatricality and the theatricality of sovereignty. And in both scenes, a mirror serves as the surface on and by which these ideas are projected.

Exemplary mirrors in *Edward I* and *Bussy D'Ambois*

Exemplary mirrors: Rulers as models of ideal (self-)government

The second literary tradition that links monarchs to mirrors is the 'mirror for princes' genre. It is a subgenre of *speculum* books, which are titles that offer themselves as educational mirrors to their readers, and it evolved from the instructional manuals composed for rulers of antiquity. Didactic exemplarity, not mimetic imitation, is the key quality of such texts. Their purpose is not to '[reflect] things as they are' but to '[show] the way things should or should not be' (Grabes 1982: 39). This, as Debora Shuger has shown, is the *modus operandi* of 'the majority of Renaissance mirrors – or rather, mirror metaphors' (1999: 22). In publications of the 'mirror for princes' genre, we encounter 'the reflection of an artistic ideal, since the figure of the perfect or exemplary prince is the creation of human fashioning' (Snyder 1985: 558).

This chapter argues that the fashion of (de-)idealizing monarchs and other authorities in writings of this sort is reshaped in Elizabethan and Jacobean history plays. My examples are George Peele's *Edward I* (1590–1) and George Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (1603–4). Both plays evoke specular imagery of sublime kingship (*Edward I*) or martial masculinity (*Bussy D'Ambois*) to expose the impossibility of immaculate exemplarity among the powerful elite. Their protagonists are staged, or stage themselves, as mirrors of (self-)government. But their efforts in

specularization are annihilated as they turn into inverted images of the ideals they (were) supposed to represent. The inversion of the concept of specular exemplarity allows the playwrights to question the notion of the ruling classes as models to idolize and imitate.

Perhaps the earliest fusion of the mirror metaphor with a written set of rules for monarchs can be found in Seneca the Younger's *On Clemency* (AD 55–6; Mühleisen and Stammen 1997: 12). Herbert Grabes claims that 'England was very much associated with the rise to prominence of the mirror-title' (1982: 29) before 1500, with the apex in the publication of mirror-titled books between 1550 and 1650 (12). The same era experienced a proliferation of 'mirrors for princes'. Published in multiple editions between 1559 and 1610, the *Mirror for Magistrates* series, whose narrative style goes back to the *de casibus* writings of earlier centuries, has been recognized as 'one of the most widely read and influential works of English poetry of the entire Tudor and Jacobean periods' (Lucas 2019: xv).

Each edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates* features a number of elegies delivered by the ghosts of historical individuals who bewail the frailties that led to their fall from power. In his preface to the first edition, William Baldwin introduces the book as 'a loking glas, wherein readers 'shall see (if any vice be in [them]) howe the like hath bene punished in other heretofore' (1559, 'The Epistle'). Its exhortations 'will be a good occasion to move [them] to the soner amendment' (ibid.). In his own take on a 'mirror for princes', *Basilikon Doron* (1599), composed as a political advice manual for his eldest son, Prince Henry, King James I twice connects the monarch to the mirror. First, he advises his son that he 'shall know all the things necessarie for the discharge of [his] duetie, both as a Christian, and as a King', by addressing himself to God to see, 'as in a mirrour, the course of all earthly things' (1918: 12). Later, he stresses how a king's 'owne life [should] be ... a mirrour to [his] people; that therein ... they may see, by [his] image, what life they should lead' (ibid.: 30). The mirroring implied by James is double directed: the monarch is supposed to be guided by the mirror of God, and, as God's earthly representative, his responsibility is to serve as a mirror for the rest of humanity.

In 1609, he again presented himself as ‘a faire and a Christall Mirror; Not such a Mirror wherein [they] may see [their] owne faces, or shadowes; but such a Mirror, or Christall, as through the transparantnesse thereof, [they] may see the heart of [their] King’ (ibid.: 306). The specular imagery used by James produces the king’s exemplary body as ‘both a reflecting surface and a transparent one’ (Goldberg 1987: 253). Luce Irigaray notes that ‘mirrors and transparent objects ... offer a close parallel’ since both ‘are quite unaffected by what is seen in or through them’ (1985: 169–70). The reflective mirror and the transparent glass of James’s self-representation display the king’s inherent exemplary qualities.

When James was referring to his own vitreous condition, glass mirrors were already widely available in the country, but they still coexisted with mirrors made of various kinds of metal. The conflict between these two material qualities, which were in turn associated with conflicting moral and ideological qualities, is indeed vital for reflecting on the powerful elite’s (self-)identification with mirrors, and I will make the presence of this antagonism especially productive in my reading of *Bussy D’Ambois*. At this point, it remains interesting to observe that while in the disciplinary structure of the ‘mirror for princes’ genre implied by James the mirror remains unaffected, it at the same time aims at positively affecting those who look into it.

Comparing monarchs to mirrors is a prevalent practice in early modern poetry and historiography. Such imagery is used to idealize the popular English rulers Henry V (Hall 1548: 33v and 52r; Holinshed 1577: 1217–18; *H5*, 2.0.6) and Elizabeth I (*The Faerie Queene*, e.g., Book 1, Proem, 4.2). Charles I is invited by John Donne to ‘make [him] selfe as a Glasse ... to reflect, and cast [Donne’s *Meditations*] upon [his] Subjects’ (1954: 72). Donne’s sermon then encourages Charles to be instructed by the mirror of his father, James I. ‘It was a *Metaphor* in which, your *Majesties Blessed Father* seemd to delight’, Donne recalls, ‘for in the name of a *Mirroi*, a *Looking Glasse*, he sometimes presented *Himselfe*’ (ibid.).

Early modern *speculum* books address themselves to most social strata and professional spheres of society. Monarchs, like individuals

invested with public offices, are addressed frequently in publications of that genre, 'since the sovereign can embody public and private virtues, or else be a negative example as a personification of the worst vices' (Torti 1991: 26). As Herbert Grabes points out, 'in the case of monarchs, ... the virtues reflected are typically public ones: martial prowess, nobility, magnanimity, justice' (1982: 79). This also applies to 'princes and other, non-hereditary, leaders of men such as knights, magistrates or even gentlemen' (ibid.). In Shakespeare's plays, this convention is mirrored, for example, in Talbot's praise of Salisbury as the 'mirror of all martial men' (1*H6*, 1.4.73), Hotspur's widow Kate's memory of her brave husband as 'the glass / Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves' (2*H4*, 2.3.21–2) and Posthumus's reputation as 'a sample to the youngest, to th' more mature / A glass that feated them' (*Cym*, 1.1.48–9).

Beyond Shakespeare's plays, this genre is present, among others, in George Chapman's *May Day* (1611) and Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), both including references to the *Mirror for Magistrates* (*May Day*, 3.1.50; *Bartholomew Fair*, Induction 140–1, 5.6.35–8). While these examples are comedies, I suggest that the topos is most productively adapted in history plays like *Edward I* and *Bussy D'Ambois*. In early modern England, reading history was considered 'a moral activity' (Moseley 2009: 90). This attitude is connected to the humanist revival of the ancient dictum that 'History is philosophy teaching by examples'. The Puritan Thomas Beard, in *The Theatre of Gods Judgements*, too, describes history as

a very necessary and profitable thing, for that in recalling to mind the truth of things past, ... it setteth before us such effects (as warnings & admonitions touching good and evill) and laieth vertue and vice so naked before our eyes, with the punishments or rewards inflicted or bestowed upon the followers of each of them, that it may rightly be called, an easie and profitable apprenticeship or schoole for every man to learne to get wisdom at another mans cost. Hence it is, that Historie is termed of the ancient Philosophers, *The record and register of Time, the light of Truth, and the mistresse and looking glasse of mans life*. (1597, 'Preface')

After the Wars of the Roses, studying history had become 'a pressing concern for a nation that wished to preserve the peace and political stability of the present and to avoid the mistakes that had led to the insecurity of the past' (Rackin 1990: 3). With the past informed by positive and negative examples, 'the supreme function of the historiographical mirror became not its capacity to reflect but its power to correct' (Grabes 1982: 95).

'Mirrors for princes' often represent inverted (either positive or negative) images of the status quo. By this strategy of inversion, they could criticize existing power structures. Stephen Greenblatt argues that power 'not only produces its own subversion but is actively built upon it' (1988: 30). His theory is indebted to Michel Foucault's observation that 'where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power' (1978: 95). What Foucault calls 'resistance' and Greenblatt 'subversion' is 'inscribed in [power] as an irreducible opposite' (ibid.: 96). Authorities need to (re)assert their power by prevailing over subversive forces. In a similar manner, 'an ideal image [of a monarch] involves as its positive condition the constant production of its own radical subversion and the powerful containment of that subversion' (Greenblatt 1988: 41). Such a process of *subversion* is part of the processes of *inversion* of 'mirrors for princes'. In *Macbeth*, Malcolm produces a dystopian picture of himself as a tyrant to ensure that he has Macduff's loyalty to rise as Scotland's saviour king (4.3.44–139). For Macduff, 'such welcome and unwelcome things at once [are] / ... hard to reconcile' (138–9). This is how this sort of mirroring works: the negative produces the positive, the positive effaces the negative.

The 'exemplary mirror' tradition addresses ideals and anti-ideals of social interaction. While ideal images aim at reproducing themselves (in the sense of positive change), anti-ideal images aim at producing their opposites (in the sense of a turn from negative to positive). In the remainder of this chapter, I show how such processes of reflection are at work in *Edward I* and *Bussy D'Ambois*. The two title characters' performances as exemplary mirrors represent the second inversion

I identify in this book. In the plays, the protagonists use specular props (Edward) or an excess of specular imagery (Bussy). Their purpose is to recreate themselves as models of regal authority (Edward) or soldierly self-mastery (Bussy). But while in the 'exemplary mirror' tradition, positive *exempla* are supposed to induce positive alterations, this mirroring structure collapses in both plays. Staging themselves as mirrors for the governing elite, Edward and Bussy fall short of the ideals they enforce upon themselves. Instead, their plays illustrate their fall into the mirror inversions, the anti-ideals, of ideal conceptions of authority.

Suit of glass: The specular body in *Edward I*

Philip Henslowe's inventories for the Admiral's Men, who performed *Edward I* at least in the season 1595–6, twice include a reference to the suit worn by the title character. It first appears in the section 'Gone and loste', dated 10 March 1598 ('longe-shanckes sewte', Foakes 2002: 317). Apparently, the lost suit was found; it reappears in the regular inventory three days later ('Longeshankes seute', *ibid.*: 323). While 'Longshanks' was Edward I's nickname due to his impressive height, the suit's attribution to a character named not Edward but Longshanks has led some critics to suggest that Henslowe's entry refers to a different play based on Edward I's reign. Others, however, find 'no reason to assume that a play called *Edward Longeshankes* is anything but Peele's *Edward I*' (Hook 1962: 9). 'If this piece of apparel were nothing more distinctive than a royal robe, there would be no reason for identifying it with the Longshanks role', writes Frank S. Hook, 'but a special garment is called for in Peele's play' (*ibid.*).

In *Edward I*, the protagonist is dressed in that 'special garment' when he re-enters the stage after his coronation. He enters alongside his wife, Queen Eleanor, and his train of courtiers '*under a Canopie*' wearing '*his sute of Glasse*' (3 s.d.). This scene realizes the specular metaphor applied to rulers like Henry V and the specular fantasy later shared by

James I: Edward enters the stage as a physical embodiment of a ‘mirror for princes’, as a monarch turned mirror. The historical Edward I is not associated with such an item of clothing in any record related to his reign. Like the mirrors that Shakespeare added to the plots of *Richard II* and *Macbeth*, the suit is a theatrical tool used to comment on the quality of the king and kingship as such.

Since no details are known about the suit’s appearance or materiality, it has stimulated the fantasy of readers. It has been envisioned as ‘a robe adorned with numerous small, reflective diamond-shaped panes of glass, called *quarries* or *quarrels*’ (Lucacs 2019: 39), ‘a garment decorated with numerous globes’ (Braunmuller 2011: 346) or ‘presumably, sewn all over with mirrors’ (Bradbrook 1989: 142). For some members of the audience, Edward’s suit of glass might have recalled Prince Hal’s (historiographically documented) ‘cloak ... full of needles’ (6.29) in the anonymous play *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (late 1580s). In all events, it certainly heightened the actor playing Edward’s presence, potentially adding sound elements and creating visual effects when stately paraded across the stage.

Apart from some rare comments by critics acknowledging in passing its significance as stage costume, this chapter is the first in-depth study concerned with the reflective suit in *Edward I*. In the following pages, I discuss its relevance in relation to three contexts, all of them also involving the role of Edward’s wife. First, I show how Eleanor’s control over the scopic regime at court turns Edward less into an exemplary ‘mirror *for* princes’ and more into a mirror *of* the queen. Second, I argue that Eleanor’s idolatrous self-staging and her overemphasis on visual pleasure is connected to Protestant anxieties in the face of Catholic spectacle. Third, I demonstrate that the commission of the English king’s coronation suit by his Spanish queen points to his, and his realm’s, vulnerability to foreign and female interventions. I conclude my reading by discussing potential models for the suit of glass in the light of the ‘mirror for princes’ tradition as well as the background of coronation ceremonies for the specular prop.

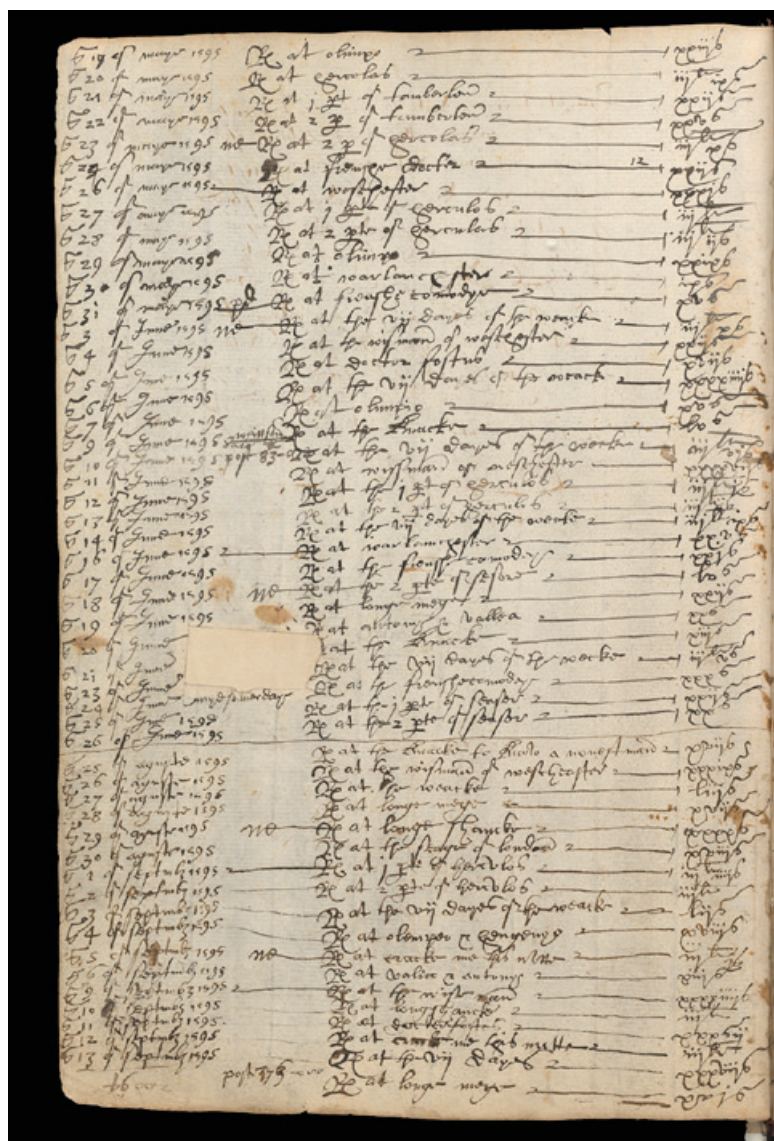


Figure 3 Manuscript page from the Diary and Account Book of Philip Henslowe, kept between 1592 and 1609 (Dulwich College Archive, MS VII, folio 12v). The first mentions of performances of Peele's *Edward I* by the Admiral's Men are featured in the page's lower section ("longe shanke" and "longshancke", lines 5 and 14 from the bottom). The original documents including Henslowe's references to "longe-shanckes sewte" and "Longeshankes seute" are lost. © David Cooper; with kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

A troop of queens: Usurping the king's reflection(s)

When, in Scene 3, Edward I reappears after his coronation '*in his sute of Glasse*' (3 s.d.), his first official act as the king of England is to make peace with John Balliol, the king of Scotland. He performs this peacemaking as a mirror of royal government, in a dress whose glassy appearance, like James's metaphor, promises lucent truthfulness and the launch of a glorious age. The political proceedings are, however, eventually paused as Eleanor rises to speak. Interrupting the men's (inter)action, her input is marked in print as '*Queene Elinors speeche*':

The welken spangled through with goulden spots,
 Reflects no finer in a frostie night,
 Then lovely Longshankes in his Elinors eye:
 So Ned thy Nell in every part of thee,
 Thy person's garded with a troope of Queenes,
 And every Queene as brave as Elinor,
 Gives glorie to these glorious christall quarries,
 Where every orbe an object entertaines,
 Of riche device and princelie majestie.
 Thus like Narcissus diving in the deepe,
 I die in honour and in Englands armes:
 And if I drowne, it is in my delight,
 Whose companie is cheefest life in death,
 From foorth whose currall lips I suck the sweete,
 Wherewith are daintie Cupids caudles made,
 Then live or die brave Ned, or sinke or swim,
 An earthlie blisse it is to looke on him.

(704–20)

Inga-Stina Ewbank reads the multiple reflections of Eleanor which the queen encounters on the specular surface of her husband's body as an emblem of love. For Ewbank, 'the two become an image of majesty in love' (1975: 149). The reflection of 'lovely Longshankes in his Elinors eye' and the wife's drowning in the 'delight' of looking at her husband 'like Narcissus diving in the deepe' evoke the image of love as an interlocking of gazes in early modern love poetry. As Eleanor

absorbs Edward's image and sees her own image reflected all over his body, husband and wife become one like the king and his realm in the moment of coronation.

But the process of reflection depicted here is far removed from what Miranda Anderson, for example, calls 'mutual reflexivity' (2015: 198). Anderson uses this term to 'describe this two-way extended reflexivity' which characterizes 'cases of reciprocal love' (ibid.). While in moments of mutual reflexivity the exchange of looks between lovers 'create[s] a double mirroring effect of seemingly infinite regress' (ibid.), in the scenario envisioned by Eleanor, Edward provides only a passive surface for herself to see her own greatness. Eleanor sees herself reflected 'in every part of [Edward]' (3.707). Her multiple self-reflection produces a 'troope of Queenes' (708) guarding the king, and Edward's body is conquered by this queenly troop.

Anderson also theorizes how 'the lack of distinctness between one person and the other in the play of mutual reflections leads to concerns that love is but an extended form of narcissism' (2015: 200). Eleanor's comparison of herself to Narcissus in a speech which traces the lover's absorption of the beloved into her own image illustrates this process. In the Ovidian tale, Narcissus remains in love with 'the sight of the beautiful form' (*Metamorphoses*, Book 3, 416) that he spies in the pool's 'silvery bright water' (407) even as he realizes that he 'is himself what he praises' (424). Like Narcissus, Eleanor does not see Edward when she looks at him. Like Narcissus dying from self-love, she imagines herself dying 'in Englands armes' (*Edward I*, 3.714). While she refers to her husband's private person ('Ned'), her narcissistic love is directed at the body politic, at Edward as the embodiment of England. His coronation suit is a metonymy for the ritual of coronation, in which the king's two bodies are fused into one. After their coronation, Eleanor sees in the mirror of the king her own power as queen.

With King Edward's body overwritten by the image of Queen Eleanor, English history is at risk of slipping out of the (male) monarch's hands. As I show later in this chapter, Eleanor's appropriation of Edward's *visibility* prefigures Edward's flawed *visuality* expressed in

his blindness to the proceedings at his own court and in his own family. The scopic regime of seeing and being on view is controlled by the queen, not the king. Eleanor's self-admiration in Edward's suit of glass evokes the complaints of lovers in Renaissance love poetry in the tradition of Petrarch about 'the lady who prefers her mirror to her lover's eye' (Melchior-Bonnet 2001: 213). In Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti* (1595), for example, the poet invites his lady to 'leave ... in [her] glasse of christall clene, / [Her] goodly selfe for evermore to vew', but to 'most lively lyke behold [her] semblant trew' in '[his] inward selfe' (45.1–4). This appeal to the beloved for leaving the glass and letting the lover define her beauty betrays men's fear of women's self-sufficiency. Like the mirror-gazing ladies of such poems, Eleanor disregards her husband and delights in the reflection of her glory. With her speech in praise of Edward's majesty, she also takes the place of the lyrical poet. In charge of what she sees and how others should see Edward, she controls the scene on various levels and subverts male supremacy.

Greatness of her state: Idolizing the Catholic goddess

When the historical King Edward I was crowned together with his wife Eleanor of Castile in 1274, the occasion was 'celebrated amid rich splendor and great pomp' (Parsons 1994: 32). While it made him king, it also 'confirmed her ascent to the office' (ibid.). Following the announcement of their imminent coronation, Peele's Eleanor is left alone with her daughter Joan. Soliloquizing with 'now Englands lovely Queene' (1.229), she invites herself to

Bethinke thee of the greatnes of thy state:
 And how to beare thy selfe with roialtie,
 Above the other Queenes of Christendome,
 That Spaine reaping renowne by Elinor,
 And Elinor adding renowne to Spaine,
 Britaine may her magnificence admire.
 I tell thee Jone, what time our highes sits,

Under our royall Canopie of state,
 Glistering with pendants of the purest gold,
 Like as our seate were spangled all with stars,
 The world shall wonder at our majestie,
 As if the daughter of eternall Ops,
 Turnd to the likenes Vermilion fumes,
 When from her cloudie wombe the Centaures lept,
 Were in her royall seate inthronized.

(230–44)

Eleanor envisions her coronation to be celebrated with an excess of gold and glitter. Herself, she envisions as Juno, the daughter of the goddess Ops, enthroned next to Jupiter, the king of the gods. Eleanor's vision recalls descriptions of the coronation of Elizabeth I in 1559. When Elizabeth paraded through London on the day before her coronation, the city, according to the anonymous report of the festivities, was 'a stage wherein was shewed the woonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted princesse toward her most loving people' (1558: A2v). Given Elizabeth's vulnerable status as a female monarch, 'the Elizabethan regime was concerned to regulate the production and dissemination of the royal image' (Montrose 2006a: 73). Strict norms for portraying the queen aimed at establishing and circulating the desired *idea* of the queen.

Elizabeth I was styled as the Virgin Queen, a substitute for the Virgin Mary, whose image in post-Reformation England was no longer legally worshipped. Roy Strong notes that the 'cult of Gloriana was skilfully created to buttress public order and ... to replace the pre-Reformation externals of religion' (1977: 16). In the decades after her coronation, Elizabeth regularly went on lavish progresses through her realm. For Protestant observers, these might have evoked the visual pomp and glistering images of Catholic rituals. After a series of iconoclastic movements since the reign of Henry VIII, early modern England's visual culture still 'was rich, though embattled and contested' (Stelzer 2019: 28). While 'not all images were accused of being idols, ... religious as well as secular images could trigger social anxieties' (ibid.). When *Edward I* was staged in the 1590s, these anxieties involved

hostility towards the visual splendour of the Catholic church and its most powerful proponent, Spain.

In 1274, before the proclamation of the Anglican Church under Henry VIII, the coronation of an English king was still a Catholic event. In the late sixteenth century, however, when Peele dramatized the coronation of Edward and Eleanor, English monarchs were considered advocates of Protestantism. Eleanor's design of the coronation procession, including her self-staging as a goddess-like idol to live up to the 'magnificence' (1.235) of her native kingdom Castile (considered a part of Spain in the sixteenth century), for some audience members likely recalled the Spanish pageants flooding London some decades earlier, when Prince Philip of Spain was welcomed to marry Mary I. John Foxe, in his polemical and anti-Catholic treatise *Acts and Monuments* (1563), notes that a few months after Philip's arrival, 'twenty carts ... laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver' were showcased through London and 'received ... by a Spaniard' (1837: 560). Supposed to make conspicuously visible England's gain through Spain's colonial success, Protestant observers probably rather saw these foreign riches as manifestations of their anxiety that a nation of idols and idolators had invaded both of England's bodies (the queen's and the Queen's) as a result of the marriage of Philip and Mary.

Like Philip, Eleanor represents an invasive force assaulting England's religious integrity. Of the Catholic church, 'or false ecclesiastical monarchie', writers like Henry Ainsworth complain that it 'is an idol or beast bred in the bottomlesse pit' (1611: 126–7). Deluded by this idol, 'the Princes of the earth ... endow and adorn it, with the riches and jewels of all worldly glorie' (ibid.: 127). Picturing her rise 'above the other Queenes of Christendome' (*Edward I*, 1.232), Eleanor, too, imagines how the splendour of her procession will make 'Britaine ... her magnificence admire' (235). Her spectacular performance and the promise of visual magnificence imply the danger of enticement and conversion to the rival faith.

I suggest that Eleanor's self-idolization before the coronation in Scene 1 anticipates her idolatrous self-reflection after the coronation

in Scene 3. The 'greatnes of [her] state' (1.230) is the 'princelie majestie' (3.712) she later sees reflected in the suit of glass. Her narcissism makes her die 'in England's armes' (714) as she faces her queenly 'glorie' (710) in the mirror of the king's power. Like Elizabeth, Eleanor embraces a sort of 'secular idolatry', inspired by 'Catholic image worship', but 'applied to the secular body of the queen' (Phillippy 2006: 149). If Christians 'worship in shameless devotion the idols of [their] mirrored faces', writes the fifteenth-century scholar Laura Cereta, they do 'not differ from pagans' and 'imitate Jews and barbarians' (trans. King and Rabil 1983: 79–80). For Protestant audiences, both Eleanor's pompous self-staging and her conceited self-reflection as well as her attempts to seduce others to join the cult of the queen threatens the sovereignty of England's king and religion. For Eleanor, as for other elite women in early modernity, manipulating men and materials (or, in the case of Eleanor, men via material trappings) was one option to exercise control and power.

Glister like the sun: (In)Vesting England's bodies

The fear of England's invasion by alien forces manifests itself in the spectacle of the crowning of Queen Eleanor. As a woman of Spanish descent, her character in the play combines the triple threat posed by a papist, foreign and female Other. Edward I's coronation suit is a direct expression of her engagement with court politics since it is manufactured exactly according to her orders. In reaction to her mother's layout of the coronation procession, Joan advises Eleanor to 'not [let] [her] honour make [her] manners change' (1.246). The English subjects will '[lay] their lives at princes feete, / That governess with familiar majestie', but, Joan continues, they will not accept 'if their soveraignes once gin swell with pride' (249–51).

Joan implies that her mother, whose 'Spanish pride' (10.1626) is stressed throughout the play, is unqualified to act as an example for the English people. In the 1590s, in the direct aftermath of England's confrontation with the Spanish Armada in 1588, anti-Spanish

sentiments were particularly strong. This trend of Elizabethan Hispanophobia contributed to what became 'known as the Black Legend of Spanish Cruelty – which “ethnopoetically” *made or marked* Iberians as essentially “other”’ (Griffin 2009: 2). What Barbara Fuchs has observed as ‘mimetic mirrorings among emerging early modern nations’ (2001: 4) in the play operates in the other sense of ‘mirroring’: Eleanor *inverts* rather than *imitates* English virtues.

Her pride is her principal ‘Spanish’ trait. When she learns about their imminent coronation, her first concern is ‘what fashion robes to weare’ (1.203). She asks Edward to postpone the ceremony so ‘that [they] may have [their] garments point device’ (205). In preparation for the event, she intends ‘to send for Tailers in Spaine, / That shall confer of some fantastickt sute[s]’ (206–7). Edward promises her that their native English tailors, too, will provide her with ‘garments to [her] harts desire’ (211). But she insists on herself being in charge of their sartorial appearance. The suit she commissions for the king shall be designed to ‘beseeme, / The majestie and greatnes of a king’ (222–3). Accordingly, for his coronation Edward wears a suit ‘give[n]’ to him by his wife, ‘of her owne cost and workmanship’ (217–18).

Still more than today, in early modern England clothes were markers of social identity. In the case of monarchs, ‘the clothes themselves incorporated the magic of kingship’ (Jones and Stallybrass 2000: 197). In the case of Peele’s Edward, the magic incorporated is the magic of *queenship*. Stephen Greenblatt argues that ‘the power to impose a shape upon oneself is an aspect of the more general power to control identity – that of others at least as often as one’s own’ (2005: 1). In sartorial terms, Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass describe this act of control as ‘investiture, the putting on of clothes ... by which a person was given a form, a shape, a social function, a “depth ...”’ (2000: 2). This sartorial sign system was relevant for individual and national identity, on the street and on the stage. Clothing ‘could both define and delimit the body, and order its relationship with the body politic’ (Vincent 2009: 458). Eleanor’s control of the royal wardrobe imposes a shape on Edward and literally *invests* him with his regal role. By (in)vesting

Edward, she puts herself in charge of the body natural and the body politic, affecting the identity of the king and the kingdom.

Like Cleopatra's dressing of Antony in '[her] tires and mantles ..., whilst / [She] wore his sword Philippan' (2.5.22–3) in Shakespeare's play, Eleanor's investiture of Edward signifies a transfer of power. Her 'unenglishing of the English body', vested in Spanish-style finery, is, as Keir Elam observes of Elizabethan reactions to foreign fashions, 'synonymous with its unmanning' (2004: 27). Eleanor's project of unenglishing and unmanning the English, to hold the 'headstrong Englishmen ... / ... in a Spanish yoake, / And make them know their Lord and soveraigne' (1.256–8), is made explicit in her request that 'all long bearded Englishmen' are to crop their beards 'to give [their] English pride a Spanish brave' (10.1636–8). As Will Fisher demonstrates, for Renaissance men 'the beard was as important as the genitals and ... it too "made the man ..."' (2001: 158). Accordingly, shaving indicated that a man 'quite literally becomes "lesse man" or even a "woman ..."' (ibid.: 168). With her command, Eleanor effectively orders the castration of English 'men of warre' (*Edward I*, 1.247).

Her second request to Edward is that English 'womens right breast [be] cut ... off' (1647). Besides stigmatizing her with stereotypical Spanish cruelty, this can be read as involving a feminist element. It recalls the well-known practice attributed to the Amazonian tribes to cut off one of their breasts to facilitate the handling of weapons. This 'bodily self-inscription' (Kern Paster 1993: 236) marked the Amazons' martial prowess and autonomy from men. The exposure of an Amazon's severed breast 'signified her complete willingness to sacrifice beauty to function' and stressed her 'complete uninterest in an erotic appeal governed by male desire' (ibid.). Unsurprisingly, the Amazonian 'gynocratic way of life' (ibid.: 236) appalled many (male) writers of the period, threatening the sense of male sociopolitical supremacy.

Eleanor's requests are her reaction to being confined to her tent after having given birth to their son while Edward was out on the battlefield. She complains that '[she] [is] not where [she] shoulde bee, / Or at least [she] [is] not where [she] would be' (10.1631–2). These lines imply her rejection

of being secluded to the feminine indoor space and her desire to actively participate in the public sphere of masculine political power. Her order to mutilate gendered bodies is an attempt to exert influence in the male-dominated sphere of law-making. It is also, however, an attempt to dissolve the physical and political differences between men and women. Ordering the defeminization of her female subjects, Eleanor establishes an army of 'newly-minted Amazons', which she then 'might lead ... to lord it over their emasculated former masters' (Parsons 1994: 234). Her command is a protofeminist intervention in the patriarchal system, liberating women from their roles as eroticized objects and nursing mothers.

Her other act of protofeminist agency is the commission of the coronation suit. For this project, Eleanor intends to provide all the required arrangements in her own home:

For all the cunning work-men of this Ile,
 In our great chamber shall bee set aworke,
 And in my hall shall bountifully feede.
 My King like Phoebus bridegroom like shall marche
 With lovely Thetis to her glassie bed,
 And all the lookers on shall stand amazde,
 To see King Edward and his lovely Queene,
 Sit lovely in England's stately throne.

(1.260–7)

In her speech, Eleanor devises the suit's production and speculates on its effects. The suit is customized in her 'great chamber' by 'cunning work-men'. In early modernity, being 'cunning' signified both possessing practical and magical skill or knowledge. Accordingly, the term could be applied to denote 'the Tools of Cunning Workmen' (Locke 1690: 464) and a cunning person who is 'crafty, artful, guileful, [or] sly' (OED, 'cunning, *adj.*, 5.a). It could also, however, describe persons practising conjuring, some of them by means of mirrors.¹

Edward's suit is introduced as being manufactured by skilled craftsmen like tailors and embroiderers. But at the same time, it seems to be produced by cunning men who apply their catoptromantic skills

to assist the queen in her plan to turn the king into a mirror of her own majesty. When she refers to the production venue as 'our great chamber' (1.261), she might mean a room she shares with her husband. But, since the feeding of the workmen takes place explicitly in '[her] hall' (262), I believe she is using the majestic plural to denote a chamber assigned to her as queen.² Accordingly, the coronation suit is commissioned by a female patron, produced in a woman's private chamber and, considering the other meaning of 'chamber' in the context of royal financial affairs, financed 'of [Eleanor's] owne cost' (218).

Like the venue of production, the 'glassie bed' (264), where Eleanor imagines her mirror-suited husband to join her, is explicitly *hers*. The bed is the site of the conjugal union of the nymph Thetis and the sun god Phoebus. This scenario anticipates the re-entrance of the sun god in the shape of the radiant king wearing his suit of glass. The vision of the erotic encounter between Thetis and Phoebus is materialized in the fusion of Eleanor's image and Edward's body on the reflective surface of the suit. Thetis's 'bed' is the glassy surface of water, which receives and reflects the setting sun, a process early modern drama often describes in specular terms. Like the sun (Phoebus) is absorbed by the water (Thetis), Edward is absorbed by Eleanor in this moment of reflection. With the king being invested and absorbed by the queen, his omnipotent control over both his body and realm becomes hers as well.

Eleanor intends to expand her power over England beyond the reign of Edward I. Pregnant with the future King Edward II, she accompanies her husband on a military campaign to Wales. Accordingly, their son is born in Caernarfon to become the first Prince of Wales. Four Welsh barons offer the prince's parents the 'poore present' (10.1567) of a '*Mantle of frise*' (1564–5 s.d.) to 'express their most zealous duetie and affection' (1567–8). Frieze is a coarse woollen cloth. A coat made from this material also metonymically designates 'an Irish peasant' (OED, 'frieze, *n.* 1', C2) and represents the rough opposite to the English king's delicate suit of glass. Edward still appreciates their gift, promising that '[his] boie shal weare a Mantle of [the] cuntries weaving to keepe him

warm' (10.1572–3). Eleanor, by contrast, reacts with disgust. She is appalled by the suggestion 'to cloath a Kings sonne in frize' (1600).

Instead, she once again insists on supervising a future king's sartorial appearance. She assures Edward that she herself '[has] a mantle in store for [her] boie, that shall [she] trowe make him shine like the sonne' (1600–1). It is her 'will' (1609), she says, that

Her boie should glister like the Sommers Sunne
 In robes as rich as Jove when hee triumphes.
 His pappe should be of precious Nectar made,
 His food Ambrosia, no earthlie womans milke,
 Sweete fires of Sinamon to open him by,
 The Graces on his craddle should attend,
 Venus should make his bed and waite on him,
 And Phebus daughter sing him still asleepe.
 Thus would I have my boie used as devine,
 Because he is king Edwardes sonne and mine.

(1610–19)

Eleanor labours to remain in control of the royal wardrobe. Her son, like her husband, is supposed to reflect the glory of her queenly authority. Edward concedes that their boy 'is [her] own' and leaves him to her to 'lappe him as [she] list[s]' (1603–4). The sartorial choices of the queen (mother) affect the public image of both Edward I and the future Edward II.

While historical documents testify to Edward I's 'watchfulness over Eleanor's conduct' in accordance with the mediaeval 'tendency to restrict a queen's access to official dominion' (Parsons 1994: 45), Peele's Edward long remains blind to and is manipulated by his queen's machinations. Only on her deathbed, Eleanor confesses that she was not only first 'enjoyed' by Edward's own brother on her 'bridall couch' (23.2475–6) but also had an adulterous affair with a friar that produced a 'baselie borne' (2494) daughter. With the princess Joan thus 'falne' from 'roiall state' (2597), the newborn (and already maternally 'shrouded') prince is Edward's 'oneli true and lawfull sonne' who 'should succeed' his father (2496–7).

Eleanor's final revelation deprives Edward of a part of his legacy as a man and a monarch. Her confession attests to early modern men's anxieties about the consequences of failing to control the female womb. In a society whose men depend on their wives' fidelity for preserving their line and the patriarchal system, a king's failure to control his queen's sexuality threatens the royal succession *and* the stability of the nation. Edward's inability to supervise his family marks him as potentially incompetent to rule in his realm. Eventually seeing all for himself instead of blindly reflecting his queen's visions of majesty, Edward recognizes himself as a 'vilde wretch' (2582) and an 'unhappie King dishonored in [his] stocke' (2518).

Conclusion: The coronation of the exemplary mirror

When Eleanor calls for the cutting of beards and searing of breasts, Edward refers to the monarch's role as *exemplum* for his people. He offers to be the first man to have his beard cut and then challenges his queen to herself make 'the law begin ... at [cutting] [her] breast' before 'stretch[ing] it selfe with violence to the rest' (10.1674–5). While Eleanor believes that a monarch's 'sacred person' (1666) is exempt from their laws, Edward insists that 'no justice but the great runnes with the small' (1669): 'Princes out no other doe, / ... then they would be done unto' (1676–7). At least in theory, Edward accepts his role as an exemplary mirror.

As mentioned earlier, no information exists about any special dress worn by the historical Edward I. English monarchs have worn sumptuous robes, especially for their coronations, which were usually adorned with precious stones. Henry VIII's coronation dress, for example, is described as 'a robe of Crimosyn Velvet, furred with Armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embrowdered with Diamondes[,] Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other riche Stones' (Hall 1548: ijv). It is possible that Peele had such glistening dresses attributed to past and present rulers in mind when he came up with his Edward's suit of glass. He could easily observe royal sartorial

splendour in the shape of his own queen, Elizabeth I, who ‘adorned herself in gorgeous clothes and rich jewels’ (Greenblatt 2016: 21).

With monarchical exemplarity materialized in glistening surfaces, I suggest that Peele’s suit of glass may also have been influenced by the original appearance of Edward I’s Coronation Chair. Commissioned by Edward in 1297, the chair’s ‘wooden core ... would originally have been entirely concealed’ (Sauerberg 2013: 77), which was still the case at the time Peele composed *Edward I*. At that time, the chair was ‘predominantly golden’ (Rodwell 2013: 35). It gave the impression of ‘a gleaming golden throne’ (Sauerberg 2013: 78). Its surface was ‘covered with decorative techniques involving glass’ (ibid.: 93), and its back interior featured an enthroned figure, ‘the stamped image of the omnipresent and omnipotent monarch’ (ibid.: 84), which represented either its commissioner, Edward I, or its dedicatee, Edward the Confessor.

The chair’s appearance is not described in the written records. But bar a few interruptions, it has always been on public display in Westminster Abbey. It is certainly possible that Peele saw it there. If he did, he saw the memory of Edward I’s military achievements materialized in gold and glass; and he saw a royal character coated with glistening ‘christall quarries’ (*Edward I*, 3.710). These he saw on an object which still today marks the enthronement of British monarchs. In the absence of any actual suit of glass, I suggest that the powerful symbolism and illustrious appearance of the Coronation Chair might have contributed to Peele’s conception of the costume for a king, who walks the stage as a living ‘mirror for princes’.

Glassy glory: The deflected hero in *Bussy D’Ambois*

In the preface to *The Revenge of Bussy D’Ambois* (c. 1610), Chapman explains that his intention with the play is not to reflect ‘the authenthical truth of either person or action’ (‘Preface’, 17). Rather, he wishes to offer ‘material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and

deflection from her contrary' (20–1). Deflection not reflection is presented as the aim of Chapmanian drama. *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* is supposed to serve as an exemplary mirror, notably providing 'material instruction' as materialized in the mirror of the stage and text, which was produced for the end of effecting betterment among audiences and readers. I suggest that this is also the case with *Bussy D'Ambois*, written a few years before its sequel. In the tradition of *de casibus* tragedy, Bussy's death results from his fall from virtue and submission to the vices of court politics. His *exemplum* then continues to be invoked in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* to remind his brother Clermont of Bussy's fate.

Chapman's model for his title character, the French soldier-courtier Louis de Clermont, Bussy d'Amboise, had died in 1579. He was not 'a man of outstanding significance' (Brooke 2006: lix). Accordingly, the purpose of the play about him 'was not so much interpreting the man as recreating him for a moral and dramatic function' (ibid.: lx). While Chapman envisions a process of deflection to take place between the play and its audiences, I suggest that a second process of deflection, in the sense of 'the action of turning, or state of being turned, away from a straight line or regular path' (OED, 'deflection, *n.*, 2.a), occurs within the play itself: Bussy stages himself as a paragon of soldierly honour, but the plot traces his turning away, his deflection, from the path of virtue he paved for his life.

The excess of specular imagery accompanying this transformation leads me to conclude that *Bussy D'Ambois* was devised with the 'exemplary mirror' tradition in mind. While it has been observed that Chapman 'embodies much of his ethical philosophy in dramatic characters of exemplary moral stature' (Fetrow 1979: 229), *Bussy D'Ambois* is unique in that it not only provides moral *exempla* as a play but inverts the structure of exemplary narratives within its plot. Its protagonist enters as a mirror of martial masculinity only to betray its principles and become his own anti-ideal.

Bussy's tragic fall has been called a 'drama of intellect and reflection' (Higgins 1947: 31), caused by his 'inability to recognize himself' (Montuori 1988: 290). Beside such implicit references to (failed) reflexivity, readings

of the role of mirrors and mirrorings in the play are sparse. This section's approach is unprecedented in that it, first, offers a detailed discussion of the meanings of mirrors in *Bussy D'Ambois* and, second, combines a study of mirror imagery with the significance of exemplary images in the play. That way, I show how the play uses the 'exemplary mirror' tradition to challenge the notion of exemplarity among the courtly elite.

In the following pages, I discuss the prevalence of specularity in the play by focussing on three mirror moments. First, I show how the material contrast between glass and metal is used to juxtapose different ideologies of life. Second, I consider the description of the court in specular terms a critical engagement with its politics in the style of a 'mirror for magistrates'. Third, I illustrate how Bussy's transformation into a negative *exemplum* implies a failure of exemplary mirroring. I conclude my reading by tracing the perpetuation of such challenges to specular models as Bussy returns as a ghost in the sequel, *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*.

Like burnished steel: Negotiating conflicting materialities

Bussy and Monsieur introduce the contrast between 'glassy Glory' (1.1.29) and 'burnish'd steel' (75) immediately in the opening scene. Each signifies a way of living that excludes the other. The martial ideal of 'burnish'd steel' is evoked by Monsieur, the king's brother, who himself embodies Bussy's anti-ideal of unvirtuous men's 'glassy Glory'. Once Bussy enters the stage, he speaks of himself as a paragon of virtue. Completing a maritime allegory in praise of the delights of leaving behind 'Neptune's deep invisible paths' (21), he concludes:

So when we wander furthest through the waves
Of glassy Glory and the gulfs of State,
Topp'd with all titles, spreading all our reaches,
As if each private arm would sphere the world;
We must to Virtue for her guide resort,
Or we shall shipwreck in our safest Port.

(28–33)

On one level, 'glassy Glory' describes the reflective surface of the ocean, reminiscent of Thetis's glassy bed in *Edward I*. On a second level, it recalls the many meanings of 'glassy essence' (2.2.123) in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. Like the overreaching 'proud man' (*MM*, 120), who in his hubris 'makes the angels weep' (125), the seamen in Bussy's allegory imitate divine force by 'using all their powers / ... To put a girdle round about the world' (*Bussy D'Ambois*, 1.1.20–3). The threat of shipwreck for those who abandon Virtue's guide is evocative of the 'glassy floor' in Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1606), which also bears the risk of sinking when 'vent'ring on [it] ... / Too far' (4.2.22–3). Chapman's phrase fuses the notion of the brittle '*vitrea Fortuna*' ('glassy') with 'an image of light' ('Glory'; Martinet 1981: 259, my translation). This also evokes the Bible's 'sea of glass like unto crystal' (Rev 4:6; also Rev 15:2) envisioned to spread before the throne during the Apocalypse. These two passages share the affinity of triumphant expansion and fateful destruction.

The watery surface in Bussy's allegory reflects the seamen's 'tall ships richly built and ribb'd with brass' (1.1.22), symbols of their pride and ambition. Once they come within sight of their home port, they rely on 'a poor staid fisherman ... / ... to waft and guide them in' (26–7). Dressed '*poor[ly]*' (1.1 s.d.) like the fisherman, Bussy considers himself the guide who safely directs ships into Virtue's port. To persuade Bussy to join his entourage, Monsieur appeals to this self-image as an exemplary mirror for others and uses the rhetoric of *speculum* literature. He reminds Bussy that if the renowned Theban commander 'Epaminondas / (Who liv'd twice twenty years obscur'd in Thebes) / Had liv'd so still, he had been still unnam'd, / And paid his country nor himself their right' (70–3). 'But putting forth his strength', he adds,

he rescu'd both
 From imminent ruin; and like burnish'd steel,
 After long use he shin'd; for as the light
 Not only serves to shew, but render us
 Mutually profitable: so our lives

In acts exemplary, not only win
 Ourselves good Names, but doth to others give
 Matter for virtuous Deeds, by which we live.

(74–81)

Monsieur asks Bussy to join his service for the common good. Only by leaving obscurity behind can he become an example of ‘virtuous Deeds’ for others. Only by entering the ‘glassy’ world of reflective surfaces can he inspire others to ‘Glory’. In Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida* (c. 1601–2), man’s path to self-knowledge ‘by reflection’ (3.3.100) is described as leading through ‘a gate of steel / Fronting the sun, [that] receives and renders back / His figure and his heat’ (122–4). In Monsieur’s speech, the symbol of Epaminondas’s and, by implication, Bussy’s rise with ‘acts exemplary’ also is the ‘burnish’d steel’.

The opening scene of *Bussy D’Ambois* includes two material contrasts. The first is the contrast between glass and metal mirrors, which is exemplified by the world’s ‘glassy Glory’ and the ‘burnish’d steel’ of exemplary masculinity. The second is the contrast between plane and curved mirrors, expressed in Bussy’s juxtaposition of his moral standards’ ‘smooth plain ground’ (1.1.122) and the ‘enchanted glass’ (85) of the court. ‘Burnished’ means ‘polished’. The term refers to a material ‘made bright and shining as by friction’ (OED, ‘burnished, *adj.*, 1.a) and to the product of the act of ‘polish[ing] (a surface) by rubbing with a hard and smooth tool’ (‘burnish, *v.*1’, 1.a). The translator of Giambattista Della Porta’s *Magia Naturalis* repeatedly uses this term in the section ‘How leaves of Metals are to be polished’ (1658: 187–8), and it appears to be used interchangeably with ‘polishing’ for the Latin verb *expolire*. It is connected to the quality of reflective surfaces of both metal and glass. I argue that Chapman borrowed this first contrast from the popular comparison of glass with metal mirrors as illustrated, most prominently, in George Gascoigne’s verse satire *The Steele Glas* (1576).

The Steele Glas is often considered among the most influential Elizabethan texts. Like Bussy, its author had served as a soldier. Also like Bussy, he was attracted to the ideal of polished steel, evoking a

soldier's sword. Gascoigne published *The Steele Glas* a few years after the introduction of crystal pocket mirrors in England.³ By the early seventeenth century, when Chapman wrote *Bussy D'Ambois*, 'cheap crystal mirrors ... had become widely available' (Shuger 1999: 21). The late sixteenth century witnessed 'the gradual disappearance of mirrors made out of precious metal, steel and rock-crystal' (Roche, Courage, and Devinoy 1985: 19). However, the gradualness of this development means that glass and metal mirrors coexisted in England for several decades. The conflict between honest steel and false glass is prevalent in literature of that era. With such texts, and especially with the specular imagery used in *Bussy D'Ambois*, *The Steele Glas* shares details in its critical rhetoric. It, too, addresses the ideal of soldierly masculinity, and it, too, evokes the martial *exemplum* of Epaminondas.

Gascoigne observes that 'every wight, will have a looking glasse / To see himselfe, yet so he seeth him not' (1576: Cjr). Due to the recent material innovations, 'a glasse of common glasse, / Which glistreth bright, and shewes a seemely shew' (ibid.), is no longer adequate to please mirror-gazers. With not even 'common glass' any longer appreciated, he continues,

That age is deade, and vanisht long ago,
Which thought that steele, both trusty was & true,
And needed not, a foyle of contraries,
But shewde al things, even as they were in deede.
In stead whereof, our curious yeares can finde
The cristal glas, which glimsseth brave & bright,
And shewes the thing, much better than it is,
Bequylde with foyles, of sundry subtil sights,
So that they seeme, and covet not to be.

(Cjr-v)

The material conflict, which is also a temporal conflict between the past and the present, unfolds between the many deluded by the 'christal glas' and the exemplary few upholding the qualities of 'trusty' and 'true' steel mirrors. While metal mirrors require regular polishing, 'the application

of labor to produce a true reflection' (Kalas 2002: 535), crystal-glass mirrors act 'immediate, sudden, without temporal interval' (528). For Gascoigne, they are 'incontinent' objects contaminating English identity, whose manufacture and import take place under 'mysterious' circumstances marked by foreign 'trade secrets' (Kalas 2007: 117–18).

The poem's speaker appeals to knights, squires and those of 'gentle blouds yborne' to serve as examples for others, being 'not borne, alonely for [them] selves' (ibid.: Diiijv). In the 'true Steele glasse', he sees 'worthy Souldiours / Whose skil in armes, and long experience / Should still uphold the pillers of the worlde' (ibid.: no page [equals Diiijr–v]). They form the exemplary 'crew, which glister in [his] glasse' (ibid.: no page [equals Diiijv]). 'Behold[,] behold', the speaker continues, and what follows is a passage recalling the parading of future French kings in the Nostradamian mirror of Catherine de' Medici (see Chapter 1), as he evokes a show of past heroes to parade in front of his readers 'in [his] true Steele glasse' (ibid.).

Like in Monsieur's speech in *Bussy D'Ambois*, Epaminondas is on this list of exemplary warriors. Gascoigne refers to him twice more, with his final praise of the statesman's honour and integrity anticipating Monsieur's representation of his ancient example for Bussy:

Epamynond, of whome I spake before ...
 Would never take, or bribe, or rich reward.
 And thus he spake, to such as sought his helpe:
 If it be good, (quoth he) that you desire,
 Then wil I do, it for the vertues sake:
 If it be badde, no bribe can me infecte.
 If so it be, for this my common weale,
 Then am I borne, and bound by duetie both
 To see it done, withouten furdur words.
 But if it be, unprofitable thing,
 And might empaire, offende, or yeld anoy
 Unto the state, which I pretende to stay,
 Then al the gold (quoth he) that growes on earth
 Shal never tempt, my free consent thereto.

(ibid.: Fijr–v)

The descriptions of Epaminondas's exemplary character in specular terms in both *The Steele Glas* and *Bussy D'Ambois* as well as aspects of the image of the ideal soldier upheld by Gascoigne's Epaminondas and Chapman's Bussy suggest to me that Chapman was not only familiar with the poem but also explicitly influenced by the 'mirror for princes' tradition.

Bussy's eventual abandonment of 'burnish'd steel' (1.1.75) for 'glassy Glory' (29) exemplifies the historical change that had contributed to the emergence of 'civilized' court societies as observed by Norbert Elias: 'If the sword no longer plays so great a role as the means of decision, it is replaced by intrigue [and] conflicts' (1982: 259). The idea of abandoning the sword in favour of courtly intrigue is connected to the second material conflict in the opening scene of *Bussy D'Ambois*. This is the contrast between plane mirrors ('true' like those made of steel) and curved mirrors ('false' like those made of crystal).

After some efforts at persuasion, Monsieur makes Bussy see himself reflected in the 'burnish'd steel' of his rhetoric. Unaware of having been manipulated, Bussy still stresses his incorruptibility as 'a smooth plain ground [that] / Will never nourish any politic seed' (1.1.122–3). 'Plain' in this context means 'unembellished, without addition or decoration' (OED, 'plain, *adj.*2', II.4.a), but I suggest it also denotes the smoothness of flat horizontal surfaces (I.1.a). Both meanings shared variants in their spelling from 'plain' to 'plane', and both were prevalent in England around 1600.

Bussy's plainness is both simplicity and flatness. His self-portrayal as 'a smooth plain ground' is connected to the image of the plain burnished surface of Epaminondas's steel. It also complements Bussy's rejection of the court as an 'enchanted glass' in response to Monsieur's invitation to 'leave the troubled streams, / And live as thrivers do at the well-head' (1.1.82–5). This simile introduces the royal court as a realm of superficiality and sorcery. Juxtaposed with the 'smooth plain surface' of Bussy's morality, I suggest that the glass's 'enchanted' quality here also evokes the obscure images produced by convex or concave mirrors.

By the time Chapman composed *Bussy D'Ambois*, new plane mirrors had become widely available. But the use of their convex and concave precursors was still widespread. When Bussy eventually accepts Monsieur's offer, his mission is to 'bring up a new fashion, / And rise in Court with virtue' (125–6). Bussy appears to picture himself as a rare novelty of plain truth that contrasts traditional distorted images. His intention is to operate as a plane exemplary mirror whose virtuous model will transform the false 'enchanted glass' of the court.

In the enchanted glass: Holding up a mirror to the court

Bussy's 'enchanted glass' (1.1.85) full of 'glassy Glory' (29) is Gascoigne's crystal glass of courtly depravity. Gascoigne's steel glass is opposed both to the crystal mirror and to what he calls 'mettals of mischief', namely 'bright gold and silver' (1576: Dijkv). The attribution of materials to characterize the past and the present is a rhetorical technique applied in both *The Steele Glas* and *Bussy D'Ambois*. Like Gascoigne's speaker, Bussy evokes the glories of past days of austerity and martial strength. These days, and the virtues informing them, he associates with his 'true sword' (5.3.141). The handling of his sword is repeatedly evoked as Bussy's principal quality (2.1.81, 127; 5.3.84, 161).

His ideal is an age of steel. This represents a material inversion compared to the widespread image of the past as a utopian Golden Age opposed to the laborious Iron Age of the present. Bussy propagates the ideal of an Iron or Steel Age of martial masculinity while he finds himself trapped in a Golden or Glass Age of courtly intrigue. The myth of antiquity's Ages of Men (not to be confused with the epochs of human prehistory) is retold, among others, by Hesiod and Ovid. Chapman translated Hesiod's poem *Works and Days*, published as *The Georgicks of Hesiod* in 1618. It is possible that as early as 1603–4 his detailed knowledge of this text influenced his composition of *Bussy D'Ambois*.

At court, King Henry III, too, honours Bussy's self-specularization as a lost ideal. Bussy's 'native noblesse' Henry compares with the 'frailty' (3.2.91–3) of those constituting the 'Iron Age antithesis' (Waddington

1967: 44) of his court. If they all had 'the genius and th'ingenuous soul of D'Ambois' (3.2.107), the king argues, the world would still flourish 'in her original' state drawn by 'the full impartial hand of Nature' (98–9). The French court of *Bussy D'Ambois* is characterized by two mirror similes. The first comparison of the court is to an 'enchanted glass' (1.1.85), as evoked by Bussy in the opening scene. The second follows as the description of Henry's court as 'a mere mirror of confusion' (1.2.27) contrasted with the English court under Elizabeth. The first is part of Bussy's dismissal of the manners prevailing in courtly circles. When Monsieur offers to let him live at court 'as thrivers do at the well-head' (1.1.83), Bussy associates his metaphor of the well with the metaphor of the mirror:

At the well-head? Alas what should I do
 With that enchanted glass? See devils there?
 Or (like a strumpet) learn to set my looks
 In an eternal brake, or practise juggling,
 To keep my face still fast, my heart still loose;
 Or bear (like dames schoolmistresses their riddles)
 Two tongues, and be good only for a shift;
 Flatter great Lords, to put them still in mind
 Why they were made Lords: or please portly Ladies
 With a good carriage, tell them idle tales,
 To make their physic work; spend a man's life
 In sights and visitations, that will make
 His eyes as hollow as his mistress' heart;
 ... – 'Tis a great man's part.

(84–103)

The courtly scenarios described by Bussy mark the looking glass as an instrument of deceit on various levels. It is the tool of aristocratic women who in their mirrors 'learn to set her looks' by means of cosmetics (see also Chapter 3). It is the tool of male courtiers who, like Shakespeare's Richard III, 'court [their] amorous looking-glass[es]' (R3, 1.1.15) to practise manners and to 'study fashions to adorn [their] bod[ies]' (1.2.260). It is the tool of those who 'practice juggling' to deceive others with specular tricks (see also Chapter 4).

In sum, it is the tool of ‘glass-faced flatterer[s]’ (*Tim*, 1.1.60) as denounced by Shakespeare’s Timon, who would become almost synonymous with the French court of the later seventeenth century culminating in the excessive use of decorative mirrors at Versailles under the glistering Sun King Louis XIV. Apart from adding to the architecture’s ornamental excess, those mirrors also created a panoptical sense of permanent visibility among the aristocratic elite. The courtly mirror users dominate a world, in which doing politics involves ‘*politique* behavior’, dishonest strategies of social interaction which embrace ‘lies, deceptions, and even falsely sworn oaths’ (Strohm 2005: 5). In its English variant ‘policy’, this concept of *politique* is repeatedly negotiated in both *Bussy D’Ambois* and *The Revenge of Bussy D’Ambois*; the term recurs in almost every scene of the plays. While initially rejecting ‘the witch



Figure 4 Picture showing the ‘Hall of Mirrors’ at Versailles (established under Louis XIV and restored in 2007), a material manifestation of the French court’s ‘mirror of confusion’ referred to in Act 1, Scene 2 of Chapman’s *Bussy D’Ambois*. © bpk / GrandPalaisRmn / image château de Versailles.

Policy' (*Bussy D'Ambois*, 3.1.24), Bussy eventually realizes that 'policy shall be flank'd with policy' (4.2.161). His time at court taught him that a successful politician must master the art of pretence: he 'appear[s]; and his ways must not be seene' (4.2.166–70).

The second mirror simile occurs shortly before Bussy is officially introduced at court in Act 1, Scene 2. The French king commends English women as 'not match'd in Christendom / For graceful and confirm'd behaviours' (1.2.7–8). But, as the Duke of Guise reminds him, the English 'Court-form' tends to make 'semi-gods / Of their great nobles; and their old Queen [Elizabeth] / An ever-young, and most immortal Goddess' (10–13). While Guise considers the glorification of the English queen a deplorable convention, King Henry points out that this queen is 'so full of majesty and royal parts' that 'no Queen of Christendom may boast herself' (17–18). 'Her Court approves it, that's a Court indeed' (19), Henry adds, since it is

not mix'd with rudeness us'd in common houses;
 But, as Courts should be th'abstracts of their Kingdoms,
 In all the Beauty, State, and Worth they hold:
 So is hers, amply, and by her inform'd.
 The world is not contracted in a man
 With more proportion and expression,
 Than in her Court, her Kingdom: our French Court
 Is a mere mirror of confusion to it:
 The King and subject, Lord and every slave
 Dance a continual Hay; our rooms of State,
 Kept like our stables; no place more observ'd
 Than a rude market-place: and though our custom
 Keep this assur'd deformity from our sight,
 'Tis ne'ertheless essentially unsightly,
 Which they would soon see, would they change their form
 To this of ours, and then compare them both

(20–35)

In the play, the Elizabethan court is a positive foil for the French, and Elizabeth a 'mirror for princes'. On the Jacobean stage, the praise of

Elizabeth would not only have provoked comparisons between England and France but, at the same time, between James and his predecessor. A. J. Hoenselaars notes that the description of the French court as a 'mirror of confusion' to the English under Elizabeth 'satirizes James's court by upholding a mirror which is both of a geographical and of a historical kind' (1994: 228). Elizabeth I's example and Chapman's play (and Elizabeth's example *in* the play) constitute subversive mirrors for James. In a final twist, halfway through his speech, King Henry's praise of the Elizabethan court is juxtaposed with its mirror inversion. The French 'mirror of confusion' is a carnivalesque realm in which kings dance with slaves, staterooms are stables, and the marketplace, the Bakhtinian centre of carnival's inversions, is the most frequented venue. The 'enchanted glass' has become a 'mirror of confusion' that pretends and flatters, and via inversion makes the world unintelligible.

Like his brother Clermont, whom Monsieur asks in the sequel to reflect '[his] grossest faults as gross-full as they were' (*Revenge*, 1.1.207), Bussy, too, is on a mission to 'be a true glass' (*Revenge*, 1.1.193) to the court's distorted mirror. The brothers share the project of 'engend'ring virtue' (*Revenge*, 1.1.179). In Bussy's conversation with Maffé, this project is materialized in an ominous pamphlet and finds expression in the figure of the court jester. In *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, the nobles imagine how Clermont 'read[s]' to the Duke of Guise 'some doctrine of stability and freedom, / Contempt of outward greatness, and the guises, / That vulgar great ones make their pride and zeal' (1.1.153–8). Similarly, Maffé in *Bussy D'Ambois* refers to some written doctrine, 'some Pamphlet,' which he believes Bussy might have 'given to [his] Lord [i.e., Monsieur]' (1.1.161–2) to earn his payment.

While Bussy does not confirm this, he assures Maffé that he is 'a scholar, as [he] [is] a soldier, / And [he] can poetise' (183–4). I suggest that the reference to the pamphlet in *Bussy D'Ambois* evokes the tradition of *speculum* literature. Given Monsieur's persistent interest in learning the D'Ambois brothers' opinion about his character, Bussy's hypothetical pamphlet may be a 'mirror for princes' addressed to the French king's brother. The historical model for Chapman's Monsieur,

Francis, Duke of Anjou, 'was notoriously deformed' (188–9n). Accordingly, any pamphlet potentially composed by Bussy is unlikely to be a flattering mirror of merits and more likely to be a sharp reflection of faults. The opening scene introduces Bussy not only as a self-appointed example of virtuous behaviour. Rather, he also becomes a lecturer who, like Chapman with his plays, 'sought to teach his age how to live' (Ribner 1962: 20).

At mediaeval and early modern courts, holding up the mirror to the powerful is the task of the court jester. Sometimes fools or jesters carried mirrors that symbolized their projects of truth-speaking and inversion of power dynamics. Maffé speculates that Monsieur might have recruited the 'merry fellow' Bussy to become 'his jester' (1.1.193–4). But jesters, he adds, 'are now no fools' since that role has become 'a Knight's place' (195). The actual fool, Maffé argues, is the powerful man forced to look at his follies in the mirror of the jester. While Bussy considers himself the embodiment of virtue, for Maffé he is a vice figure in the tradition of mediaeval morality plays, whose 'wooden dagger' (204) recalls Shakespeare's ignoble knight Falstaff. Like a jester's, Bussy's mission is not to reflect the king's power but to challenge it.

Maffé knows that jesters enjoy privileged access to the elite since they 'have the ears / Of these great men' (199–200). As a jester, Bussy can speak truths that would prove disastrous for others. To Monsieur, Bussy says that he has 'a tongue so scandalous, 'twill cut / A perfect Crystal' (3.2.395–6). Bussy means that, being 'the very Prince / Of all intelligencers' (387–8), Monsieur's speech is full of scandal. But I suggest that it also implies the courtier's toxic influence on what Bussy considers his own immaculate self. Bussy sees himself, in contrast to the enchanted crystal glass of the court, as the 'perfect Crystal', the true mirror, compromised by Monsieur's influence. His vision of being 'cut' implies two opposing meanings: first, the sharp instrument of Monsieur's tongue *destroys* the crystal by dividing it into parts, thus affecting its integrity (also in the OED's sense of 'to cut up', 3. *figurative*); but second, Monsieur's cutting tongue also *produces* the crystal, like a jeweller adds a shape to jewels by cutting them. By accepting the offer to join Monsieur's entourage, Bussy

enters the court's crystal sphere; and the remainder of the plot follows his transformation from a mirror of truth into another deceptive glass. He comes to represent the other side of the 'perfect Crystal'.

Beyond reflection: Becoming the negative double

Bussy makes his first appearance before the king '*in Court dress*' (1.2.55–6 s.d.). Introduced as a lost ideal embracing poverty and martial steel, Monsieur's re-dressing of Bussy functions like the livery bestowed on members of one household. Bussy's court dress is 'the medium through which the social system marked bodies so as to associate them with particular institutions' (Jones and Stallybrass 2000: 5). As Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass show, 'the power to give that marking to subordinates', held, in *Bussy D'Ambois*, by Monsieur, 'affirmed social hierarchy' (ibid.). While Bussy continues challenging Monsieur's authority, his integrity is visibly compromised. He appears as an embodiment of French vanity and foolery, a theme discussed by Henry at the very moment of Bussy's entrance.

To the king Bussy affirms that 'D'Ambois' is 'still [his] name . . . / Though [he] be something alter'd in attire' (1.2.59–60). 'Virtue' is believed to be still present under the 'alteration' of the surface (61–3), and virtue is the subject of Bussy's first exchange with Henry. But, as the scene progresses, virtue slips from him as he slipped into court dress. While Bussy 'is hailed as the embodiment of the Golden Age' (Melbourne 1985: 382), the plot moves towards 'overturn[ing] the image of the Golden World it evokes' (388). I suggest that the moment of 'overturning' that completes Bussy's mirror inversion occurs in his first violent confrontation with the other courtiers. When he makes his first appearance at court, he provokes a quarrel with the courtier-soldiers Barrisor, L'Anou and Pyrrhot. Of their duelling, which takes place offstage, a messenger relates 'a tale so worthy, and so fraught with wonder' (29):

I saw fierce D'Ambois, and his two brave friends
Enter the field, and at their heels their foes;

... the three challengers
 Turn'd head, drew all their rapiers, and stood rank'd:
 When face to face the three defendants met them,
 Alike prepar'd, and resolute alike,
 Like bonfires of contributory wood:
 Every man's look shew'd, fed with either's spirit,
 As one had been a mirror to another,
 Like forms of life and death, each took from other

(35–47)

The two parties are pictured as, at the same time, the stark opposite and absolute likeness of each other. They seem like 'life and death mix'd at their heights' (48), and, in their confrontation, 'life and death in all respects are one' (52). In the moment of the attack, the six fighters become indistinguishable. Their clash is envisioned as a confrontation of one mirror with another. It blurs the boundary between the subject and its mirror image. In the end, both Bussy's supporters and his challengers are dead. Having slain his opponents, Bussy re-emerges 'freckled with the blood [that] his rapier rain'd' (2.1.135). I read this bloody scenario as a birth scene that produces the (negative) counterimage of Bussy's virtuous ideal. While still relying on burnished steel, he for the rest of the plot uses his sword for engaging with court politics.

I suggest that what happens to Bussy in this moment of 'martial mirroring' is similar to what Nancy Selleck identifies in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. The meetings of enemy forces, Selleck writes, are characterized by a 'blindly imitated selfhood, which absorbs without acknowledging otherness' (2008: 54). Often this involves a 'kind of self-aggrandizement through others (who are yet maintained as enemies)' (ibid.). Slaying his enemies and emerging covered with their blood, Bussy absorbs their courtly corruption and boosts his ego to the extent that leads to his fall from moral virtue, and, eventually, proves too massive to handle.

When Bussy returns from their duel, the king's pardon raises him back 'from death to life' (2.1.181). A couple of scenes later, Bussy is firmly established in King Henry's favour. 'The King and D'Ambois now

are grown all one' (4.1.113), observes Montsurry. Bussy has become the king's parasite. He further penetrates the courtly sphere by embarking on an adulterous affair with Montsurry's wife, Tamyra. In the process of his moral inversion, this marks a moment 'beyond reflection' (4.2.89). 'Reflection' here is used in its now obsolete meaning of 'the action of turning back from a point; return, retrogression' (OED, 'reflection, *n.*, I.2.c). The devil Behemoth uses this expression to inform Tamyra that persuasion of her adultery has 'enter'd [her husband Montsurry] / Beyond reflection' (4.2.88–9). To Bussy's situation, it may be transferred to signify a state beyond any chance of exemplary mirroring. Having violated a code of courtly homosocial bonding by disrespecting another man's matrimonial claim as well as notions of soldierly honour, he can no longer assert any exemplary status.

During the final scenes, the play's rhetoric reveals a shift in and a re-evaluation of (specular) imagery. The honest soldier's 'burnish'd steel' (1.1.75) evoked in the opening scene becomes the 'ruthless steel' (5.1.96) employed by Montsurry to torture Tamyra. Bussy's 'black fac'd Tragedy' is recorded via the 'glass of ink' (4.2.90–1) presented to Montsurry by Monsieur. This 'written image' (90n) of the '*paper*' (79–80 s.d.) informs Montsurry about Tamyra's adulterous deeds. It is a mirror for Montsurry that makes visible his wife's true face previously hidden behind 'her paintings / Her gasping wrinkles, and fame's sepulchres' (92–3).

With his final lines, Bussy reinvents himself as the 'falling star' (5.3.191) of *de casibus* tragedy. He dies hoping that his 'fame / Live[s] in despite of murder' (145–6) to teach future generations. Once Bussy is dead, Friar Comolet's ghost remains on stage to speak his epitaph. Looking at 'the brave relicts of a complete man', he promises that his 'spirit [will be] made a star' (268–9). While Bussy fell from grace, the friar's speech raises him to rise 'in the firmament' (271). He envisions how Bussy's spirit will make 'th'aged sky, / Cheer with new sparks of old humanity' (273–4). The 'new sparks of old humanity' imply the resurrection of a long-lost Golden Age (or Steel Age, in Bussy's martial ideal). While Bussy failed to 'rise in Court with virtue' (1.1.126), his

ascension marks a moment of sparkling glory. It signifies the 'returning to man's pre-lapsarian communication with the heavens' (272n).

In the earlier quarto of *Bussy D'Ambois* (1607–8), Comolet observes how Bussy's 'receipt' into heaven 'crack'd' the 'vast continent' (271–2). In the later quarto (1641), the word 'continent' notably is replaced with 'chrystall' (B 272). 'Chrystall' here implies the matter 'of which the spheres were made' (272n), as in the many references to the crystal sky in early modern drama. Here, it specifically indicates 'the sphere of the moon, the outer bound of the corrupted elements since the Fall' (ibid.). This recalls Bussy's earlier reference to the cutting of his 'perfect Crystal' (3.2.396). Now, Bussy's ascension to heaven effects a crack in heaven's crystal. This reminds us that a potential mirror for humanity is shattered by death.

But it also marks his ascent as a reminder of life beyond death. As Bussy's rise to heaven cracks the sky's crystal ceiling, his example 'spread[s] to a world of fire' (5.3.273). For Friar Comolet, Bussy's death signifies 'not just that one man goes to heaven, but that in his example all mankind may see a – remote – hope of escape from the fallen world' (272n). This final image completes the rise-and-fall pattern that informs the plot and Bussy's path. He first enters as a self-proclaimed mirror of virtue. While he transforms, instead, into a cautionary example of fallen ambition, his ascent eventually reflects hope for another Golden Age in the crystal sky.

Conclusion: The revival of the exemplary mirror

In *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, Chapman repeats some patterns and images applied in the earlier play. Like Bussy, his brother Clermont 'attempts and fails to reform an evil world' (Fetrow 1979: 237). Also like Bussy, Clermont displays a behaviour 'which is contrary to his philosophy' (ibid.: 230). He faces a 'conflict between his teachings and his practices' (ibid.). The characters in the *Revenge* still reminisce about a golden past before 'pride entered them, and rule by power', before 'virtue quite was vanished' to be superseded by 'self-love, fraud, and vice'

(1.1.23–6). Clermont, like Bussy before him, is hailed as the virtuous antithesis to this corrupted world. According to Guise, Clermont ‘exceeds his brother Bussy’ because he ‘hath the crown of man, and all his parts, / Which learning is, and that so true and virtuous / That it gives power to do as well as say / Whatever fits a most accomplished man’ (2.1.82–7).

Like *Bussy D’Ambois*, the *Revenge* includes several aspects evocative of the ‘mirror for princes’ genre. The imitative relationship between an exemplary sovereign and his subjects is addressed by Bussy’s ghost in the play’s final act. When the ghost ‘ascends’ (5.1.1 s.d.), the stage directions imply his ascent from hell rather than his descent from the crystal sky, where Comolet had pictured him at the end of *Bussy D’Ambois*. Bussy urges Clermont to ‘use the means [he] [has] to right / The wrong [he] suffered’ and to perform ‘what corrupted law / Leaves unperformed in kings’ (96–8). By revenging his death, the ghost promises, Clermont will ‘be above them all in dignity’ (99). Bussy’s complaint recalls the ghosts in the *Mirror for Magistrates* who rise from their death to complain to and warn the living. Like those revenants, Bussy advises ‘ignorant men’ to ‘reform ... [their] manless lives’ (15).

But, other than the ghosts rising in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Bussy does not share his own fate as a cautionary example. Instead of instructing Clermont how to avoid his wrongs, he asks his brother to correct the wrongs done to him. Still in death, Bussy considers himself a wronged *exemplum*. In his speech, he likens his deeds to the concept of divine justice:

To live to Him is to do all things fitting
 His image, in which, like Himself, we live;
 To be His image is to do those things
 That make us deathless, which, by death, is only
 Doing those deeds that fit eternity;
 And those deeds are the perfecting that justice
 That makes the world last, which proportion is
 Of punishment and wreak for every wrong,
 As well as for right a reward as strong.

The speech given by Bussy's ghost recalls the rhetoric used by Monsieur in the earlier play, in his speech designed to persuade Bussy to join his service. Monsieur had reminded Bussy of the necessity to make public one's 'acts exemplary' (*Bussy D'Ambois*, 1.1.79) to serve as a model for others. Bussy's ghost now similarly reinforces that the path to 'deathless[ness]' is via 'deeds that fit eternity'. He learned from Monsieur that such deeds not only bestow eternity on 'good Names, but [also] doth to others give / Matter for virtuous Deeds' (1.1.80–1).

Speaking as a ghost risen from the dead, Bussy implies that his deeds in life were of the kind that made him 'deathless'. His self-image recalls the role of the exemplary monarch envisioned by James I. James suggests that kings are supposed to look at God 'as in a mirrour, [to see] the course of all earthly things' (1918: 12) and imitate his example. But, at the same time, he stresses the importance for a king to pass on the divine example and to be 'a mirrour to [his] people; that therein ... they may see, by [his] image, what life they should lead' (ibid.: 30). Bussy implies that in life he, too, followed God's example. Now, in death, he asks Clermont to follow his advice, which, he believes, represents God's 'true doctrine' (5.1.84).

In the closing scene of the *Revenge*, the D'Ambois brothers are connected via Bussy's sword. Chapman had revisited the significance attached to the sword in *Bussy D'Ambois* already in the opening scene of the *Revenge*, when he made Monsieur again turn to the example of 'the most renowned soldier / Epaminondas' (1.1.239–40). In *Bussy D'Ambois*, the dying Bussy offers his sword to Montsurry 'for true sign / Of which unfeign'd remission' (5.3.160–1). 'Take it', he says, 'and only give it motion, / And it shall find the way to victory / By his own brightness, and th'inherent valour / My fight hath still's into't' (162–5).

Throughout both plays, Bussy's sword becomes a metonymic reminder of his exemplary quality. His deeds, like the deeds of Epaminondas reflected in the 'burnish'd steel' (*Bussy D'Ambois*, 1.1.75), are reflected in its 'brightness', which, however, is tarnished by Montsurry's treachery. Confronted by Clermont at the end of the *Revenge*, Montsurry asks his opponent to 'give [him] leave / To

fetch and use the sword [his] brother gave [him] / When he was bravely giving up his life' (5.5.32–4). Montsurry's intention is to fight D'Ambois with D'Ambois, hoping that Bussy's promise will prove true and that the 'valour' instilled into the sword will lead him to victory. Clermont, however, is unwilling to 'fight against [his] brother's sword', also knowing that 'tis a trick / For [Montsurry] to show [his] back' (35–7).

In the final moments of *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, Bussy's legacy is tainted. The sword supposed to instil virtue and valour into others is converted to a prop in Montsurry's plot. In the previous scene, the dying Guise prophesied that King Henry's corrupted politics will have consequences that 'will make [the king] feel / How little safety lies in treacherous steel' (5.4.59–60). Both D'Ambois brothers fail to reform the system. They are examples of individual powerlessness when faced with a world ruled by policy. The mirror of Bussy's sword, transformed from victorious brightness into treacherous steel, reflects this pessimism.

Interlude 2: Exemplary mirror stages

Edward I and *Bussy D'Ambois* have been identified as mirrors of Elizabethan and Jacobean society. In *Edward I*, the demonization of the Spanish queen is not only part of hispanophobic propaganda. The marriage of Edward I to Eleanor of Castile also 'recalls a long tradition of Anglo-Hispanic interrelation and alliance' (Griffin 2009: 51). Recasting Eleanor as a villain, Peele 'rewrites her story in terms of the religiopolitics of post-Reformation England' (ibid.: 57), at a time of heated debates concerning the royal succession. Elizabeth I's childlessness and the example of recent English history fuelled anxieties about 'dangerous marital politics' (ibid.: 52) and 'the influence of future alien queens' (Parsons 1994: 236). The play exemplifies the harm alien infiltrations might cause in the kingdom while it, at the same time, 'delegitimizes' the potential Spanish claims to the throne 'by revealing the "bastardy"

of Lanacastrian origins' (Griffin 2009: 57) in the adulterous affairs of the stage Eleanor.

Peele's play reimagines 'virtually every index of Spanish identity as the ethnic opposite of everything essentially English' (ibid.: 65). It holds up to Elizabeth and those responsible for her succession a distorted mirror of history. Chapman's play arguably does the same to James. The setting of *Bussy D'Ambois* may have been used as a 'critical mirror' because 'the chaos which Henry III attributes to his own [i.e., the French] court was during the early 1600s ... associated with the court of ... James the First' (Hoenselaars 1994: 228). James I is asked to recognize himself in the style of rule attributed to the French monarch, whose praise of Elizabeth holds up to him and his courtiers a positive example from recent history.

Both plays combine the metaphor of history as a mirror for the present with the metaphor of the theatre as a mirror for society. The two metaphors meet in the 'experimental genre' (Rackin 1990: 27) of the history play. In early modern England, history was rediscovered for didactic purposes due to 'the often-reiterated faith of the humanists that the past could provide lessons for the present and models for the future' (ibid.: 11). In his *Defence of Poesie*, Philip Sidney juxtaposes the historian and the philosopher. While the philosopher's teaching consists only of 'the abstract and generall' (1595: Dr), he writes, the historian is 'tied, not to what should be, but to what is, to the particular truth of things, and not to the general reason of things' (Dv). And while the philosopher's abstract reasoning is too complicated to provide any practical utility, the historian's 'example draweth no necessarie consequence, and therefore [is] a lesse fruitfull doctrine' (ibid.). But in between these two extremes, Sidney observes, is the work of 'the peerlesse Poet [who] performe[s] both' (ibid.).

To any philosophical lesson, Sidney argues, the poet can add 'a perfect picture of it by some one, by whom he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the generall notion with the particular example' (ibid.). Poetry succeeds in 'mainteining the *Heroicall*' because 'the lostie Image of such woorthies, moste enflameth the minde with desire to bee

woorthie: and enformes with counsaile how to be woorthie' (ibid.: F2r). As implied by Matthieu Coignet in his comparison of history and theatre, poetry performed in the playhouse is most effective:

And there [i.e., from history] maye Princes learne without hasarde, expense, or daunger, how deeply they are charged: and the better impresse within their memorye the preceptes eyther of politicke lawes, or of the art of warre, then they shoulde doe in Philosophers bookes, seeing what praises are gyven to the well doers, and what blame and punishment to the wicked, as in the middle of a Theatre. (1586: 71)

History and theatre are exemplary mirrors, whose union produces the most effective mirror of the history play. I have demonstrated how two early modern history plays draw on the 'mirror for princes' tradition to explore the limits of exemplary rulership. In *Edward I*, the king performs specular sovereignty in his suit of glass but fails to translate into action the qualities associated with exemplary government. In *Bussy D'Ambois*, Bussy intends to hold up a mirror to the king and his court but falls short of living up to his own ideal standards. Like the period's *speculum* books, their characters combine notions of exemplary didacticism with mirror tropes and props. Parading this connection on stage, they point to the equally well-established topos of the mirror of the theatre. By dramatizing but twisting these conventions, I suggest that the plays challenge audiences to question the idealized images presented to them both on and beyond the stage. Exemplarity may easily manifest itself in appearance (as in *Edward I*) or speech (as in *Bussy D'Ambois*), the plays teach us, but it does not always persist in deeds.

Cosmetic mirrors in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter*

Cosmetic mirrors: Female rule and the agency of appearances

This chapter leaves the subject of mirrored masculinity behind to instead discuss feminine self-authorship by means of cosmetic mirrors. When evoked in early modern literature, 'masculine mirroring' usually involves some sort of ideological element: men tend to see something other than themselves when they look into mirrors. The structure of 'feminine mirroring', on the other hand, is usually less complex: women see themselves, their own bodies or these bodies' future decay. The one is an immaterial, the other a corporeal confrontation with the self; and while the first tends to be judged as a means of self-amendment, the latter's attempts at correcting (bodily) flaws more often than not are condemned as profane, conceited, foolish and potentially harmful.

Mirrors have been used for the purpose of beautification since antiquity. The earliest mirror finds in Britain date back to the time of Roman occupation (Giles and Joy 2007: 17); the same is true for archaeological finds of cosmetic materials (Poitevin 2011: 59). While, in early modernity, men, too, used them (sometimes also for physical reflection), by the sixteenth century mirrors had become a symbol of femininity. The term 'cosmetic' combines the knowledge of a certain technique of adornment (from the Greek *kosmetikē tekhnē*) with what in rhetorical theory has been called *cosmesis*, a strategy which

‘camouflages vulnerability’ (Whigham 1984: 116). I use the term, which was first put into print in this variant by Francis Bacon (1605: 38v), in that sense for referring to a knowledge-based feminine practice of bodily self-fashioning that conceals or repairs the image of women’s defectiveness cultivated in patriarchal societies.

This chapter demonstrates how on the early modern stage women’s interactions with their mirrors become microcosmic images of feminine agency. The mirror scenes in the two Jacobean tragedies I discuss in the following pages, John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* (c. 1613–14) and Barnabe Barnes’s *The Devil’s Charter* (1607), illustrate the transgressive power their female protagonists assume within the plays’ patriarchal settings. Both Webster’s *Duchess of Malfi* and Barnes’s *Lucretia Borgia* challenge being controlled by men. Their cosmetic self-fashioning at their mirrors evokes the common *vanitas* tableau of a woman admiring herself in a mirror. In the plays, however, the staging of this well-known setup is reconnected to the threat these female characters pose to the male characters’ intellectual, physical and political supremacy.

Webster and Barnes pursue distinct approaches by casting these characters either as tragic heroine (*Duchess*) or murderous villainess (*Lucretia*). But they both negotiate the subversive potential of beautification practices as feminine forms of (textual) production and (political) manipulation. The cosmetic mirrors in their plays reflect the ambivalent status of women facing themselves in looking glasses: while they appear to submit to male beauty standards, their interactions with their bodies enable them to reclaim autonomy and wield authority over men.

Like *vanitas* still lifes that often *include* mirrors, the *vanitas* tableau depicting a woman looking *into* a mirror was a prevalent subject in early modern art and print culture. In many cases, the sinfulness of the woman’s self-adornment is underscored by the presence of death or the devil approaching her unseen. Admiring oneself in a mirror was perceived in relation to the sin of idolatry, and a woman who beautified herself was accused of stylizing herself into ‘the *idoll*, she

doth so much adore' (Tuke 1616: 57). William Prynne complained that for the conceited persons of his age 'the *Looking-glasse* [is] their *Bible*' (1628: A3v). His finding 'that they consult more seriously, and frequently with the *Glasse*, and *Combe*, then with the *Scriptures*' (ibid.), is echoed by several writers around 1600. Thomas Salter introduces his *Mirrhor of Modestie* as an alternative mirror for women to cultivate not their bodies but their souls:

In my iudgemente there is nothyng more meete, especially for yong Maidens then a *Mirrhor*, there in to see and beholde how to order their dooyng, I meane not a Christall *Mirrhor*, made by handie Arte, by whiche Maidens now adaies, dooe onely take delight daiely to tricke and trim their tresses, standyng tootyng twoo howers by the Clocke, lookyng now on this side, now on that, least any thyng should bee lackyng needfull to further Pride, ... no I meane no suche *Mirrhor*, but the *Mirrhor* I meane is made of an other maner of matter, and is of muche more worthe then any Christall *Mirrhor*; for as the one teacheth how to attire the outwarde bodie, so the other guideth to garnishe the inwarde mynde, and maketh it meete for vertue (1579: no page [equals A6r-v])

Evoking the vices attached to the new materiality of crystal mirrors as discussed in Chapter 2, Salter asks women to exchange their cosmetic mirrors for a book composed by a man. The fear of losing control over women's bodies is at the heart of most arguments against face painting. In the period's anti-cosmetic discourse, women who (re)fashion their appearances emerge not only as rebels against God and his creation. Their cosmetic self-creation, which John Bulwer in *Anthropometamorphosis* labels women's 'Cosmetique usurpations' (1653: 271), is also considered an affront against men and their privilege to govern women's corporeal and intellectual existence. The anti-cosmetic outrage, which still intensified during the reign of Elizabeth, must be acknowledged as being not 'simply about face paint', but 'rather a register of contemporary attitudes towards women, art and visible power' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 35).

In Chapter 2, I demonstrated how the writings of James I link the male monarch to notions of specular exemplarity. His female predecessor Elizabeth I, on the other hand, *was* repeatedly pictured as a mirror of femininity and queenship *by* male writers. She was a role model for her female subjects, especially for those who could afford sartorial and cosmetic luxuries, and she boosted the trend of imitating the Petrarchan beauty ideal by painting the face in layers of white and red. While she was neither the first woman nor the first queen to resort to such beautifying practices, her image as the quasi-holy Virgin Queen was idealized and idolized, and women in the kingdom widely imitated her appearance. It is undisputed that Elizabeth owned mirrors,¹ and she certainly used them for the purpose of beautification. As Anna Riehl argues, ‘in the early modern period, beauty and queenship are intimately connected’ (2010: 37). For Elizabeth and other female rulers, ‘power was beautifying while beauty, empowering’ (ibid.: 63).

Face painting produced ‘cosmetic glory’ (Karim-Cooper 2006: 19), which then operated as ‘a signifier of political authority and the stability of that authority’ (18). The conservation of the body natural’s youthful appearance thus signalled the persistence of the body politic. This intrinsic connection between queenship and beauty is addressed in a speech given to Elizabeth in 1592. The speaker admits that ‘it is her Beauty onely creates her Queen; ‘tis that which adds a commanding power to every syllable’ (qtd. Elder 1658: 28). Elizabeth here emerges, as Patricia Phillippy writes of the Renaissance painter Artemisia Gentileschi, as ‘a newly empowered female subject, created through her control over her own specular image’ (2006: 21).

At least four anecdotes about Elizabeth’s relationship with mirrors circulated in the years after her death. Two anecdotes, one shared by Henry Chettle, the other in variants by Ben Jonson and Godfrey Goodman, address her alleged aversion to mirrors. John Manningham’s anecdote implies her preoccupation with her own image. The fourth anecdote, retold by John Clapham and Elizabeth Southwell, reveals her deathbed wish to see her true reflection rather than the flattering images held up to her in life. Since all four anecdotes contribute to an

understanding of what I identify as women's 'specular agency' in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter*, I will briefly outline each of them. They address the nexus of female (political) authority and appearance, and the gendered rivalry to control a woman's mirror image.

First, Henry Chettle remembers Elizabeth as indifferent to her appearance. He claims that the late queen 'hat[ed] superfluitie as hell' (1603: Er). Stressing her modesty, he recalls that

so farre was shee from all nicenesse, that I have heard it credibly reported, and knowe it by many instances to be true, that shee never could abide to gaze in a mirrour or looking-glasse: no not to behold one, while her head was tyred and adorned, but simply trusted to her attendant Ladies for the comelinesse of her attire: and that this is true, ... I am the rather perswaded, for that when I was yong, almost thirtie yeares agoe, courting it now and then: I have seene the Ladies make great shift to hide away their looking-glasses if her Maiestie had past by their lodgings. (ibid.)

This anecdote establishes a contrast between the self-reflexive queen who avoids the mirror and her ladies who are still attracted by their looking glasses. It marks interactions with mirrors as a debased feminine practice that is overcome by Elizabeth, who might have 'the body butt of a weake and feble woman, butt ... the harte and stomach of a kinge, and of a kynge of england too' (Nichols 2014: 423). In addition, however, the cosmetic collaboration between the queen and her ladies also points to the potential for female bonding via beautifying practices.

Second, Ben Jonson re-evaluates both Elizabeth's disregard for mirrors and her relationship with her ladies. In a table talk with William Drummond of Hawthornden, which took place around 1617–18, he gossiped that 'Queen Elizabeth never saw her self after she became old in a true glass', which is why her ladies 'painted her, and sometymes would vermilion her nose' (Jonson 1842: 23). For Jonson, Elizabeth's avoidance of mirrors is not a sign of virtue but of pride. He implies that the aging queen evaded the sight of her wrinkled face and that her trusted female circle was infused not by support but by spitefulness.

Writing on the reign of James, this piece of gossip is echoed by Godfrey Goodman, who adds that 'there was then a report that the ladies had gotten false looking-glasses, that the Queen might not see her own wrinkles' (1839: 164).

Third, John Manningham counters the myth of Elizabeth's rejection of mirrors with an anecdote revolving around her admirers' wish to provide her with the 'truest picture' (1868: 130) of herself. In a diary entry dated 12 February 1602, Manningham recalls the competition between an unnamed knight and Christopher Hatton, one of Elizabeth's favourites. Manningham's remark that the two men 'made challenge whoe should present the truest picture of hir Majestie to the Queene' (ibid.) implies that Elizabeth did not necessarily induce them to this enterprise. While one 'caused a flattering picture to be drawne; the other presented a glas, wherein the Queene sawe hir selfe, the truest picture that there might be' (ibid.: 131). Manningham does not reveal which representation of herself Elizabeth preferred. But the diary entry creates the scenario of a queen positioned between the poles of reflected truth and painted flattery.

Finally, John Clapham and Elizabeth Southwell report how Elizabeth asked for a mirror on her deathbed. They had both been acquainted with the queen. Clapham had served as a clerk to Elizabeth's chief advisor, William Cecil, in the 1590s. Southwell had been Elizabeth's maid of honour from 1599 until she attended on the dying queen in 1603. The two reports resemble each other both in content and tone. Clapham documents that he found it

credibly reported that, not long before her death, [Queen Elizabeth] had a great apprehension of her own age and declination by seeing her face, then lean and full of wrinkles, truly represented to her in a glass; which she a good while very earnestly beheld, perceiving thereby how often she had been abused by flatterers whom she held in too great estimation, that had informed her to the contrary. (1951: 96)

The episode recalls the mirror scene in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, in which the monarch's confrontation with his reflection, too, leads to a

'belated moment of royal self-revelation' (Montrose 2006b: 245). In her version of the incident, Southwell similarly relates how Elizabeth saw

one night in her bed her bodie exceeding leane and fearefull in a light of fire, for the which the next daie she desired to see a true loking glass which in 20 yeares befor she had not sene but onlie such a one which of purpos was made to deceive her sight which glas being brought her she fell presently exclaiming at all those which had so much commended her and toke yt so offensivelie, that all those which had befor flattered her durst not come in her sight now faling into extremitie she sat tow daies and 3 nigh[tes] upon her stole ready dressed and could never be brought ... by anie of her Councell to go to bed. (qtd. Loomis 1996: 485)

Both accounts confirm the circulation of flattering glasses at the Elizabethan court as reported by Jonson and Goodman. They also confirm Elizabeth's alleged avoidance of her mirror image for decades before she died. But the criticism inherent in these texts is directed less at the queen than at her flatterers. Elizabeth's despair at the sight of her aged face in the 'true loking glass' is accompanied by her insight that she had been manipulated by her personal and political advisers. The story as told by Clapham and Southwell thus conveys a feeling of Elizabeth's 'increasing loss of control over her bodies natural and politic' (Montrose 2006b: 245).

I do not think, however, that Elizabeth's deathbed confrontation with an unflattering mirror only stresses her 'weakness and disability' (ibid.). Rather, I suggest that the dying queen's call for a 'true loking glas' signifies her attempt to resume control over her bodily image. She bans from her sight the flatterers who (with her complicity) took this authority away from her. She dies knowing the truth about both of her bodies (the body natural raddled by wrinkles, the body politic pervaded by sycophants). In *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter*, I trace a similar ambivalence in the female protagonists' interactions with their mirrors: both mirror scenes expose the Duchess's and Lucretia's

vulnerability to male attacks while at the same time they stage moments of resistance against aggressive manifestations of paternalism.

While vanity denoted sinful self-love, in the Renaissance it also 'was inevitable with the emergence of the self or individual' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 61). Francis Bacon, in *The Advancement of Learning*, lists the '*Art of Decoration*; which is called *Cosmetike*' among the 'knowledges' of cultivating the human body (1605: 38v). Often, this was the only knowledge-based activity accessible to women. Men's self-fashioning usually aimed at 'the achievement of a less tangible self: a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving' (Greenblatt 2005: 2). For early modern women, whose liberties in patriarchal societies rarely equalled men's, self-fashioning instead frequently required a detour via the manipulation of what Stephen Greenblatt calls the 'tangible self', which is the body.

Feminists sometimes stigmatize cosmetic practices as a '*political* and a contributing factor in the oppression of women' (Synnott 1990: 66) or even 'harmful cultural practices' (Jeffreys 2015: 102). I second the contrary opinion advocated by several other feminist writers that, especially in the cases of many women living during early modernity, cosmetic (self-)manipulations are or at least can be 'feminine assertions of agency' (Stevens 2013: 8). While 'the construction of ... femininity is itself aligned with a condition of exaggerated specularity' (Solomon-Godeau 1996: 128) involving women's exposure to the male gaze, I suggest that a condition of '*to-be-looked-at-ness*' (Mulvey 1975: 11) can bear emancipating potential: 'Once a woman was looked at, she could at last open her mouth and speak' (Nahoum-Grappe 1993: 95).

This is why in this chapter mirrors are marked as 'technologies of femininity', but decisively not in the Foucauldian sense as parts of a 'disciplinary project' as argued by Sandra Lee Bartky (1988: 71). The female characters' private chambers in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter* are not 'place[s] of disempowerment' (Stern 1997: 185, my emphasis). While the domestic setting of both face-painting scenes is indeed connected to spatial restrictions that affected women's

movements both physically and mentally, I consider the sense of seclusion those spaces provide as enabling a different kind of (internal) resistance. For this, I exploit the double meaning of the term 'powder room' as a storage space for gunpowder (OED, 'powder room', *n.*, 1) and a domestic space for beautification rituals (2.a), and I reread them as 'places of *empowerment*' for cultivating female beauty as a weapon against patriarchal oppression.²

Like Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (1989) have identified it for the field of postcolonial literature, I understand the cosmetic practices of the Duchess of Malfi and Lucretia Borgia as a 'writing back' against oppressive structures within the plays. While operating in, and *as* texts, written by male authors, their fashioning of their bodies functions as an early variant of *écriture féminine*, a female form of writing with, on and about the body. Women not only painted their faces, but they also composed cosmetic manuals and recipe books. Margaret Cavendish described 'Art [as] the Adornment of Beauty' as 'the Poetry of Women' (1655: 86–7). Anti-cosmetic writers like Thomas Tuke, on the other hand, while comparing painted faces to books and letters, 'fairely written, and with good inke', point out that facial writings composed by female hands are never 'without some false *English*, or ill contents' (1616: 14).

Beauty may be a product of men's imagination, but this also makes it women's capital in a social system in which beautiful female bodies are essential for '[men's] own self-definition' (Georgopoulou 2011: 2). By creating appearances that appeal to the judgement of male decision-makers, women throughout history have gained access to places, positions and knowledge normally inaccessible to them. In the plays, too, while the Duchess and Lucretia find their corporeal existence eventually overpowered by powerful men, their mirror scenes illustrate their subversive authority temporarily exercised by means of sexual attraction and reproductive energy.

Face-painting scenes are a stable component of Jacobean drama. When mirrors are added to those scenes, they reflect on the constructedness of femininity in the all-male theatre, where the

other gender 'is materialised out of stage paints' (Stevens 2014: 117). In *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Charter*, they also contribute to challenging the boundaries of women's agency. The third inversion I discuss in this book thus traces how the tableau of a woman at her dressing table is transformed from an image of vanity into a symbol of protofeminist agency. The powder rooms of the Duchess and Lucretia become alternative spaces within male-dominated spheres where looking-glass selves are cultivated, and forms of female rule are explored. The violent penetrations of these rooms by the brother (Ferdinand in *The Duchess of Malfi*) and the father (Pope Alexander in *The Devil's Charter*) are exposed as attempts to curb such activities that threaten male supremacy. While both women disappear from the stage before the final act of their plays, I show how their return as disembodied aural (Duchess) or spectral (Lucretia) entities illustrates their persistent influence on the world and the men they left behind.

Tangling hair: The glass world of *The Duchess of Malfi*

The Louvre Museum in Paris owns an ornamented table mirror that was long believed to have belonged to Marie de' Medici. It was the style of its frame's ornamentation, with cameos, floral patterns and reliefs, that led art historians and curators to classify it as a late-sixteenth-century artefact. The consent had been that the Republic of Venice gave it to Marie de' Medici as a wedding gift when she married the French king Henry IV in 1600. Later experts revised this theory based on new evidence that Marie's grandson, Louis XIV, purchased the mirror from a Parisian merchant in 1684. I still am interested in the earlier hypothesis that the mirror was owned by an Italian-born noblewoman. With its nostalgic design it successfully misdirected the judgement of earlier scholars of historical materials. This suggests that, while Marie did not own *this* mirror, she, and accordingly aristocratic sixteenth-century women like her, likely owned mirrors *like* it.



Figure 5 Nineteenth-century photograph of a table mirror from the collection of the Louvre Museum in Paris, formerly believed to have been owned by Marie de' Medici but actually acquired by her grandson, Louis XIV, later in the seventeenth century. I thank Catherine Adam-Segas, head of the Louvre's Centre for Education and Documentation, for clarifying those two stages in the academic approach to the mirror's provenance. © bpk / GrandPalaisRmn, Patrice Schmidt / Léon Vidal.

The Florentine Marie ruled France first as a queen consort from 1600 to 1610 and then as a regent on behalf of her son, Louis XIII, from 1610 to 1614. In Renaissance Italy, women often governed duchies or kingdoms as widows or mothers. One of these ruling women was Giovanna d'Aragona, who, widowed at a young age, ruled the Duchy of Amalfi during the minority of her son until her death in 1510. Like Marie, Giovanna probably owned some kind of mirror to cultivate her appearance. In *The Duchess of Malfi*, John Webster dramatizes the facts and fictions of her life, and at least his approach to her character includes an interaction with her reflection.

Act 3, Scene 2 opens with what Annette Drew-Bear calls 'vanity commands' (1994: 76) or 'vanity calls' (46). The Duchess asks her waiting woman Cariola to 'bring [her] the casket hither and the glass' (3.2.1). It is equally conceivable that the specular prop employed by the King's Men was either a table mirror of the type of the Louvre mirror, a handheld mirror or a miniature pocket mirror. In Dominic Droomgoole's production of *The Duchess of Malfi* at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse in London (2014), the Duchess (Gemma Arterton) looked into a mirror of the size of a powder compact. The popular seventeenth-century fashion of wearing such miniature mirrors 'decoratively at the waist' (Kelly 2002: 4) is staged, for example, in Philip Massinger's *The City Madam* (1.1.46–7 s.d.), *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (2.4.5–12), parts of which are attributed to Webster, and John Ford's *The Fancies, Chast and Noble* (1.2.1 s.d.).

My reading of the mirror scene in *The Duchess of Malfi* as an inversion of the traditional *vanitas* tableau of a woman beautifying herself in front of her mirror is indebted to observations shared by Farah Karim-Cooper and Laura Tosi. Tosi points out that Ferdinand's intrusion into his sister's powder room 'recalls conventional representations of a devil behind a woman at her mirror' (2011: 266). Karim-Cooper argues that Webster evokes this 'pictorial motif', but 'inverts the traditional associations of the devil in the glass by elevating the status of the Duchess' (2006: 96). As a result of the dramatic techniques employed by Webster, the 'stage picture of this Duchess engaged in self-beautification

serves as a counter discourse to the moral cliché upheld by most of the male characters that painted ladies are whores' (ibid.: 96).

I agree that the mirror scene stages a process of inversion by evoking a well-established tableau of female vice but challenging its meanings. While my reading of *The Duchess of Malfi* draws on these earlier arguments, I demonstrate that similar processes of inversion also inform other scenes during which femininity is addressed in specular terms. I argue that Webster, literally and figuratively, positions female characters in the proximity of mirrors to reflect (on) images of femininity as formed in the eyes of patriarchal society. In the following pages, I show how the Duchess's interaction with her mirror creates a protofeminist utopia that is violently invaded by her brother Ferdinand. I then point to the idealizing and defaming verbal mirrors created by Antonio and the Cardinal to curb and contain rivalling female forces. Finally, I discuss Bosola's misogynist phobia of women's private spaces and how his vitreous imagery relates to the rethinking of both glass and women in the Madmen's antimasque. I close my discussion by illustrating the Duchess's post-mortem agency via her transformation into an acoustic mirror.

An excellent picture: Penetrating the powder room

Act 3, Scene 2 takes place in the Duchess's 'privy lodgings' (2.5.45). Her conversation with her husband Antonio and her waiting woman Cariola includes references to two beautifying practices. First, Antonio addresses the topic of face painting. Second, the Duchess points to her 'tangle[d]' (3.2.52) hair and '*tends to her toilette*' (Norton 3.2.54–5 s.d.) to untangle it. Antonio begins to 'wonder why hard-favoured ladies / For the most part keep worse-favoured waiting-women / To attend them, and cannot endure fair ones' (3.2.43–6). His remark implies the subject of beauty rivalry among women. A woman's beauty could determine her 'social worth, in both male and female eyes' (Korhonen 2008: 359). Seeking 'acceptance and marriage on the one hand, and creative autonomy and sexual power on the other', women often 'went

to great lengths in early modern England to beautify themselves' (Karim-Cooper 2007: 142).

We learn that the Duchess, who looks into her mirror in Act 3, Scene 2, still '[has] youth / And a little beauty' (3.2.137–8). She also is well acquainted with women's strategies to appear more beautiful than they are, answering Antonio's question about the pairing of 'hard-favoured ladies' and 'worse-favoured waiting-women' by likening women to painters. An 'ill painter' will not establish 'his dwelling next door to the shop / Of an excellent picture maker', because, she explains, 'twould disgrace / His face-making and undo him' (48–51). She means that women's beauty, like artistic skill, is relative. It is assessed in comparison with others.

Her simile '[points] to the analogous relationship between face painting and canvas painting' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 94). Early modern women who painted their faces were considered imitators and usurpers of the male portrait painter's profession. This sort of criticism resonates throughout the anti-cosmetic tracts composed around 1600. Thomas Tuke criticizes the necessity for the female face painter to be '*twice defined*' because, 'though she bee the *creature* of God, as she is a *woman*, yet is she her owne *creatrice*' (1616: 57). Thomas Nashe remarks that women's painted lips are so 'lavishly red' and their cheeks so 'sugar-candied and cherry-blushed' that a painter who wishes 'to draw any of their counterfeits on a table ... needs no more but wet his pencil, and dab it on their cheeks, and he shall have vermilion and white enough to furnish out his work, though he leave his tar-box at home behind him' (1972a: 77).

Shakespeare's Olivia likens herself to a picture maker when she 'draw[s] the curtain' of her veil to 'show ... the picture' of her painted face, which is 'excellently done' by 'beauty truly blent' (*TN*, 1.5.226–31). Like Olivia, Webster's Duchess resembles 'a god or a painter, for [she] makes faces' (*LLL*, 5.2.638). Her relationship with Cariola is, however, not like the relationship of a 'hard-favoured' lady to her 'worse-favoured' waiting woman. Instead, Antonio claims that 'both [their] faces ... [are] so well formed' (*Duchess of Malfi*, 3.2.42). Endowed with a 'well

formed' face, the Duchess identifies herself not with the 'ill painter' who avoids dwelling near more versatile artists. She rather is the 'excellent picture maker', reproducing her face not on canvas but on her skin. For Chloe Porter, 'defacement [is] a productive mode [on the early modern stage] through which spectators may engage with the viewed' (2013: 34). I suggest reapplying this term to the Duchess to understand her 'facement', in the sense of face making, too, as a 'productive mode' that qualifies her to compete both with other women's beauty and men's creative output. 'In *The Duchess of Malfi*', writes Farah Karim-Cooper, 'Webster's stage picture is of a heroine who re-creates her *own* face' (2006: 95).

In his *Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty*, John Gauden describes a woman's face as 'the chief *Theater, Throne, and Center of Beauty*' (1656: 23). Similar claims are made about a woman's hair, praised, for example, in the anonymous pamphlet *Hic Mulier: or, The Man-Woman*, as 'the ornament of her sexe' (1620: B3r). Will Fisher argues that 'hair came to "matter" ... powerfully in seventeenth-century culture' (2006: 142), and Edith Snook notes that 'hair [had] the power to document social privilege and permit it to function as a repository for social values' (2015: 24). When beautifully groomed, it 'signif[ied] that one is by nature the ruler rather than the ruled' (ibid.: 32). Tending to her glass to untangle her hair, the Duchess represents this type of female authority. As 'a mistress of the house', she would have been 'expected to act as its well-groomed representative' (Korhonen 2019: 50). Her tonsorial beauty, restored in front of the mirror in the act of untangling, expresses her control over both her body and her duchy.

Once the Duchess turns her attention to her mirror image, Antonio prompts Cariola to 'steal forth the room / And let her talk to herself' (3.2.53–4). Although the Duchess now speaks unaware of being alone in the room, the man's exit is a prerequisite that makes room for female speech. *The Duchess of Malfi* has often been identified as influenced by and contributing to the early modern *querelle des femmes* or the 'woman controversy', a literary debate whose formal origins go back to Christine de Pizan's 1399 response (in *L'Epistre au Dieu D'Amours*)

to the misogyny of writers like Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung (in their *Roman de la rose*, c. 1230–75). Between 1600 and 1630, contributions to the controversy became especially popular in England (Desmet 1991: 71). One of Webster's sources consulted for the biography of Giovanna d'Aragona, William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* (1567), is considered part of it.

The Duchess's mirror speech generates a scenario that, I suggest, echoes the concept of one of the founding texts on the side of the 'pro-woman' argument, De Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405). As she untangles her hair, her attention is drawn to its chromatic appearance. 'Doth not the colour of my hair 'gin to change?', she asks. 'When I wax grey I shall have all the court / Powder their hair with arras to be like me' (3.2.57–9). Her remark points first to the habitual use of beautifying powders among the nobility and second to the sycophantic mimicry between courtiers and sovereigns. A poem in John Collop's *Poesis rediviva, or, Poesie reviv'd*, addresses 'a painted Lady', who was 'baited with powder' (1656: 40–1). To Collop, women's 'powd'ring of the hair / Makes [them] seem aged, and not fair' (ibid.: 41).

This is the effect the Duchess seeks in her looking-glass fantasy. 'Arras' in this context is another word for 'orris' or 'iris', a plant whose root could be ground 'for whitening and perfuming the hair' (*Duchess of Malfi*, Revels Plays, 3.2.60n). While women painted their faces and bleached their hair to blend in with the period's youthful ideal, the Duchess envisions a future court at which the courtiers powder their hair to imitate the aging ruler. With her fantasy, she twists the promise of the beauty industry by promoting not *rejuvenating* but *dejuvenating* cosmetic practices. The former is linked to patriarchal society which 'defines and judges [the woman] through a phantasy model of beauty, which essentially regards her natural body as a stigma' (Tseëlon 1995: 88). Commanding her court to 'wax grey' (3.2.58) with her, the Duchess would remove the stigma of aging in her own person and abolish it altogether.

Just like her mirror reproduces her sovereign image, in her mirror fantasy she reproduces her subjects as copies of their sovereign. In the

Duchess's cosmetic mirror, 'the outside world is reduced to an image of herself' (Nordlund 1999: 384). By drawing the 'outside world' inward, the scene dramatizes the politicization of a woman's private space. Judith Haber observes that 'as she sits, in classically "feminine" fashion, before her looking glass, she is, in effect, stepping through that looking glass to remake the world in her own image (by troping on the patriarchal constructions out of which that image is made)' (1997: 142). The result is a duchy of Duchesses, a 'City of Ladies' as envisioned by Christine de Pizan, which comes into being via a parthenogenetical fantasy involving the specular reproduction of one's own image.

This specular realm is not a democracy. But it is, I suggest, a protofeminist utopia. It reimagines the situation of women by aligning it with men's condition in the same social sphere (the court). The Duchess refuses to submit to patriarchal society's expectation to extend beauty beyond its natural limits by artificial means. Instead, she replaces the fantasy of eternal youth with a fantasy of universal greyness. This is less radical than Queen Eleanor's idea to repopulate the realm with mastectomized women in *Edward I* (see Chapter 2). But the Duchess's strategy resembles Eleanor's in that the simulation of old age, too, frees women from the roles of nursing mothers and eroticized objects for the male gaze while eradicating hierarchies of appearances.

The Duchess's vision of an alternative (heterotopian) and idealized (utopian) *locus* in the mirror evokes Michel Foucault's description of the mirror as a space of a 'mixed, joint experience' (1986: 24) between utopias and what he defines as heterotopias, two types of Foucauldian 'other spaces'. Utopias are 'sites with no real places ... that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society' as they 'present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down' (ibid.). Heterotopias are 'something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted' (ibid.). Specular spaces, according to Foucault, combine the features of both kinds of spatial otherness:

The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. ... The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there. (ibid.)

While the image in the mirror, according to Foucault, is a utopia, the object of the mirror that produces the image is a heterotopia. This spatio-specular double character applies to the Duchess's mirror as well as to her chamber where she keeps her mirror. The world in the mirror does not (yet) exist. It is a 'placeless place' emerging 'behind the surface' of the mirror. The heterotopian quality of the scene stems both from the material existence of the mirror and from the spatial otherness of the female-governed powder room where patriarchal standards are defied. The Duchess's authority stimulates masculine anxieties when faced with female rule. One component of the early modern 'woman controversy' was the 'gynecocracy debate' about women's (in)ability to govern. When women 'repaint [their] half of the world' (Cixous 1976: 876) with 'perfumed ingredients [and] a lively combination of flying colors' (889), they create 'bodily territories' (880) and resist the 'antinarcissism' men 'have made for women' (787).

The Duchess's brother Ferdinand penetrates her private chamber during her mirror monologue. He approaches his sister from behind equipped with '[his] father's poniard' (1.2.246). The paternal poniard is a phallic object that is first mentioned in the sexually charged exchange between the Duchess and Ferdinand at the outset of the play (245–55). Ferdinand '*gives her [the] poniard*' (3.2.67–8 s.d.) and leaves it with her when he exits the stage again. He expects his sister to commit suicide

to bleed out the shame. His command 'Die then quickly' (70) not only (with a pun on the sexual meaning of 'die') invites her to engage in (incestuous) sexual activity. It is also a dominant gesture that asks her to literally internalize patriarchal authority by absorbing into her body the phallic poniard as a symbol of their father and his male heir.

Since Ferdinand enters '*unseen*' (3.2.59–60 s.d.) and approaches his sister from behind, it is possible that the Duchess first notices his presence *in* the mirror, 'when she sees [in it] his face, rather than her own' (Enterline 1995: 260). Considering that 'she and [he] [are] twins' (4.2.256), one twin's image would then, similar to the potential rivalling reflection of Richard and Bolingbroke in Shakespeare's play, be overshadowed by the other's. While the literal and verbal mirroring of twins in Shakespearean comedy restores family unions (*CE*, 5.1.417; *TN*, 3.4.376–7), the specular overlapping of the twins in Webster's tragedy is the beginning of the female twin's destruction. Ferdinand penetrates her space, both in her chamber and the mirror, armed with his father's poniard, as a defender of patriarchy during the Duchess's vision-making of a protofeminist utopia. By 'stopping her gaze at herself in a reflective surface', he 'seems unable to tolerate that she should reflect *anything* but his own image' (Enterline 1995: 284).

In the mirror scene of *The Duchess of Malfi*, the tableau of feminine vanity is evoked only to expose men's fears at the sight of female acts of specular self-fashioning. Ferdinand enters to see his sister taming her tangled hair at her mirror. Semantically, 'long, unkempt hair signifies unrestrained sexuality' (Eilberg-Schwartz 1995: 4). Images of women being teased by the devil while combing their hair in front of their mirrors illustrate 'the potency of long, flowing hair, symbolic of pride and vanity, in calling up the devil' (Grössinger 1997: 15), and 'freely flowing hair was ... insistently coupled with intimate relationships between husbands and wives or the dangers of illicit sexuality' (Korhonen 2019: 45). The sixteenth century had witnessed a 'shift to uncovered hair, when even married women gradually started to reveal their hair when venturing out of their homes' (*ibid.*). In the light of developments like this, the tangled hair of the Duchess is linked to her

doubly complex status as a female ruler and secretly married woman. It marks the permeable boundary between the private and public realm.

Webster's dramatization of the *vanitas* setup involves two variations of the tableau's traditional meaning: a (hu)man, Ferdinand, emerges as what in Webster's *The White Devil* (1612) is described as 'the devil in crystal' (4.2.90); and the woman approached by this devilish man is not marked as a victim of pride but of patriarchal violence. In his closing speech to the mirror scene, Bosola notes that a 'politician is the devil's quilted anvil', and that the devil 'may work in a lady's chamber' (3.2.325–7). Bosola considers himself the intelligencing 'politician' assisting the work of the 'devil' Ferdinand, who is repeatedly associated with fire and infernal powers.

Like the devil of the *vanitas* tableaux, Ferdinand is drawn into the room by the suspicion of female sin ('lust', 'lecher', 3.2.97–9). To his accusations, the Duchess objects that by being a remarried widow she has 'not gone about ... to create / Any new world or custom' (109–10). But, in fact, a 'new world' *has* been imagined, and potential 'new worlds' *are* envisioned by women who recreate their bodily selves in front of their mirrors. For Ferdinand, this prospect of alternative models of society, as they are designed in the private sphere of the powder room, provokes anxiety. It leads him to eliminate the subversive threat embodied by the Duchess.

Malleable glass: Framing the woman controversy

The Duchess's interaction with an actual mirror is anticipated by three negotiations of women's nature in vitreous terms. Bosola's 'glass house' (2.2.6) metaphor will be discussed in the next section. In this section, I explore Antonio's applauding of the Duchess as an exemplary mirror of womanhood together with the Cardinal's juxtaposition of women's inconstancy and the inelasticity of glass. Antonio's comment draws on the rhetoric of female exceptionalism to praise one woman while disdaining others, the Cardinal's on the 'anti-woman' argument that women are naturally flawed. Both are manifestations on a spectrum

of misogynist sentiments. They define women according to patriarchal standards to make sure that women do not define themselves.

Antonio's speech is among the first impressions audiences get of the Duchess's character. Praising her 'noble virtue' (1.2.119), Antonio recommends that 'all sweet ladies break their flattering glasses / And dress themselves in her' (122–3). He fashions her not only into an exemplary but into an exceptional woman. The rhetoric of 'female exceptionalism' was perhaps the most common explanation for female rule' (Hurlburt 2013: 169) among authors of both the 'pro-woman' and 'anti-woman' factions. Antonio's apologetic approach recalls John Knox's strategy to justify his attack on female rulers. Written during and against Mary's Catholic regime, Knox's misogynist pamphlet was published just after Mary's Protestant sister Elizabeth assumed the throne. In an apology to the new queen, he made haste to clarify that his criticism was not addressed at '[her] graces person in especial' (1880: 58), whom he emphatically considers 'an exempill and mirroure of vertew and of godlie Lief till others' (60).

Early modern drama often envisions exceptional women as exemplary mirrors. For Antonio, the Duchess is a 'reflecting body' (Enterline 1995: 245) which is 'offered for the view, and the pedagogic use, of others' (250). But her mirror is 'specifically ... female' (ibid.: 242). For Antonio, as for John Knox and men sharing their views on female conduct, the Duchess is a mirror for other *women*. She excels other individuals of her gender, but she is still inferior to *men*. Antonio's opening reflections create the Duchess as the perfect wife and woman. While he encourages other women to 'break their flattering glasses' (1.2.122), his speech, too, functions as a flattering glass for the Duchess. He prompts women to refrain from self-reflection in mirrors and to instead pursue the ideals as held up to them exclusively in men's speech.

Men expect women to reflect what they project onto them. Delio reprimands Antonio for 'play[ing] the wire-drawer with her commendations', but Antonio argues that he just 'case[s] the picture up' (1.2.124–5). For Antonio, the Duchess is a 'picture' to which he adds the frame. He considers her incomplete without men acknowledging

her virtue. In the mirror scene, the Duchess counters this attitude by identifying herself as an 'excellent picture maker' (3.2.50) and by remaking women's world in the mirror. Antonio's frame and the Duchess's mirror compete for authority over a woman's image. 'Pictures have syntax the way verbal forms do', notes Linda Tarte Holley, 'the frame takes on semantic value ...' (1990: 3). Antonio wishes to provide such a frame for the Duchess's exemplary mirror. He wants to add 'semantic value' to her image. Adding a frame to a specular surface, writes Rose Marie San Juan, 'points to the dangerous transparency of the picture plane itself' (2011: 39). A woman without a man defining her character and appearance is like a mirror without a frame, dangerously unbounded.

The Duchess's fixation by means of framing is related to the second specular description of women that precedes the mirror scene. Arguing for women's universal inconstancy, the Cardinal says that 'a man might strive to make glass malleable / Ere he should make them fixed' (2.4.14–15). His analogy is both true and false. It is true because women indeed are not 'fixed'. Being human, their bodies are naturally 'malleable'. Being female, they are perhaps even more 'malleable' than men since their bellies, as Bosola notes, 'swell up' (2.2.9) during pregnancy. But it is also wrong since glass, too, is not 'fixed' but 'malleable' when exposed to heat. Accordingly, both glass and female bodies can be unfixed by men's (re)productive energy.

Miranda Anderson observes that 'permeability and inconstancy, perceived as negative features of humans' embodied state, are repeatedly conjoined as feminine glass-like qualities' (2015: 192). Women's bodies are (regarded as) potentially mouldable by men's. In the medical discourse of early modernity, procreation was envisioned as imprinting the man's genetic material unto the malleable matter of the woman's body. In early modern literature, this process is almost always represented as a violent act. *The Rape of Lucrece* juxtaposes men's 'marble' and women's 'waxen minds' which are 'formed as marble will' (1240–1). Due to women's waxiness, 'th'impression of strange kinds / Is formed in them by force, by fraud or skill' (1242–3). Therefore, they

are not 'the authors of their ill, / No more than wax shall be accounted evil / Wherein is stamped the semblance of a devil' (1244–6). However, women's malleability can be a source of anxiety for men, while for women, as Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar argue,

such 'inconstancy' can only be encouraging, for ... it suggests that women themselves have the power to create themselves as characters, even perhaps the power to reach toward the woman trapped on the other side of the mirror/text and help her to climb out. (2020: 16)

The Duchess's perceived inconstancy and her 'reach[ing] toward' another world 'on the other side of the mirror' is both the source of her power and her doom. When Ferdinand deceives his sister with the waxen effigies of her family, he uses a matter that resembles glass in its material property of a 'hardness [that] is never permanent' but 'always potentially malleable' (Maxwell 2014: 37). He undoes the Duchess's world-fashioning demonstrated in her mirror utopia and 'remake[s] his sister's world' by 'remolding her' (Maxwell 2019: 137) and her family.

The Cardinal's discussion of women's universal inconstancy mocks the concept of female exceptionalism. To catch sight of a constant woman, he claims, men 'had need go borrow that fantastic glass / Invented by Galileo the Florentine / To view another spacious world i'th' moon, / And look to find a constant woman there' (2.4.16–9). The 'fantastic glass' is the telescope that rose to prominence with the publication of Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* in 1610 and repeatedly makes appearances in seventeenth-century drama. In *The Duchess of Malfi*, the reference to it connects terrestrial women's (in)constancy with the remote world of the moon. While the Cardinal's prospect of the one 'constant woman' in the moon might be a hidden commemoration of the 'moon cult' (Strong 1977: 48) surrounding the late queen Elizabeth I, it is more generally related to established concepts of femininity. For early modern audiences, looking for a 'constant woman' in the moon would likely have been pure irony, since the moon's changeability served as an analogy to all earthly women's supposed fickleness.

Optical instruments allow insights into 'a secret, hidden world, sudden vistas beyond the physical realm' (Paganelli 1995: 168). For the Cardinal, the moon, associated with femininity, is such a secret world made accessible to men via telescopic devices. The telescope as evoked by the Cardinal counters the Duchess's cosmetic mirror and anticipates Ferdinand's penetration of her chamber. Her cosmetic mirror serves as a reflective and projection surface for a woman's attempt to fashion herself and the world according to her idea(l)s. His telescope penetrates the lunar realm, hypothetically populated by women, 'to capture secret meanings hidden to a direct view' (ibid.: 169). These optical instruments, staged and evoked in *The Duchess of Malfi*, are related to each other, and their main purpose is to explore divergent views on femininity.

In the glasshouse: Reviewing visions of femininity

The Aragonian family's verbal and physical interactions with specular instruments (the Duchess's mirror, Antonio's flattering glass, the Cardinal's telescope) are revisited in scenes involving Bosola and the Madmen. Bosola's misogynist attacks on the Old Lady reimagine the powder room first as 'a shop of witchcraft' (2.1.40) and then as a 'glass house' (2.2.6). His fantasies of women's depravity are, like Ferdinand's and the Cardinal's, fuelled by anxieties about and a morbid desire to know the secret proceedings behind the walls shielding feminine spaces. The Madmen's speeches in the antimasque later staged by Ferdinand return to the penetrating powers evoked by the Cardinal's reference to the telescope. Like jesters holding up mirrors to monarchs, the Madmen invert these earlier remarks and mock the attitudes underlying them.

In his first meeting with the Old Lady, Bosola shares his assumptions about what Ferdinand calls women's 'whispering rooms' (1.2.249). He asks her if she 'come[s] from painting' (2.1.25). Her 'scurvy face-physic' he considers part of her body because 'to behold [her] not painted inclines somewhat near a miracle' (27–8). Mocking her old age (the 'deep ruts and foul sloughs' [29] in her face) and ranting against

the disfiguring cosmetic practices of an unnamed French lady (who, 'having had the smallpox, flayed the skin off her face' [31]), Bosola locates women's 'plastic' (38) procedures in their private chambers. When the Old Lady remarks that he 'seems ... well acquainted with [her] closet' (39), Bosola's reply is a *memento mori* sermon, resembling Bassanio's speech concerning the caskets' 'outward shows' (*MV*, 3.2.73) in *The Merchant of Venice* (73–107). For Bosola, a woman's closet is like 'a shop of witchcraft' (2.1.40), whose cosmetic ingredients, waste products like 'the fat of serpents, spawn of snakes, Jews' spittle, and their young children's ordures' used 'for the face' (41–3) remind him of the components of a 'charmed pot' (*Mac*, 4.1.9), like the one the witches brew in *Macbeth*.

Bosola's misogynist rant conforms with Ferdinand's attitude, who associates women who make use of beautification with 'virgins / That are witches' (3.2.138–9). Writers of the period often accused women who painted their faces of disguising themselves to mislead men. Especially prostitutes were believed to paint their faces to hide the marks of contagious diseases. On the stage, the 'origin of symbolic face alteration is the devil's attempt to disguise himself to deceive and seduce mankind' (Drew-Bear 1994: 35). The danger of deceit and the connection to the devil's stratagems has led to the association of cosmetics with witchcraft. Farah Karim-Cooper observes that 'there is some validity ... to the perceived intersections of these two crafts' (2006: 103), since women using cosmetics and women accused of being witches handle similar ingredients. The parallel is apparent in the wording used, for example, by Henry Holland in his *Treatise Against Witchcraft*, when he notes that witches are 'carefullie bent, to beautifie and adorne their profession with a godly, sober, and innocent life' (1590: 13).

Like Ferdinand's violent penetration of the Duchess's powder room, Bosola's 'parody of the feminine domestic interior' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 107) points to men's helplessness when confronted with feminine spaces. Women's private chambers have been regarded with suspicion since Ovid's time (and possibly earlier). Ovid advises his female readers

to 'shut [their] chamber door[s]' because men loath to see 'unfinished work' (*The Art of Love*, Book 3, 228). 'There is much that it befits men not to know', he continues, noting that 'most of [women's] doings would offend, did [they] not hide them within' (ibid.: 229–30).

When Bosola confronts the Old Lady again in the next scene, he tells her the story of 'a young waiting woman [who] had a monstrous desire to see the glass house' (2.2.5–6). This woman desired 'to know what strange instrument it was [that] should swell up a glass to the fashion of a woman's belly' (8–10). When the Old Lady, who wishes to 'hear no more of the glass house', accuses him of 'still abusing women', Bosola responds that he only 'mention[s] their frailties' (11–14). Like the closet, the 'glass house' for Bosola is a space of transgression. It is also a space of (trans)formation. The (de)forming of female bodies via the 'strange instrument' implies specular distortion (the glasshouse as a house of mirrors). But Bosola means that men impregnate women like glassmakers blow glass into shape. In his simile, the symbolism of glassmaking as a popular 'allegory of creation' (Lander Johnson and Dubow 2017: 109) is evoked but undermined due to the implication of sexual trespass. Men are imagined as godlike creators forming women's bodies with their phallic instruments; and women, in turn, share their 'frailties' with glass, forced to depend on men's mercy to not break them.

Since glassmaking was an occupation reserved for men, the "Glass-house" is a house in which the dominance of men is absolute' (ibid.: 116). There, 'the Renaissance glassmaker ... could aspire to reproduce the world in glass' (ibid.: 121). This is a manifestation of the age-old fantasy of all-male parthenogenesis. Glassmakers usurp women's contribution to creation, which is *reproduction*. The fantasy is challenged in the mirror scene when the Duchess, envisioning a realm in the mirror, produces *her* version of the world in *her* glass.

I suggest that Bosola's reference to the glasshouse and the Duchess's world-making in (front of) her looking glass invert each other. In Bosola's story, a woman's 'monstrous desire' (2.2.6) to unveil the glasshouse's secrets drives her to enter this masculine space. Her desire

to gain sexual knowledge delivers her to the glass-blower's phallic pipe, his 'strange instrument' (2.2.8–9). In the mirror scene, the Duchess handles her 'strange instrument', the looking glass, in the feminine space of her chamber. Bosola's 'young waiting woman' (5) is replaced by Ferdinand, a young nobleman, who penetrates the powder room to learn about its secrets. He wants to know how and by whom his sister's belly has come to 'swell up [like] a glass' (9). With Ferdinand marked as a devil, the powder room is transformed into a glasshouse, which, with its 'ever-burning fires' (Lander Johnson and Dubow 2017: 112) and sweating bodies, in the popular imagination of early modernity is considered 'a microcosm of hell' (130).

The link between the glasshouse and hell is made explicit by the Second Madman's resort to Bosola's simile in Act 4, Scene 2. 'Hell is a mere glass house', he declares, 'where the devils are continually blowing up women's souls on hollow irons, and the fire never goes out' (4.2.76–8). The Madmen's performance reviews the play's engagements with specular femininity. It is a 'grotesque mockery' with a 'cruel twist' (Ekeblad 1958: 262). The antimasque of Jacobean court culture was 'related to the *charivari* tradition' (ibid.), mirror inverting aspects of the main plot. As an antimasque to the preceding action, the Madmen's speeches parody male attitudes towards women and thus contribute to the play's 'reform [of] misogynist mirror-motifs through the inversion and reworking of conventional beliefs and images' (Anderson 2015: 196).

In the Second Madmen's comment, Bosola's 'glass house' returns. But while Bosola introduces women's sexual desire as the source of their swollen *bodies*, the Second Madmen refers to the devils' 'blowing up' of women's *souls*. To 'blow up' can mean 'to rise, increase in force of blowing' (OED, 'blow, *v.1*', I.1.a) as in the glass-blower's activity. But it also means 'to take the bloom off; ... to bring into discredit, defame' (ibid.: I.30.a), and in the seventeenth century it had the additional meaning of 'to destroy, put an end to; to ruin' (I.25.a). Women are still compared to glass handled by male glass-blowers. In the inverted speech of the Second Madman, however, this comparison presents men

as violent oppressors of women, who subdue both their bodies and souls with their 'hollow irons', their meaningless phallic power.

Similar refutations of the male characters' misogynist statements also inform the contributions of the First and the Fourth Madman. The First Madman imagines to 'draw [doomsday] nearer by a perspective, or make a glass that shall set all the world on fire upon an instant' (4.2.72–4). The Fourth Madman adds that 'if [he] had [his] glass here, [he] would show a sight [that] should make all the women here call [him] mad doctor' (97–8). Relying on the capacities of the telescope ('to draw nearer') and the burning glass (to 'set ... on fire'), the First Madman provides a fantasy of world dominance. He laments that he 'cannot sleep' because '[his] pillow is stuffed with a litter of porcupines' (74–5). In early modern drama, references to the porcupine's bristled appearance are conventionally enriched with phallic meaning. The First Madman thus says that he cannot sleep on a pillow filled with patriarchal standards. His visions to 'draw [doomsday] nearer' and 'set all the world on fire' imply the intention to bring the rulers of the world to trial and to build it anew. In a scene informed by imagery related to the Last Judgement, the First Madman's comment uses phallic specular technology to turn it against men and to envision a postapocalyptic and post-patriarchal world order.

Like the First Madman's perspective glass, the Fourth Madman's identification with the 'mad doctor' handling a 'glass' (97–8) revisits the Cardinal's reference to the 'fantastic glass' of 'Galileo the Florentine' (2.4.16–17). The Cardinal's earlier remark imagines men as voyeurs, with the women dwelling in the 'spacious world i'th' moon' (18) as objects of their gaze. While the Fourth Madman's comment involves a sexual innuendo, it also twists the direction of the gendered gaze implied by the Cardinal. The Fourth Madman compares himself to a 'mad doctor', like Galileo, who 'show[s] a sight' to 'all the women here' (4.2.97–8). There is no female object waiting for the man at the other end of the telescopic tube. Rather, women are made the gazing subjects who are invited to see and judge the sights men have to offer them.

Conclusion: The echo of the cosmetic mirror

I have demonstrated that the specular imagery in *The Duchess of Malfi* promotes what may be interpreted as a protofeminist position towards women's role in society. When the Duchess is murdered after the Madmen leave the stage, she dies because she poses a threat to the patriarchal system represented by her brothers. Before he strangles her, Bosola compares 'the soul in the body' to a 'lark in a cage' (4.2.125–6). Heaven, like the lark's 'looking glass, only gives us a miserable knowledge of the small compass of our prison' (127–9). The Duchess, however, defies the looking-glass prison of life when she returns as (an) Echo in death. Her return, as well as her son's matrilineal succession as the Duke of Malfi, negate Bosola's statement that her earthly existence was nothing but 'a box of wormseed' (120), but rather shows 'the ability of a female character to posthumously influence the actions of others' (Lodine-Chaffey 2019: 114). With the acoustic floating of this woman's posthumous mirror obstructing any attempts at scientifically localizing its source, the echoic voice's obscure (omni)presence eventually also affirms the Cardinal's fear that it is impossible to 'make [women] fixed' (2.4.15).

When Antonio unknowingly passes the Duchess's burial site, her disembodied voice advises him to 'fly [his] fate' (5.3.34) to escape being turned into a 'dead thing' (38) like her, whom, Echo proclaims, he will 'never see more' (41). Had Antonio followed this advice, he might have lived. But he does not believe that 'the best echo that [he] ever heard – / So hollow and so dismal, and withal / So plain in the distinction of our words' (5–7), is his '*wife's voice*' (26). Antonio dies, as do Ferdinand, the Cardinal and Bosola. The men's 'failing voices' in death 'are attributed to their deafness to the female voice' (Hamamra 2020: 17) in life.

The Duchess's death turns her into a *disembodied* variant of the unthreatening ideal of a woman's 'anonymous, inanimate body, pure materiality without soul or personality' (Bronfen 1992: 64) as cultivated throughout the history of literature and art. But I suggest that the return of the Duchess's disembodied voice also shuns the male characters'

attempts to frame her. Gina Bloom argues that her 'echoic sounds are beyond the command of the men' (2007: 184) and that 'an embodied voice is not necessarily more potent and effective than a disembodied one' (65). While the Duchess's afterlife is essentially responsive, it still does not lack agency.

As an 'aural mirror' (ibid.: 172) echoing Antonio's voice, she operates like *The Acoustic Mirror* theorized by Kaja Silverman. For Silverman, the 'female voice is called upon to perform for the male subject' (1988: 80). However, while the Duchess's voice performs for Antonio, it is not 'called upon' to reverberate but communicates. It functions as 'a messenger who offers selected information' (Bloom 2007: 172). Silverman argues that a woman's disembodied voice can assume a 'privileged' position 'to the degree that *it transcends the body*' (1988: 49). This is the recurrent anti-feminist image that grants women authority only when they are no longer *bodies*, physical beings looking or acting according to their gender stereotype. But, in the case of both Silverman's disembodied voiceover and Webster's echoic Duchess, it still offers a niche for women to exert influence in an otherwise restrictive environment dominated by male voices.

In analogy to the presence of mirrors in the play, critics have observed that *The Duchess of Malfi* 'is a play full of echoes' (Marcus 2009: 89). The Duchess's return as Echo is one of three 'reflecting-backs' of, and against, patriarchal power structures in the play's final scenes. This acoustic mirror haunts her husband, Antonio. But her brothers, Ferdinand and the Cardinal, likewise experience forms of specular disorder. Both incidents are renewed reformulations of the *vanitas* tableau of a woman being approached by the devil while beautifying herself at her mirror.

After the Duchess's death, 'troubling likenesses haunt [Ferdinand] everywhere he looks' (Enterline 1995: 292). Looking at his sister's dead face, she becomes a mirror of his own death. Since they 'were twins', he ponders that 'should [he] die this instant, [he] had lived / Her time to a minute' (4.2.256–8). Later, he re-enacts the strangling of his twin when 'throw[ing] himself on the ground' (5.2.36 s.d.) trying to 'throttle' (34)

his shadow. He feels 'haunt[ed]' (32), sensing something 'that follows [him]' (31). The threat emanating from his shadow, which represents his twin's bodyless presence, makes him aware that '[he] [will] go to hell' (37).

Like Ferdinand, his brother, the Cardinal, is depicted as an agent of infernal evil. He, too, is Ferdinand's twin, not in birth but 'in quality' (1.2.90). The play's final scene opens with the Cardinal 'puzzled in a question about hell' (5.5.1). 'When I look into the fishponds in my garden,' he says, 'Methinks I see a thing armed with a rake / That seems to strike at me' (5-7). This moment has been listed among the Duchess's 'reappearances' (Powell 2017: 13) after her death and identified as 'an echo of the scene where the Duchess sees the face of Ferdinand instead of Antonio's [in the mirror]' (Bradbrook 1987: 54). While the Cardinal's confrontation with a devilish creature at his fishpond echoes the mirror scene, it also inverts it. The Duchess is haunted by the patriarchal Other. Ferdinand and the Cardinal are these patriarchal Others now haunted by themselves (the one brother by his shadow, the other by his watery reflection). The traditional *vanitas* tableau is twisted again, this time to hold up to men a mirror of their failures and anxieties which they cowardly projected onto women.

Painted face: The doubled mirror of *The Devil's Charter*

Among the types of mirrors manufactured in the Middle Ages and early modernity were so-called *miroirs de mort*. While *vanitas* still lifes often include mirrors as symbols of mortality, *miroirs de mort* have elements of *vanitas* still lifes painted onto their reflective surface. Adaptations of such actual *miroirs de mort* can be found in art in great numbers, in paintings like Lucas Furtenagel's *Portrait of Hans Burgkmair and His Wife* (1529) and the English School's *Death and the Maiden* (c. 1570). The fusion of mirrors and the *vanitas* theme in such artworks may help explain the existence of poems 'where Death addresses a young girl from "within" her toilet mirror to proclaim the transience of the

things of this world' (Grabes 1982: 119). Mark Pendergrast suggests that *miroirs de mort* were 'linked to increasing concern for the mirror's secular use as an instrument of vanity' (2003: 140). Considered portals for engagements with the deadly sins, Philip Stubbes calls looking glasses 'the devils spectacles' (1583: Gv).

In *The Devil's Charter*, Lucretia Borgia finds herself addressed by death, induced by the devil, from 'within' her cosmetic mirrors. She sees herself dying in two looking glasses she had arranged around her for doing her make-up. The devil in this scenario is Lucretia's father, Roderigo Borgia, who made a pact with the devil to become Pope Alexander. Lucretia's cosmetics were poisoned by his orders. Like the Duchess being attacked by Ferdinand in *The Duchess of Malfi*, Lucretia's death in front of her mirrors is a graphic *vanitas* tableau. While there are some other plays whose plot involves multiple mirrors and still others that employ poisoned cosmetics for dramatic effect, the scene's setup of a woman dying in front of her toilet mirrors and her simultaneous use of two mirrors for the act of beautification is unique in early modern drama.

Several scholars have addressed Lucretia's *cosmetics*, but no study provides a detailed reading of the significance of her cosmetic *mirrors*. My reading gives priority to their relevance for the scene. I first demonstrate how Lucretia's artificial beauty gives her access to political influence, temporarily arms her against men's dominance and allows her to usurp their role in the (literary) production of femininity. I then show how the intimate collaboration of Lucretia and Motticilla in the beautifying ritual indicates possibilities of women's bonding and acquisition of cosmetic knowledge, which potentially challenges male intellectual supremacy. Third, I consider Lucretia's death by poisoning in connection to the play's anti-feminist and anti-Catholic impetus. At the end of my discussion, I explore Lucretia's return as a ghost in the context of the 'mirror function' that Barnes attributes to his theatrical representation of the Borgia villains.



Figure 6 *Death and the Maiden*, oil painting from the English school (c. 1570). The artwork with the inscription 'Mors ultima linea rerum est' ('Death is the thing which is last in line') is an example of the role of mirrors in pictorial *memento mori* setups, which are closely related to the material niche genre of the *miroirs de mort*. © Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

Lustre to the glass: Writing back with the tool(s) of beauty

In Act 4, Scene 3, Lucretia Borgia is getting ready for supper with the Cardinal of Capua. Two pages enter '*with a table, two looking glasses, a box with combs and instruments [and] a rich bowl*' (4.3.10–11 s.d.).³ Assisted by her chambermaid Motticilla, Lucretia '*looketh in [the] two glasses and beholdeth her body [and then applies her make-up]*' (55–6 s.d.). Before she dies, she consults the glass several times (11–12 s.d.; 68–9 s.d.). Just as there are two cosmetic mirrors present in the powder-room scene of *The Devil's Charter*, the scene is produced by two violations of feminine territory: Lucretia's death is brought about by the order of her father, the Pope, who, like Ferdinand entering with his father's poniard, represents patriarchal order; and, in the middle of her agony, patriarchy's medical authority enters in the person of the Physician, who pronounces her dead and seizes control over her body.

But, in fact, there are two mirror scenes and three mirrors in *The Devil's Charter*. In Act 4, Scene 1 Pope Alexander '*[beholds] a magical glass*' (4.1.1 s.d.) to see the 'traitorous homicide' (2) who murdered his son and son-in-law. The culprit does not 'appear' (5). But if the 'glass' had served its purpose, Alexander would have seen the same specular image that Lucretia sees in her mirrors two scenes later. Instead, Lucretia's murder of her husband is revealed to Alexander via an infernal dumb show (92–3 s.d.). (Natural-)Magic mirrors like Alexander's are the subject of Chapter 4. At this point, it is interesting to note that Lucretia's death in front of *her* mirrors is the consequence of the vision that Alexander requests from *his* glass.

Audiences and readers first meet Lucretia as she prepares for the murder of her husband Gismond. She enters '*alone in her nightgown, untired*' (1.5.1 s.d.). Her appearance and behaviour in the scene recall Shakespeare's portrayal of Lady Macbeth. For her ritual of 'unsex[ing]' (*Mac*, 1.5.41), Lucretia draws strength from comparisons with several avenging women from mythology (*Devil's Charter*, 1.5.10–17). She invokes the 'grisly daughters of grim Erebus', personified evils like Miseria, Discordia and Nemesis, to 'infuse a three-fold vigour in these

arms / Immarble more [her] strong, indurate heart' (23–6). Her plan is to 'cast off all servile fear' (1) to 'with resolution act [her husband's] death' (4), who 'betray'd [her] honour, wrong'd [her] bed' (2–3).

Lucretia's performance in the murder scene and the mirror (her 'being-murdered') scene, while occurring in private spaces, is intrinsically public and political. Like the boy actor playing her on stage, Lucretia only plays the role of the woman. While, before the murder, she asks for defeminization, she later, also like Lady Macbeth, who feigns to faint after Duncan's murder is discovered, fakes 'horror' at the sight of the bleeding corpse of her 'dearest lord' (1.5.154–9). She then, too, pretends to swoon (196–7 s.d.) and '*offereth to stab herself*' (202–3 s.d.). In masking her murderous deed committed with what she calls 'these weak woman's hands' (169), she evokes Joan Riviere's psychoanalytical theory that powerful women 'put on a mask of womanliness to avert anxiety and the retribution feared from men' (1989: 35). The aim of this strategy is to look like Lady Macbeth's 'innocent flower' (*Mac*, 1.5.65), 'to make sure of safety by masquerading as guiltless and innocent' (Riviere 1989: 38). Such an assumed harmlessness in the conception of femininity can function as 'a disarming disguise' (Tseëlon 1995: 37).

Lucretia kills her husband because he had 'restrain[ed] [her] from company' (1.5.215). He had 'blamed her beauty, / And love imprison'd in those amorous looks' (50–1) to justify 'shut[ting] [her] up from the world' (35). This 'fatal beauty' (38) he had feared to function as an invitation for 'the sun's reflections on [her] face' (53). But Lucretia refuses to accept being 'banish'd from sight and conference of friends' (49). She immobilizes him by '*grasp[ing] him in his chair*' (89–90 s.d.), gags him (94–5 s.d.) and stabs him multiple times with his own dagger (105–12 s.d.). By confining him, silencing him and claiming the right to penetrate his body, she eventually treats him like he treated her, and she also stops the mouth that 'sland[ered]' (105) her family's reputation by spreading rumours of incest. Lucretia's murder of Gismond is an act of liberation. She frees herself from his possessive gaze and protects her family from further disgrace.

Early modern conduct manuals often insisted that a woman 'keep[s] her eyes cast down, and ... raise[s] them but rarely and with modesty and decorum' (Vives 2000: 128). Women who instead 'set themselves up to be seen' (Korhonen 2008: 341) and 'looked up' to '[engage] self-consciously and actively with their surroundings' (354) were believed to 'gain a position of control' (341). When Lucretia performs the 'forlorn widow' (1.5.173), her speech is infused with a new visual independence. She asks to inspect Gismond's corpse 'with these eyes' (208), before the body is 'take[n] ... out of her sight' (204). When she returns to the stage in the mirror scene, her appearance '*richly attired*' (4.3.1 s.d.) sharply contrasts her '*untired*' (1.5.1 s.d.) entrance in the earlier murder scene. She has resumed control over her body's visibility. I also suggest reading Lucretia's act of 'tiring', her move from *untired* to *attired* between the two scenes, as an act of fusing the two obsolete senses of the word 'to tire' as 'to equip; to fit out with arms, accoutrements, etc.; to arm' (OED, 'tire, v.3', 2.a) and 'to attire, clothe duly, dress, adorn' (2.b). Her self-adornment derides Gismond's attempt to make her beauty invisible to the eyes of other men. Attiring becomes a mode of '*female arming*' (Maguire 2009: 74).

Lucretia's powder room is a domestic space where she exchanges emotional and physical intimacies with her confidantes. But it also is an armoury. The cosmetic formation of her face is a military gesture to prevail against men. Female beauty is often depicted as a military force in early modern plays: it 'conquers' (*Spanish Tragedy*, 3.10.88), 'command[s]' (*Woman in the Moon*, 2.1.160), 'tempt[s]' worthy men to war (2 *Iron Age*, 3.1) and 'content[s]' (*Women Beware Women*, 1.1.26) great conquerors. In Philip Massinger's *The Picture*, Honoria, the wife of the king of Hungary, is literally '*place[d] ... in his throne*' (1.2.141–2 s.d.) because her husband is a 'slave ... to th'imperious humour / Of a proud beauty' (3.4.49–50).

Lucretia's cosmetic mirrors are the literal manifestations of the 'crystal armours' (1 *Tamburlaine*, 5.2.88) evoked in Christopher Marlowe's 1 *Tamburlaine the Great*. Her weapons are her '*phial*' (4.3.1 s.d.), her '*combs and instruments*' (10–1 s.d.). 'Paints and powders,

brushes and pencils,' Farah Karim-Cooper notes, 'are the artistic tools with which woman can re-create herself' (2006: 1). While 'the poet's pen is in some sense ... a penis' (Gilbert and Gubar 2020: 4), a symbol of men's *literary* production, the pencil (not as the writer's or painter's tool, but as a prototype of the lipstick or a brush to apply colours to the face) becomes a symbol of women's *cosmetic* production. Lucretia is a *self-portraitist* in the sense that she paints her own face with the aid of mirrors. Her interaction with her reflection also stages her as a *self-writer*, adopting male forms of textual production to reproduce herself in her own words and images.

In her mirror monologues, she stresses the impact her self-created beauty has on the powerful men around her. Getting ready 'privately to sup / With [her] Lord Cardinal Capua' (4.3.9–10), she rejoices in the 'tincture,' which she believes is a gift from her lover, 'kind Lodowick [Sforza]' (1–5). When she '*looketh in her glasse*' (11–12 s.d.), she 'perceive[s] a little rivelling / Above [her] forehead' (12–13), but she declares to 'wimple it / Either with jewels or a lock of hair, / And yet it is as white as the pure snow' (13–15). She then shares a long list of examples of how her beauty has provided her with privileged access to men of higher status: how a marquis used 'rich comparisons and similes' to praise 'the whiteness of [her] brows' (16–20); how a duke 'on his knees / ... Did beg one lock to make a bracelet' (27–8); how a prince compared her 'beaming eyes' (32) to 'quivers' with 'shafts' that are 'sharp[er]' than 'Cupid's arrows' (36–8); how all 'those lovers / ... languish[ed] and are vanquish'd with desire' (41–2).

Lucretia agrees with her admirers that her eyes are 'full of majesty, / Dart love and give bright lustre to the glass, / As when the sunbeams touch a diamond' (32–4). She then ends her mirror monologue by pointing to details of her body that have not been mentioned by her lovers: her 'sweet mouth' is 'the ruby port to paradise'; her 'amorous cheeks' are 'rosy gardens'; her chin is 'the matchless fabric of fair nature,' and her breasts are graced with 'cherry nipples' (39–50). Like Olivia's mock inventory of her face in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1.5.236–40), Lucretia appropriates the poetic form of the blazon and transforms it

into a piece of self-praise. It is her beauty that 'gives lustre to the glass,' not her lovers' acknowledgement of it.

The blazon, perfected by Petrarch and poets imitating his style, was 'beauty's principal form' (Snook 2011: 2) in early modernity. Its rhetorical method of dismembering female bodies into their single components has been described, for example, as 'itemisation' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 22), 'fragment[ation]' (2016: 470), 'descriptive enumeration' (Greenblatt 2010: 22) and 'relentless anatomization' (Phillippy 2006: 107). While blazons are traditionally composed in praise of women, they intrusively translate a woman's body 'from animate being to inanimate object, gendering the viewer of this highly crafted spectacle as male' (ibid.: 45).

Lucretia appropriates this masculine poetic form for describing herself while, as both the object and the subject of the gaze, looking at and out of her body. She is in control of both the cosmetic and rhetorical colours that paint her beauty: her own '*creature*' and 'her owne *creatriss*' (Tuke 1616: 57). Alexander Niccholes notes that 'there is a Text in woman, that [he] would faine have woman to expound, or man either' (1615: 21). This text, he adds, is composed of women's 'laying out of the embrodred haire, embared breasts, virmilioned chéekes, alluring lookes, fashion gates, and Artfull countenances' (ibid.). But, while early modern men may conceive of women as 'the books, the arts, the academes, / That show, contain and nourish all the world' (*LLL*, 4.3.326–7), Lucretia autonomously (re)writes and (re)reads her body.

'By writing her self', Hélène Cixous notes on the concept of *écriture féminine*, 'woman will return to the body which has been more than confiscated from her' (1976: 880). This 'feminine practice of writing ... will always surpass the discourse that regulates the phallogentric system' (ibid.: 883). Lucretia embodies the threat of women as 'creative agents who [may even] shape materials other than their own bodies' (Dolan 1993: 236). Her poetic (re)appropriation of her body gains her two victories: first, she *controls* her image and how she is seen by others; second, she *completes* her image by adding those parts omitted by her admirers (cheeks, mouth, chin, neck and breasts).

When she kills her husband and frees herself from his gaze, she literally adopts his freedom to write: before she stabs Gismond, she commands him to 'take pen and ink' and 'subscribe' (1.5.95–6) a counterfeit letter in the name of 'I, Gismond di Viselli' (181). In the mirror scene, she replaces the male writer's 'pen and ink' with her 'mullet' (4.3.61; a tool to shape the eyebrows) and a '*rich bowl*' (10–11 s.d.) for further rewriting her own identity.

Lucretia eventually dies because she managed to '[bring] together policy in the state and policy in love' (Latham 1984: 101). Pope Alexander makes clear that those in power need to 'cut [a thorn] off being but tender', since once it '[grows] great it prick[s] thee to the bone' (4.1.116–8). His daughter is such a 'young and slender' thorn that needs to be 'cut off' before it 'prick[s]'. Her beauty is 'an instrument for political power', which 'can easily be appropriated by women in ways that ... undermine patriarchy' (Ioannou 2014: 9–10). Apart from her return as a ghost at the end of the play, Lucretia has only three stage appearances: the murder scene (1.5), the mirror scene (4.3) and Act 3, Scene 4 which shows her successfully miming the grieving widow. In all three scenes, she appropriates established conceptions of femininity for her own advantage. Her mirrors are emblematic for this excess of self-awareness and self-staging. They are, accordingly, also the venue where she must be tamed by patriarchal forces.

Cunning sleights: Bonding over shared knowledge

While a woman's dressing table can be a site of feminine resistance, it is also a place to discuss feminine forms of knowledge. Early modern playwrights accept mirrors as instruments promoting women's learning: a mirror is a 'school of glass' (*Cynthia's Revels*, 5.5.39) and 'the lady's library' (*Muses Looking-Glass*, 3.4), and women are referred to the 'eloquence of [their] glass' (*Devil is an Ass*, 1.6.80) and advised to 'take often counsel of [their] glass' (*Epicene*, 1.1.102). All-female interactions are characteristic of most dressing-table scenes in early modern drama. In Jonson's plays, gatherings of women to share their cosmetological

knowledge are called the 'school of ladies' (*Devil is an Ass*, 2.8.19), the 'academy of women' (20) and the 'new foundation ... of ladies, that call themselves the Collegiates' (*Epicene*, 1.1.71–2). These references might be modelled on actual 'societies of ladies' existing in Renaissance Venice, where women 'formed a society ... for learning and testing new discoveries in the cosmetic arts' (Corson 1972: 95). Similar attempts at 'female grouping' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 121) likely existed in England, as manifested in the popular genre of often female-authored 'books of secrets' which, including cosmetological advice, constituted a counter-discourse to the anti-cosmetic writings flourishing around 1600. Meetings of this sort are book clubs for reading and writing the face.

Lucretia's powder room, equipped with cosmetic products and two cosmetic mirrors, too, is a site of female learning, where skills are cultivated and knowledge is exchanged. The interaction of Lucretia and Motticilla contrasts the entrance of the male Physician later in the scene. In the lines between Motticilla's provision of 'blanching-water' (4.3.51) and Lucretia's first reference to the 'foul stink' (64) of her putrefying skin, the cosmetic procedures are described in detail: Lucretia's face is cleaned and smoothened (52–5), 'oil of talc' (54) is applied as a face whitener, 'colour' is added and 'delay[ed]' (56–7). The facial picture is then highlighted with a 'carnation ... of a damask rose', the 'true tincture' (57) which will kill Lucretia.

Motticilla also assists Lucretia in 'smooth[ing]' the 'arches' of her eyebrows with 'a precious liniment' and 'pluck[ing]' unwanted hair with a 'mullet' (59–62). She exists solely in relation to her mistress and never re-enters the stage after Lucretia's death. With her 'dear lady' (73; 105), she shares a physical and emotional intimacy. In her dying moments, Lucretia asks Motticilla's forgiveness for having 'trained [her] up / In cunning sleights and snares of filthiness' (110–11). As her confidante in the privacy of her powder room, she has taught Motticilla the art of making up, both for the face and for the skilful manipulation of others with feminine wiles.

We can identify 'a flavor of exchange ... [that] accompanied women's relationships with other women' once 'beauty entered the

picture' (Korhonen 2008: 350): 'All the craft that went into beauty allowed women to bond – whether by sharing knowledge of beauty practices, cosmetics and fashion, or competing over who was most up to date in applying it' (ibid.). The assumed triviality of cosmetic practices makes them potentially subversive. This constitutes a parallel to the theatre whose 'triumphant cunning', as Stephen Greenblatt has observed, 'is to make its spectators forget that they are participating in a practical activity, to invent a sphere that seems far removed from the manipulations of the everyday' (1988: 18). It is 'powerful and effective' exactly because the 'audience believes it to be nonuseful and hence nonpractical' (ibid.).

Female wisdom in the form of (cosmetic) recipes was 'passed from one generation to the next by word of mouth' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 52). Critics have shown that women's participation in knowledge production 'is the very ingredient at the heart of attacks on painting' (Snook 2011: 35). Male medical authorities felt their supremacy usurped by women versed in cosmetology since beautifying products, like those mentioned in *The Devil's Charter*, blurred the boundaries between cosmetic and pharmaceutical applications. A 'tincture' (4.3.5), for example, is 'a dye used as a cosmetic' (OED, 'tincture, *n.*', 1), but it also describes substances used in alchemy (6.a), chemistry and pharmacology (7.a). Liquids for 'blanching' (4.3.11) are used for whitening the face and 'to make (metals) white: in *Alchemy* by "albation," or "albification"' (OED, 'blanch, *v.*', 1.b). A 'liniment' (4.3.59) can refer to various types of 'embrocation' (OED, 'liniment, *n.*', 2) or ointments applied for medical and aesthetic purposes.

Many of the cosmetic products applied to Lucretia's face, notably the 'oil of talc', would have to be concocted by the female consumer or her servant. The art that John Gauden in *Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty* calls '*face-physicks*' (1656: 150) and that in the subtitle of Johann Jacob Wecker's treatise is called 'the Beautifying Part of Physick' (1660a and b: title) required learning and craft. While 'beautifying physic encompassed the writing and work of physicians, surgeons ..., and apothecaries', women, too, 'practiced these occupations or had the skills

associated with them, although they were not typically licensed' (Snook 2008: 12–13).

Cosmetology is 'a branch of learning' (Karim-Cooper 2006: 52), which provided a niche for early modern women 'to participate in scholarly culture' (Snook 2011: 7). Hugh Platt dedicates his treatise *Delightes for Ladies* 'to all true lovers of Arte and knowledge' (1602: A2r). But as soon as this knowledge touched on masculine spheres like medicine, men considered it 'inappropriate for women' (Snook 2008: 22). Even male authors writing in the defence of cosmetics often found them acceptable only 'under the right conditions: when authorized by a male expert such as a physician' (Stevens 2014: 108). Lucretia and Motticilla's cosmetic experimentation is interrupted by two male medical authorities: first, Pope Alexander sends his servant to '[his] pothecary ... [to] provide those drugs [he] spoke for yesterday' (4.1.106–7). This 'tincture' (4.3.5), together with a fake love letter 'in Lodowick Sforza's name, her lustful paramour', is then delivered to Lucretia by yet another man, the ghost character 'Domenico Giglio' (4.1.108–10). Lucretia is overcome because the patriarchal system, represented by the pope and his apothecary, reclaims authority in the realm of medical knowledge.

The second medical authority, who physically enters Lucretia's chamber in his own person, is the papal Physician. As the poison 'spreads on [her] face', Lucretia prompts Motticilla to 'send to [her] father' and to 'call physicians in' (4.3.74–5). The Physician offers her a 'preservative' (85) and a 'precious antidote' (90), asks her 'not [to] drink' (84) and prescribes 'a little rest' (102). As his methods prove ineffective, he diagnoses that 'this poison ... is incurable' (89). He evokes the medical authorities of Hippocrates, Galen, Ibn Sina, known as Avicenna, and 'divers learned doctors' (125–8). But even the cumulative knowledge of (men's) medical history cannot cope with patriarchy's wrath against transgressive women.

After his servant Bernardo, the apothecary and the unseen Domenico Giglio, the Physician is the final agent in Pope Alexander's enterprise to bring his daughter back under patriarchal control. He makes sure that servants 'bear in [Lucretia's] body' while he 'bring[s] woeful news

unto Saint Peter's palace' (130–1). As the Pope's 'own physician' (82), he might as well have been part of the conspiracy against Lucretia that also involves the 'pothecary' (4.1.106). In the end, her body and the news of her death are delivered to her murderer under the Physician's anatomizing gaze, which she had tried to avert by rewriting the blazon's poetic anatomization.

A strange leprosy: Burning the Whore's picture

The most contested activity of face-painting women in early modernity was their handling of toxic substances like mercury. If 'they rely on mercury, beautifying recipes become masculine knowledge' (Snook 2011: 35). While the corrosive effects of mercury were known, it still 'was a common medical ingredient' (Snook 2008: 18). Paracelsian physicians attributed to it 'a generative power' which 'forged a form of reproduction exclusive to men as a masculine secret' (ibid.: 22). More than of any other substance, women's use of mercury marked a 'transgression into a realm of knowledge reserved for educated men' (ibid.: 21). Notably, Barnes was familiar with its murderous potential: in 1598, he was arrested for attempting to poison John Browne, Recorder of Barwick, by infusing his drink with a mercury sublimate.⁴

Early modern beauty products included toxic ingredients like mercury or lead, processed into a face whitener called ceruse. Women who applied toxic cosmetics often suffered sickness and deformations. Some women seem to have died from the long-term consequences of overusing them. Of Lucretia's death scene in *The Devil's Charter*, Tanya Pollard observes that 'the traits it attributes to face-paints – burning heat, invasive force, and irreversible contagion – closely recall non-fictional depictions of cosmetic at the time' (2005: 84). The mode of Lucretia's death thus constitutes 'an extension of reality' (Drew-Bear 1981: 87). By dying from poison after painting her face, Lucretia is effectively overmastered by her own practices.

Motticilla calls Lucretia's suffering a 'strange leprosy' (4.3.73). Her 'cheeks both burn and sting' (66), her 'brains intoxicate, [her] face

is scalded' (69). The 'foul spots' that form on her 'fair face' Lucretia reads as a bodily expression of the 'deformed blots' disfiguring her soul (92–3). For Barnes, his female protagonist's moral corruption seems to manifest itself in her defacement. Like the Spanish queen Eleanor in Peele's *Edward I* (see Chapter 2), Lucretia is marked as 'corrupt and duplicitous in every possible way – Italian, Catholic, female, adulterous, murderous, from a bad family' (Pollard 1999: 188). Poisoning was associated with Italy and considered 'a forraign practice, fit for *Rome* and her Doctrine' (Bacon 1651: 118). Racist denouncements of Italy as 'the apothecary-shop of poison for all nations' (Nashe 1972a: 83) abound among English writers around 1600. For example, Thomas Tuke notes that 'these Italian devises by poisoning are most vile and divelish', pointing to the saying that '*An Englishman Italianated is a divell incarnated*' (1616: 49); and Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, complained that, after details of the poison murder of Thomas Overbury spread abroad, other nations 'begin to brandmark [the English] with that hideous and foul title of poisoning one another, and ask if [they] be become Italians, Spaniards or of what other vile murderous nation' (qtd. Bellany 2002: 147). It was also reported to be the preferred murdering method of the Borgias, Lucretia's 'bad family'.

The idolatrous act of painting one's face in front of a mirror was associated with Catholicism and femininity. These two Others, from the perspective of Protestant English men, come together in the character of Lucretia, the daughter of a Spanish-born pope, whom Barnes's Prologue introduces as 'the strumpet of proud Babylon' (Prologue 5) with her 'cup with fornication foaming' (6) materialized on stage in Lucretia's '*phial*' (4.3.1 s.d.). The mirror scene 'visually identifies Lucretia with the scarlet whore whose multiple sins are branded and burned on her face to signify her moral and physical death' (Drew-Bear 1994: 52). In the Bible, the Babylonian problem is identified as an overflowing of boundaries. To end this state of excess, God made 'her' (the city and the Whore personifying it) 'burn ... with fire' (Rev 17:16).

Lucretia's appearance and her death are inspired by the biblical Whore of Babylon (and perhaps also by Thomas Dekker's 1606 take on the character as a personification of the Catholic Church in *The Whore of Babylon*). She, too, burns to death in the attempt of God's representative, the Pope, to clean his court from a feminized state of excess: the poisoned cosmetics make her 'cheeks ... burn' (4.3.66); her blood is 'inflam'd' (68); 'the venom boil[s] in her veins' (72); and her brain is 'sear'd up with some fatal fire' (79). Like a heretic or 'witch' burning at the stake, Lucretia is consumed by fire ('I burn, I burn!', 78). As she dies, she feels the 'burning coals of true contrition' (106) and prays for 'pardon [for] [her] sinful soul' (122).

As Annette Drew-Bear has shown, the 'foul spots' (92) on Lucretia's face link her to the Catholic tradition of mediaeval morality plays. In surviving texts of this genre, like John Redford's *The Play of Wyt and Science* (c. 1530–50), face spotting is a cosmetic strategy 'to symbolically transform the face to indicate sin' (Drew-Bear 1994: 38). Like Lucretia, Wyt in Redford's play recognizes his spotted face in the mirror, wondering whether 'this glas is shamefully spotted, / Or els [he is] to[o] shamefully blotted' (qtd. *ibid.*: 39). Lucretia's spotted face deprives her not only of Protestant purity but also of her spotless white femininity, exposing her as a 'dark lady' of foreign origin whose blackness underneath has come to the surface.

The mirror scene of *The Devil's Charter* is infested with racist, sexist and, I suggest, also iconoclastic tendencies. Lucretia's spotted face marks the iconoclastic destruction of a Catholic idol. Women who beautified themselves were accused of creating 'a painted face [that] is not much unlike an Idoll' (Tuke 1616: 2). John Downname argues that they offend men by 'making them to admire a painted picture' (1611: 134). This view, shared by many male writers of the period, is encapsulated by Thomas Gainsford in *The Rich Cabinet*: 'Beauty that is painted, resembles an idole, and hee that worshippeth it is an idolater' (1616: 7). The tool used for the act of self-idolization is what Ben Jonson calls the 'idol glass' (*The Underwood*, 2012b: 93). Patricia

Phillippy explains the analogy between the period's anti-Catholic and anti-cosmetic discourse when it comes to the threat and charge of idolatry. She observes that

the rupture between surface and substance central to Reformation debates on the integrity of religious ceremonies and images also governs early modern portrayals of female nature as reflected in the troublesome looking glass. ... Practicing her idolatrous art, the painting woman embodies the idolatry of religious images that reformers see as threatening to entrap lay people, dazzled by the false shows of the *Biblia pauperum*, in a maze of deceptive appearances. If the mirror's surface figures the painting woman, her objectified form, in turn, serves as a metaphor for idolatry, and her cosmetic practices are a version of the idolater's craft. (2006: 101)

Men who attack women *during* the act of beautification at their mirrors display an iconoclastic drive to destroy images. When attacked, Lucretia sits at 'a table' (4.3.10–1 s.d.). Its furnishing with 'a rich bowl' (ibid.) and the ceremonial cosmetic ritual shared by Lucretia and Motticilla evoke images of the altar at the centre of the Catholic Mass. In a theatrical context, tables could signify a banqueting, writing or dressing table while the same prop could act as an altar. Anxieties might have been aroused in Protestant spectators by the fact that 'without their trappings they were more or less indistinguishable, if not identical' (Williamson 2009: 79). For marking a table as an altar, set designers could add 'one or more of the following: candles, basins, cloths, images and crosses' (ibid.: 78). Lucretia's table is furnished with at least two of these items (a bowl and a cloth). Her 'phiale' (4.3.1 s.d.) evokes the cup of the Whore of Babylon but perhaps also the precious container that would contain the wine for the Eucharist ritual. Lucretia's entrance in her rich attire followed by her ritualistic handling of the objects on her dressing table might have created the image of a papist icon preparing for a mass held in adoration of her own image.

Thomas Jeamson stresses the empowering aspects of self-idolization. A beautiful face, he writes, 'shall infuse heat into the cold misogynist, and make the stoutest heart a *sacrifice* to love and *altar* too' (1665, 'The Epistle'). He offers cures for women who are 'defac'd with ... blots' (ibid.: 59) to make sure they regain their mesmerizing power over men and promises:

Your Alabaster Armes and Hands Ladies, are the fleshie *altars* whereon your *superstitious* Inamorato's offer to you, as female Deities the *first fruits* of their devotion in zealous kisses. Your care should be to keep them in such a soul-inchanting symmetrie, that might confirm your Idolizing lovers in the opinion they have conceived, that you are more then mortal. (ibid.: 160)

In Jeamson's cosmetic advice manual, being worshipped as an idol 'is presented as a desirable power to have over men' (Pollard 2005: 90). For Jeamson, 'the only inconvenience' that might emerge is that some of his female readers 'when [they] look in [their] glasses, may fall in love with [their] own shadows' (1665: 95). Idolatry, it seems, is a source of power as long as women remain *idols* and do not drift into becoming *idolators* (of) themselves. Lucretia's devoted followers pose a potential threat to the absolute rule of the Pope as the head of the Catholic church. Defacing her, like reformists defaced Catholic idols, Barnes takes away her cosmetic armour.

Conclusion: The ghost of the cosmetic mirror

The picture of Lucretia is defaced by misogynist and iconoclastic violence. But, as Chloe Porter shows, 'iconoclastic attacks modify images and so produce new spectacle' (2013: 25). In *The Devil's Charter*, the iconoclastic destruction of Lucretia's image reproduces her as a spectral appearance that haunts her father in the final moments of his life. Like the Duchess in Webster's play, Lucretia returns as a disembodied figure. But, while the Duchess returns in a purely aural form, Lucretia becomes pure vision, reclaiming the looks that the poison disfigured in life.

In the Scaena Ultima, Pope Alexander asks the Devil to 'show [him] ... the manner of his death' (Scaena Ultima 191). The Devil '*bringeth from the door Lucretia's Ghost, and after her the Ghost of Candy, stabbed*' (192–3 s.d.). Alexander asks the Devil about the meaning of 'that ghastly shadow which came first' (193). Her death, 'lep'rous and poison'd', the Devil explains, reflects Alexander's death 'by poison which now struggleth with [his] spirits' (195–6). In the mirror of Lucretia's ghost, her father sees his own fate. He, too, dies 'always burning' (233). Like Lucretia's body, 'his body puffed up with poison' is 'conveyed to Saint Peter's, / Open for all beholders, that they may / See the reward of sin, amend and pray' (253–6).

Alexander's body, put on display as an admonishing mirror of sin, mirrors the mission of the play. Once his corpse is borne away, the Chorus enters in the character of the historian Francesco Guicciardini and invites audiences to consider the story of the Borgia pope as a 'tragic mirror' of how God punishes 'sins detestable' (262–3). While the Chorus's final speech connects God's 'heavy vengeance' (262) with Alexander's fate, the play's Prologue had imposed the same on Lucretia. The sins of daughter and father frame the plot by mirroring each other. Barnes himself considered the reflection provided by cosmetic mirrors and the mirror of history intrinsically related. In Book 2 of his *Four Bookes of Offices* he explains:

For even as women (which curiously fashion and attire their heads and bodies by their glasse, which representeth unto them all undecent and comely guizes) will presently shew themselves abroad amongst the people, finding their bodies by that myrrour pleasingly garnished: so Princes by the like resemblance find in the glasse of hystories, that which giveth spurs to their vertues and policie. (1606: 54)

Audiences of *The Devil's Charter* are invited to learn their lesson from the fates of Lucretia, whose sinfulness is played out and punished in front of her cosmetic mirror, and Pope Alexander, whose story is part of the 'glasse of hystories' as well as, from now on, also of the mirror of the theatre.

Interlude 3: Cosmetic mirror stages

Women's interactions with their cosmetic mirrors and their application of cosmetics are related to theatrical performance. A woman beautifying herself at her mirror 'is simultaneously both actor and audience, spectacle and consumer' (Pollard 2005: 95). For this reason, performers at least since the rhetorician Demosthenes (see Apuleius, *Apologia*, 15: 8–9) have practised their performances in front of mirrors. The same is true for the application of cosmetics. Evidence suggests that actors in early modern England painted their faces, especially when impersonating women and non-white characters. When face paints were applied or removed on stage, this reminded audiences of the all-male theatre's 'prosthetic production of the sexualized body' by inviting speculations on 'the [boy actor's] "body beneath"' (Stallybrass 1992: 76). For this reason, those scenes may always, to some extent, be considered plays-within-the-plays.

Both Webster's Duchess and Barnes's Lucretia are aware of the theatricality informing their situation. The Duchess echoes a metatheatrical commonplace by declaring that she 'account[s] this world a tedious theatre', in which she 'do[es] play a part ... 'gainst [her] will' (4.1.81–2). In the mirror scene, as she realizes Ferdinand's wish to see her dead, she stresses that 'whether [she] [is] doomed to live or die, / [She] can do both like a prince' (3.2.69–70). Like the wigged boy actor playing her, the Duchess finds herself acting the role of 'prince' and 'woman' in the tragedy of her life. Her powder room becomes a tiring house, and the same is true for Lucretia's.

Barnes's mirror scene, too, points to the constructedness of femininity, on and beyond the stage, as we witness the theatrical make-up of the boy actor being overpainted by the female character's cosmetic efforts within the play. The scene's reflexivity is further heightened when Motticilla's attempt to wipe away the poison on Lucretia's '*cheeks with a cloth*' (4.3.68–9 s.d.) may have partially removed both the character Lucretia's and the boy actor's face paint.

This chapter has explored how the mirrors employed in two dressing-table scenes reflect (on) the roles of women in patriarchal culture. In *The Duchess of Malfi*, the woman assumes authority over the political (her duchy) and the private realms (her body) of her existence. She is punished for her refusal to answer the expectations of society. In *The Devil's Charter*, the woman frees herself from the oppressive structures of marriage and manipulates men by means of her beauty. She is beaten at her own game because she is identified as a threat to the papal-patriarchal system of power. Positioning their female characters at their mirrors, both Webster and Barnes admit the subversive potential emanating from women's dressing tables. While both scenes evoke the *vanitas* tableau of a woman beautifying herself at her mirror, both plays also challenge its meaning. Rather than disregarding women's specular activities as vain triviality, they acknowledge them as emancipatory acts that invite patriarchal violence.

Natural-magic mirrors in *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*

Natural-magic mirrors: Glass technology and the theatre of illusion

This final chapter begins with an anecdote about a monarch and a mirror that takes us back to where this book began. But the story differs from the ‘imperial mirror’ narratives discussed in Chapter 1 in that it inverts the power dynamics we previously encountered between spectator and spectacle. The specular devices discussed in the following pages are no ‘imperial mirrors’ but ‘natural-magic mirrors’, located on the threshold between what today tends to be categorized as science on the one hand and magic on the other. This clear distinction did not exist in early modernity. Natural magic is ‘the study of nature’s most secret processes and powers’ (Clark 2007: 80). It is concerned with the ‘method of experimental verification’ (Mahler 1997: 267). At the same time, it engages with the ‘occult’ in its literal sense (*occultus* meaning ‘hidden’) of ‘hidden Qualities ... which are not immediately known to the Sences, but their force is perceived mediately by the Effect, but their power of acting is unknown’ (Sennert 1661: 29).

The anecdote involving natural-mirror magic is from Thomas Nashe’s novel *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594). While travelling through Europe, the fictional adventurer Jack Wilton and his master, a figuration of the Tudor courtier Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, join the entourage of the magus Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim. Together they abide at the

Holy Roman Emperor's court, where they learn of Agrippa's thaumaturgic feats. The courtiers tell them how 'in a perspective glass he set before [the] eyes [of the English ambassador] King Henry the Eighth with all his lords on hunting in his forest of Windsor' (1972b: 298). Wilton asks Agrippa to also effect such a miracle 'in [their] own behalfs' (ibid.: 299). He expresses his wish 'to see the lively image of Geraldine, [Surrey's] love, in the glass, and what at that instant she did' (ibid.). Agrippa agrees, and 'show[s] her [to them] without any more ado, sick weeping on her bed' (ibid.).

The mirror magic allegedly performed by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa was notorious. In a letter dating from 28 December 1532, the major-domo of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio 'alluded to a mirror that Agrippa had once showed him in which the dead seemed alive' (Thorndike 1941: 132). This, and other fantastic stories about his person, might be based on Agrippa's writings about the potential of mirrors to create optical illusions, prominently discussed in two of his tracts: *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (first published in 1527 and translated into English in two versions in 1569 and 1676) and *The Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (first published between 1531 and 1533 and translated into English in 1561). In *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, Agrippa observes that specular sleights 'are daily seen in various kinds of Glasses' (1676: 73). He expands on this observation by listing several illusions produced with the aid of glasses:

There is ... a sort of Glass, wherein a man may see the Image of another man, but not his own; and another, which being set in such a posture and place, gives back no representation; but the posture being alter'd, presently returns the Object presented. Some that shew all sorts of Representations; some not all, but many. Other Glasses there are, that contrary to the fashion of all others, will shew the right hand directly opposite to the Right, and the Left directly opposite to the Left. Other Glasses there are that do not represent the Image within, but as it were hanging in the Air. (ibid.)

Agrippa admits that he himself 'knew how to make by [mirrors] wonderful things, in which any one might see whatsoever he pleased

at a long distance' (1651: 255). Descriptions of mirror tricks like those mentioned by Agrippa reappear in the writings of Giambattista Della Porta and other experts on optical illusionism of the period. Mirrors were 'the perfectly traditional tools of the magician ... [as] they combined a supposedly real power to reveal and project with a suggestion of magic's own illusoriness' (Clark 2007: 250). Tales of the (pseudo-)magical craft of Agrippa and other scholars of his kind also found their way onto the stage.

In this chapter, I demonstrate how mirrors on and beyond the stage are tools to produce theatre. The intrinsic relationship between the products of both spheres, one specular, the other theatrical, is present already in early modern etymology: along with its more obvious meaning of an image cast by a body intercepting light, the word 'shadow' was also used to refer to 'a reflected image' (OED, 'shadow, *n*', II.5.a) or 'to an actor or a play in contrast with the reality represented' (II.6.b). Each of these senses frequently appears in early modern plays, which, in turn, play with the simultaneity of overlaid meanings. Mirrors and actors both produce shadows, in the sense of immaterial spectacles created via physical movements of material agents.

What I consider the inherent theatricality of mirrors stems from their polysemous and prominent position at the intersection of early modern discourses on experimental culture, occult ritual and playhouse performance. I explore this intersection in two Jacobean satirical comedies: Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610) and Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624). Both plays present specular illusionism as the product of alchemical knowledge and magic (*The Alchemist*) or magic and religious wonder (*A Game at Chess*). Also, in both plays the (mirror) magic used to impress gullible victims eventually turns out to be nothing but theatre.

Playwrights who dramatize mirrors in the early stages of what is often referred to as the 'Scientific Revolution' show an awareness of the mirror's significance for both past (specular *magic*) and future (specular *science*) ways of explaining optical phenomena as they had been described by Agrippa and others. Any consideration of

the role of mirrors in the field of early modern natural magic must address at least these three contexts: first, specular instruments were used for performing mirror magic (or rather *pretending* to perform magic with mirrors); second, the significance of mirrors is theorized extensively in the metaphysical writings of Neoplatonist thinkers; and third, glass tools were essential in enabling and promoting scientific progress.

Mirror magic has been practised via scrying as catoptromancy or one of its many variants since antiquity. Juridical documents attest to its prevalence around 1600. In England, the list of well-known scryers includes Simon Forman and John Dee (whose specular activities I revisit below). Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) mentions the 'crystals' of 'Doctor Forman' (1.2.6) and other occultists advertising their specular skills in London around 1600. The metaphysical qualities of mirrors also figure prominently in the writings of Italian magi like Marsilio Ficino, Gerolamo Cardano and Giordano Bruno. Their thoughts attest to 'the extensive use of mirrors in magic' (Macfarlane and Martin 2002: 47) as practised and theorized in early modern Europe.

Dee conceived of numbers as the 'Speculative winges', which would allow humans 'to behold ... the Glas of Creation' (1570: *jr), and Agrippa agreed when he wrote that 'he which knows the powers, relations, and proprieties of these figures, and bodies, shall be able to work many wonderful things in Natural and Mathematical Magick, especially with Glasses' (1651: 255). Well versed in optics, the period's intellectuals 'had an acute awareness of the enormous power that could be exerted by dint of such media on the human imagination, and therefore on our perception of the world, and our choices' (Kodera 2016: 252). It is fair to identify a network of specular activities in early modern Europe. From mediaeval thinkers' experiments in the field of optics to the investigations by seventeenth-century empiricists and still further into the present: 'Almost every great scientific advance needed glass at some stage' (Macfarlane and Martin 2002: 186). It is thus valid to speculate that without glass(es) 'much of what has happened in the increase in reliable knowledge of the natural world to which we give

the terms the Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution would not have occurred' (ibid.: 183–4).

To glassmaking Lewis Mumford attributes the 'most important [part] of all' (1934: 124) developments that shaped the eotechnic phase of human civilization. While a few glasshouses, which, for the most part, had been operated by foreigners, had already existed in Elizabethan London, only at the beginning of the seventeenth century England made forays into industrialized glass production. Around 1618, Robert Mansell set up his first glass factory. This soon earned him the monopoly to produce 'all manner of drinking glasses, broad glasses, window glasses, looking glasses, and all other kind of glasses' (qtd. Kacunko 2010: 311). In 1641, in *The True State of the Businesse of Glasse of all Kindes*, Mansell recollects how it was him who had 'undertaken and perfected' the production of mirror plates in England (1641: no page).

Finally, without glass, the space of the laboratory was, and is, 'almost impossible to conceive of' (Macfarlane and Martin 2002: 43). Its 'unique properties', like its transparency and its resistance to chemical reactions, make it possible for the material to '[remain] neutral to the experiment itself' while the experimenter 'can watch what is happening' in the vessel (ibid.: 82). The significance and the many roles of glasses for scientific pursuits are best illustrated in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (published, also in Latin, in 1627), in which the authorities of the utopian island state even erected a statue of 'the inventor of glass' among the monuments of 'all principal inventors' (2008: 184–5). In this state's major academic institution, Solomon's House, glass objects are present on the threshold between occult show, optical experiment and theatrical representation, much like I will demonstrate it for *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*.

At Solomon's House, they operate 'perspective-houses', institutes of optics. The researchers 'procure means of seeing objects afar off; ... and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near; making feigned distances' (ibid.: 181). But they also operate 'houses of deceits of the senses' (ibid.: 183). In these experimental halls of mirrors, they

‘represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures, and illusions; and their fallacies’ (ibid.). As the Father of Solomon’s House makes clear, these experiments never pretend to produce magic:

And surely you will easily believe that we that have so many things truly *natural* which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses, if we would disguise those things and labour to make them seem more *miraculous*. But we do hate all impostures and lies: insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any *natural* work or thing, *adorned or swelling*; but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness. (ibid., my emphasis)

While in the ‘perspective-houses’ the means for manipulating the visual world are researched and produced, in the ‘houses of deceits of the senses’ the results are put on display. The first is an experimental, the other a theatrical space, and the boundary between the two is permeable. In Bacon’s utopia, pseudo-magical show and scientific display come together to create theatre. Like in the early modern playhouses, in the ‘houses of deceits of the senses’ *acts* (in the sense of performed action) pose as *facts* (in the sense of an assumed reality). But these acted facts are free from fraudulent claims to truth. The theatrical machinery behind these effects is not denied.

Within the worlds of *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*, the play-acting frauds trespass against codices like that by making their audiences in the *play* believe that they actually perform magical acts. Playing with levels of dramatic irony, the *playhouse* audience, however, is never left in the dark about the purely performative quality of their demonstrations. Like early modern playwrights, natural magicians ‘showed an obsessive fascination with the production of marvellous effects by natural means; it encouraged all kinds of trickery with mirrors and disguises’ (Thomas 1991: 270–1).

For Giambattista Della Porta, ‘Catoptrick-glasses ... shine amongst Geometrical instruments, for Ingenuity, Wonder, and Profit’ (1658: 355). His ‘merry sports with ... Looking-glasses’ (ibid.: 357) culminate in

the experimental setups of what he calls the ‘Theatrical Glass’ and the ‘Amphitheatrical-Glass’ (359). In the mirrors installed for the ‘Theatrical Glass’ viewers ‘shall see a several face, and so quite round, as we see it often when people dance round, or in a Theatre’ (ibid.). So, too, the panoramic installation of the ‘Amphitheatrical-Glass’ is supposed to make images and lights ‘so multiplied by the reflections of the Glasses, that it represented a most rich Treasury indeed’ (ibid.: 360). Viewers ignorant of the science behind this illusion of magic, Della Porta complains, have called him ‘a Sorcerer, a Conjuror’ (ibid.: no page [‘The Preface’]), since they confused the images produced by and in mirrors with reality.

The specular instruments evoked and staged in *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess* are theatrical glasses in that they, too, produce visual spectacle. Both plays make use of mirrors to explore the porous boundaries between the magic circle, the laboratory and the playhouse stage. Specular reflections are part of the ‘prehistory of the “virtual” image’ (Friedberg 2009: 11). But the mirror shows in these plays are as material as the actor-characters looking into the mirrors. The natural-magic wonders which turn out to be only theatrical effects are the final inversion I identify in this book when I show how references to (*The Alchemist*) and stagings of (*A Game at Chess*) mirrors produce very explicit metatheatrical stage moments. The scenes I consider in the following pages explore the (im)materiality of performances and negotiate their suggestive powers.

Dark glass: The trick mirrors in *The Alchemist*

John Dee owned a collection of scrying tools. One is the black obsidian mirror that is on display at the British Museum in London. It might be of Aztec origin, and Dee might have acquired it during his travels through Europe, ‘just after Spain had reached the New World’ (Maillet 2004: 51). Deborah E. Harkness counts at least three other instruments in Dee’s specular repertory: a ‘great Chrystalline Globe’, a ‘stone in the

frame' and the 'angelically delivered stone' (1999: 29–30), all mentioned by Dee in his diary (Dee 1998: 21; 22; 51). In his writings, Dee also refers to his 'principal Stone' (ibid.: 219), implying a hierarchy among his scrying tools.

Dee's first editor, Florence Estienne Méric Causabon, already shared and articulated the uncertainty of later scholars concerning the question of 'how many stones Dee had' (Szonyi 2004: 205). In his preface to his 1659 compilation of Dee's records, Causabon writes:

Some Spirits being in sight of *E. K.* out of the Stone, Dr. Dee would have the Stone brought forth, but *E. K.* said, *He had rather see them thus, out of the Stone*; to which the Doctor replies, *That in the Stone they had warrant that no wicked Spirits should enter; but without the Stone illuders might deal with them, unless God prevented it, &c.* From which passage ... we may learn, that the said *Stone* was the same he also called the *Shew-stone*; as in many places besides. However, it is certain enough that he had more Stones then one, which he accounted sacred; observe *Principal Stone*, and *this other Stone*; & *first Sanctified Stone*, *usual Shew-stone*, and *Holy-stone* (1659: no page ['The Preface'])

Dee used these various stones not only for his scrying sessions with Edward Kelley (Causabon's '*E. K.*'), who served him as a medium between 1582 and 1586. He likely had also worked with some of them with his earlier scryer, Barnabas Saul, and continued the practice with his last known scryer, Bartholomew Hickman. The intelligence provided by the 'Spirituell apparitions, in Christalline receptables' (qtd. Whitby 1985: 34) for Dee was a logical consequence of his goal 'to reveal the secrets of nature' (Szonyi 2004: 186). In his quest for 'a universal science' (ibid.: 185), the 'most likely related science would be catoptromancy, or divination by mirrors or other reflective surfaces' (Clulee 1984: 64). His studies of optics had convinced him that he needed 'some organ of vision' (Clulee 1977: 659), which 'focused and transmitted energy from one area of reality to another' (Stuckrad 2010: 151). To his scryers, on the other hand, their sessions likely offered opportunities to earn a living with convincing theatrical performances.



Figure 7 Objects from John Dee's magical apparatus on display at the British Museum in London, including a rock-crystal ball and the black obsidian mirror with its wooden case. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

In *The Alchemist*, Jonson dramatizes the use of a similar variety of glass instruments for the purpose of producing theatre. The play opens and closes with prominently positioned glasses. While no prop mirror is required for staging *The Alchemist*, the plot, both of the play and of the frauds *in* the play, is permeated by references to specular devices: the pseudo-chemists deceive their clients with tricks performed with what is called a 'perspective' (3.4.87) as well as with a 'dark glass' (4.2.59); the unseen alchemical laboratory is described as being crammed with vitreous vessels (1.1.44; 2.3.39, 54, 196; 2.5.67; 4.5.58; 5.5.40). This corresponds to the centrality of glass in alchemical experiments, above all for allowing to observe changes in the colour of substances (Ray 2010: 154). At one point in the play, Jonson's fake chemists are also associated with 'glass-men' (3.1.22).

Critics have observed that, in *The Alchemist*, Jonson 'use[s] optical devices and illusionistic techniques to work through questions about

the nature of the theatre' (Thomas Crane 2013: 257.). This section adds to this finding by considering three aspects involving specular presence in *The Alchemist*. First, I explore the opening scene's reference to the images ('shadows') said to emerge in the alchemist's glass and demonstrate how this, together with the identification of Face with the jester figure Till Eulenspiegel, contributes to the play's metatheatrical dimensions. Second, I show how evocations of John Dee and his obsidian mirror as well as the optical tricks performed with a 'perspective' device are used to negotiate the significance of spaces dedicated to theatrical performance. The third aspect I consider are the character Mammon's sexual fantasies involving mirror walls and burning glasses, instances in which specular technology and performative acts come together to produce spectacle. I then end my reading of *The Alchemist* by pointing to the relevance of the breaking of the glass apparatus for evoking the playhouse's material reality.

Shadows in the glass: Moving between mirror and stage

The invisible laboratory in *The Alchemist* represents what Andrew Sofer has described as 'theatrical dark matter' (2013: 11). As defined by Sofer, dark matter 'refers to the invisible dimension of the theater that escapes visual detection, even though its effects are felt everywhere in performance' (ibid.: 3). These 'invisible presences matter very much indeed, even if spectators, characters, and performers cannot put their hands on them' (ibid.). The assumption is that 'what playwrights choose not to show is as telling as their mise-en-scène' (ibid.: 15). Such dark matter is the object of the interpretive method that Sofer calls '*spectral reading*', the act of 'trac[ing] the effects of those invisible forces at work in the world of the performance or play, such as ... events that take place offstage, noises off, ... or any related phenomena' (ibid.: 5).

In *The Alchemist*, the 'glass' brought onto the stage in the opening scene and the 'furnace room' referred to throughout the play are

established 'as metonymic for alchemical discourse itself' (Eggert 2021: 223). In Act 1, Scene 1, Subtle enters '*holding a glass containing a liquid*' (1.1.1 s.d.). This is the only vitreous prop to actually materialize on stage.¹ It is shattered by Doll Common in an attempt to reconcile her co-frauds (1.1.115–6 s.d.) after Subtle had threatened to 'gum [Face's] silks / With good strong water' (6–7). Subtle applies a vitreous weapon to keep Face at a distance. By breaking it, Doll makes him vulnerable. These two acts of attack and destruction acknowledge glass's capacity to harm bodies and manipulate social situations. From the outset, the play introduces glasses as essential props in the alchemical-theatrical business by positioning one at the centre of a fiery debate on how to convincingly beguile others.

Before one glass is broken, Face exposes Subtle's dependency on glass in general for sustaining his commercialization of alchemical imposture. He reminds him of his own assistance in providing the vitreous materials for their cozenage, and he threatens to make public the setup behind this trickery. It was Face who had arranged both the props and premise for their enterprise. With his master Lovewit out of town, he equipped Subtle with 'credit for [his] coals, / [His] stills, [his] glasses, [his] materials; / Built [him] a furnace, drew [him] customers, / Advanced all [his] black arts; lent [him], beside, / A house to practise in' (1.1.43–7). Face orchestrated the properties, audiences and venue for Subtle's now 'thriving skill' (48) of legerdemain. The plot is set 'here in the 'Friars (1.1.17), the actual locale of the play's first performances at the Blackfriars playhouse. Fusing the venue of the alchemical theatre in the play and the actual theatre space marks 'the connection between, indeed the interchangeability of, the art of the alchemist and the art of the actor' (Smallwood 1980: 145), which 'both ... belong to the world of make-believe' (149–50).

On both levels (*in* the play and *on* the stage), the glasses, sponsored by Face, handled by Subtle and broken by Doll in the opening scene, are means to produce theatre. This is illustrated by Face's threat to Subtle to 'have all [his] tricks / Of coz'ning with a hollow coal, dust, scrapings, / Searching for things lost with a sieve and shears, / Erecting figures in

[his] rows of houses / And taking in of shadows with a glass / Told in red letters' (1.1.93–8). The phrase 'taking in of shadows with a glass' can be defined as 'channelling spirits through a crystal ball' (1.1.97n), which describes the art of crystallo-mancy or catoptromancy. It refers to the attraction of angelic spirits via glass instruments as practised by John Dee and his scryers, while it also hints at the related practice of 'trap[ping] the souls of the deceased ... in crystal bowls' (Kodera 2010: 103). Glass vessels 'inhabited by such a *parhedros*, a demonic spirit that would direct the show' (Kodera 2022: 237), were popularly sold as magic commodities.

But the 'shadows' taken in by Subtle's glass are no spirits but only their pretended presence. They reflect the acts of the three impostors in that they, too, are 'actors' or the results of acting. They are like the players Puck refers to as 'shadows' (5.1.419) in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1595) and like the 'shadows' in Bacon's '*magic glass*' (6.127–8 s.d.) taken for 'substances' (130) by Prince Edward in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1589). In *Friar Bacon*, the 'shadows' are actual actors performing the visions said to unfold *within* the mirror on the other side of the stage as a 'play-beside-a-play' (Wright 2006: 216), and Bacon in these scenes functions as a stage director (re-)directing his audience's attention to the 'comedy' (48) or reflecting on the 'tragedy' (13.37) in, and in front of, his 'glass prospective' (6.5).

Like Bacon, Face in *The Alchemist* assumes the role of the 'prop man, make-up artist, and director for the "performances" of the alchemist' (Flachmann 1977: 274). He is 'the 'setter ...' (ibid.) of the action. As a 'prop man' and 'setter', Face controls the spatial dynamics and handling of objects, including the alchemist's specular armamentarium. Having provided the money for props and the house for the stage, he also coordinates the storylines by changing his roles for approaching different clients. In one of his roles, he calls himself Eulenspiegel (2.3.32; 'Eulen' in 2.3.249, 260, 315; 4.1.18). Till Eulenspiegel or Ulenspiegel was a wandering jester who might have lived in Lower Germany during the first half of the fourteenth century. However, he is known mainly as the protagonist of a Middle Lower German chapbook (first printed

in 1510–12 and again in 1519 with an English translation following in the same year).

In the literary tradition, Eulenspiegel, like Face, plays many roles to trick his contemporaries and confront them with a mirror of their follies. He is often depicted with an owl (*Eulen*) and a mirror (*Spiegel*). When he died, his two attributes allegedly were also engraved on his tombstone. Face's adoption of the name 'Eulenspiegel' in *The Alchemist* points to the mirroring function of the theatre. Like Eulenspiegel's mirror, the glass props that Face provides for the con game appeal to the victims' immoral characters and reflect their vices. The performance, both in the play (the pseudo-chemists' trickery) and on the stage (the play *The Alchemist*), takes place in the neighbourhood of Blackfriars, which evokes the *topos* of the world as a stage and the stage as a reflection of the world. This is underscored by the double meaning of 'shadows' in Face's speech in Act 1, Scene 1, which implies the presence of spirits in the glass and of actors on the stage. The glass, in this scenario, is the stage on or in which *The Alchemist* is performed.

His name is Dee: Demonstrating perspectives on space

In a record dated 10 March 1575, John Dee mentions a visit of Elizabeth I to his house in Mortlake. He writes that the queen 'willed [him] to fetch [his] glass so famous, and to shew unto her some of the properties of it' (Orchard Halliwell et al. 2013: 17). Dee obeyed and allowed her to 'see some of the properties of that glass, to her Majestie's great contentment and delight' (ibid.). Besides being a learned man and enthusiast for the occult, Dee was also a performer. *The Alchemist* includes one direct and one indirect reference to him. Producing an astrological chart for their client Abel Drugger, Subtle first mentions 'one whose name is Dee' (2.6.20). Later, he invites two other clients, Kastril and Dame Pliant, to his 'chamber of demonstrations' (4.2.63) to show them his 'dark glass' (59). The mentioning of Dee's name is part of the play's preoccupation with legerdemain by means of mirror tricks. But it also evokes Dee's alchemical authority. Dee and, still more than him, his scriber, Edward

Kelley, were prominent figures in alchemical circles. For some time, they belonged to 'the Rudolfine alchemists' (Evans 1973: 199). The Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II was deeply interested in the occult arts and actively promoted research in this field. In *The Alchemist*, he, too, figures in Mammon's praise of Subtle as 'a man the Emp'rour / Has courted above [Edward] Kelley' (4.1.89–90).

In Margaret Cavendish's utopian prose fiction *The Description of a New World, Called The Blazing World* (1666), some all-knowing spirits recount that the celebrated alchemists Dee and Kelley, who 'proved at last but mere cheats', earlier in the seventeenth century had been 'expressed' in the characters Subtle (Dee) and Face (Kelley) by 'one of their own countrymen, a famous poet, named Ben Jonson, in a play called *The Alchemist*' (1992: 166). Also in the late seventeenth century, John Aubrey confirms that it was from Dee's alchemical activities 'that Ben Johnson [*sic*] had his hint of the alkimist', and that it was Dee 'whom he meant' by *the* alchemist (1949: 222). Dee's rumoured 'ability to communicate with angels through his sacred showstone might have been linked by contemporaries to his expertise in alchemy because of analogies drawn between the showstone and the closed vessel of an alchemical experiment' (Harkness 1999: 32). The link between alchemy and scrying materializes in the very object of the *showstone*, which either *shows itself* after a series of alchemical experiments (the Philosopher's Stone) or *shows images* normally invisible (the scrying mirror).

Elias Ashmole mentions four stones that represent the 'Immense things [which] are to bee performed by vertue of the *Philosophers Mercury*' (1652: no page [equals A4v]). Among them are the 'Magicall or Prospective Stone', which makes it 'possible to discover any *Person* in what part of the *World* soever, although never so secretly concealed or hid' (ibid.: Bv), and the 'Angelicall Stone ... [which] hath a *Divine Power, Celestiall, and Invisible*' (ibid.). The latter also 'affords the *Apparition of Angells*, and gives a power of conversing with them, by *Dreames and Revelations*' (ibid.). In Ashmole's theory of alchemy, Dee's shewstone, his 'Angelicall Stone', is the vehicle *and* the product of alchemical research.

While in *The Alchemist* the ‘*Angelicall Stone*’ corresponds to the ‘glass’ that ‘take[s] in ... shadows’ (1.1.97), the qualities of the ‘*Magicall or Prospective Stone*’ resemble the ‘perspective’ (3.4.87) device discussed below. Subtle’s glass for the ‘taking in of shadows’ (1.1.97) might or might not be the ‘dark glass’ (4.2.59) evoked in Act 4, Scene 2. As with Dee’s specular apparatus, the diversity and stage absence of the instruments in *The Alchemist* thwart attempts to identify them. It is not clear if the play suggests the existence of multiple specular devices or one multifunctional trick mirror. But audiences learn from a secret dialogue shared by Subtle and Face that the demonstration of the ‘dark glass’ serves as a strategy of distraction. Subtle leads Kastril and Dame Pliant ‘up’ to his ‘chamber of demonstrations’ to prevent them from meeting other clients who in the meantime are ‘entertain[ed]’ by Face (57–63). He then promises that he will ‘have [Dame Pliant] look in a glass / Some half an hour but to clear [her] eyesight, / Against [she] see[s] [her] fortune, which is greater / Than [he] may judge upon the sudden’ (69–72).

The ‘cloudier appearance’ of dark mirrors, like Dee’s obsidian glass, reflects, as already Pliny the Elder reported, ‘shadows rather than images’ (*Natural History*, Book 3, 196). Such glasses’ capacity to produce a sense of ‘looking at enigmatic images in the depths of the mirror’ likely had been among the reasons why they had always been ‘popular for scrying’ (Schechner 2005: 141). The biblical simile of earthly existence as a ‘glass, darkly’ that can show the world only ‘in part’ until God provides a clearer vision ‘face to face’ (1 Cor 13:12) might be related to this. Clearly, the ‘dark and disquieting aspect of the black mirror’ has always ‘attracted occultists because of its ambiguity’ (Maillet 2004: 72). Inherent in black mirrors is the material paradox that a really dark glass ‘no longer gives back an image; rather, it absorbs’ (ibid.).

Subtle’s ‘dark glass’ is kept in a ‘chamber of demonstrations’. With *demonstrare* meaning ‘to show, represent’, the chamber is marked as an experimental, and thus theatrical, space. For Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, ‘the Science of stage Players’ is ‘the Arte of *Imitation*, and *Demonstration*’ (1575: 32r), while he also refers to ‘true Demonstration,

which Creates a Science' (1676: 41). Discussing the illusory qualities of specular glasses, John Dee notes that 'by demonstration Opticall, the order and cause therof, is certified' (1570: bjv). He refers his readers to a 'famous and honorable [Gentleman]' in London, who 'will very willingly, let [his] Glasse, and profe be sene' in order to 'encrease ... wisdom, in the honorable: and for the stopping of the mouthes malicious' of those who take it for the effects of witchcraft (ibid.).

Dee's defensive tone is the result of his permanent efforts to refute accusations of sorcery. His reputation as a necromancer had been established in 1546 when, as a fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, he had contributed stage effects with a mechanical flying scarab for a performance of Aristophanes's *Peace*. This 'stagecraft was so ingenious that his audience was convinced he had used magic' (Howard Traister 1984: 18). Magic and theatrical performance share an emphasis on public demonstration. This, too, applies to scientific experiments. Seventeenth-century science was 'an intensely *theatrical* enterprise,' and sensational 'demonstrations were often held in an amphitheaterlike space' (Eggert 2006: 207). 'Science and theater are thus analogous,' Katherine Eggert explains, 'not only because both depend on sham or because both are transformative, but because scientific demonstration, like theater, consisted of "performances" for an audience's "deliberation, instruction, and entertainment"' (ibid.).

When Subtle promises Dame Pliant that the specular sights in the 'chamber of demonstrations' (4.2.63) will 'clear [her] eyesight' (70), he implies the enlightened insight provided, as Dee put it, 'by demonstration Opticall' (1570: bjv). However, the unveiling of any scientific truth behind his alchemical performance is not Subtle's intention. The 'chamber of demonstrations' is a theatrical space where Subtle sells wonders to his clients. When he tells Dame Pliant that in the mirror she will 'see [her] fortune' (71), his promise refers to the prevalent catoptromantic practice of fortune telling. But it also has a distinct metatheatrical implication: with the site of the Blackfriars playhouse explicitly present in the play, Subtle's line might be a nod to another theatrical space in London, the Fortune playhouse, which had

been home to the Admiral's Men since 1600. In the first quarto print of *The Alchemist*, 'Fortune' in this line is written with a capital letter (1612: I2v). Seeing the Fortune playhouse, located north of the City of London, from the Blackfriars playhouse, located in the south-west of the City of London, would indeed have required a telescopic glass to 'clear' (4.2.70) and extend one's eyesight.

I suggest that this reference is also connected to the understanding of theatre, prominently theorized by Hamlet, as holding the 'mirror up to Nature' (*Ham*, 3.2.22). With the 'purpose of playing,' according to Hamlet, being 'to show Virtue her feature, Scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure' (22–4), theatrical experience has, at least since Aristotle's acknowledgement of the purifying effect of dramatic art (*katharsis*), been considered a method to 'clear' spectators' 'eyesight'. Effective stage performance is supposed to demonstrate to theatregoers the virtues and vices of themselves as well as of their age. In its idealized function as an exemplary mirror, theatre shall purge spectators of inappropriate feelings. The goal is a cleared and cleansed state leading to social and individual betterment.

In Thomas Randolph's *The Muses Looking-Glass* (1630), the theatre itself is a mirror held up to audiences with 'the end ... / [Them]selves unto [them]selves still to present' (Epilogue). Behind the stage, the actor-character Roscius keeps a crystal that 'by reflection show[s] each man / All his deformities, both of soul and body / And cure 'em both' (5.3). The interaction with the glass is referred to as a 'reformation' (*ibid.*), and its benefits as the power to 'resolve' (2.1) and 'restore' (4.5). The play ends with even the Puritan characters celebrating the glass's cathartic qualities, since it '[did] instruct [their] blinded eyes to-day' (5.4). When Subtle invites Dame Pliant to join him in his 'chamber of demonstrations' to have her sight cleared for, as he says, 'some half an hour' (*Alchemist*, 4.2.70) to see her 'fortune' in the glass, he, too, invites her to join a theatrical performance. With Act 4, Scene 3 about to start, 'half an hour' might be the approximate running time left for performances of *The Alchemist*. After this time, Subtle promises, Dame Pliant (and the audience) will have a refined perception of 'reality'.

The other optical device, which might or might not be synonymous with the dark glass mentioned in Act 4, is referred to by Face in Act 3. He tells Kastril that the alchemist will

show a perspective where on one side
 You shall behold the faces and the persons
 Of all sufficient young heirs in town
 Whose bonds are current for commodity;
 On th'other side, the merchants' forms and others
 That – without help of any second broker,
 Who would expect a share – will trust such parcels;
 In the third square, the very street and sign
 Where the commodity dwells and does but wait
 To be delivered, be it pepper, soap,
 Hops, or tobacco, oatmeal, woad or cheeses.
 All which you may so handle to enjoy
 To your own use and never stand obliged.

(3.4.87–99)

This 'perspective' device is a tool for organizing space. References to a 'perspective' in early modernity can signify 'numerous types of trick pictures, lenses, prisms, and distorting mirrors' (Shickman 1978: 217). The term can refer to the (re)ordering of pictorial space via linear perspective, a context which is implied by the three 'square[s]' (3.4.94). It can refer to anamorphic paintings, like the visual distortion described in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (c. 1606), which is 'painted one way like a Gorgon, / The other way's a Mars' (2.5.116–17). It also evokes several types of perspective glasses that share the ability to distort and (re)arrange space. The perspective in *Richard II* 'divides one thing entire to many objects' and 'shows nothing but confusion' when 'rightly gazed upon' (2.2.17–9). George Puttenham defines '*perspectives*' as 'false glasses [that] shew things otherwise than they be in deede' (1589: 14). For Reginald Scot, 'perspective glasses' are used by tricksters to perform 'divers woonderfull experiments' (1584: 315–6) to make others fancy that supernatural powers are at work.

John Dee believed that through the mastering of the art of perspective 'perfect knowledge can be atteyned' (1570: bjr). He was confident that

knowing the secrets of perspective protects one from being ‘overshot and abused, with thinges (at hand) before [Man’s] eyes’ (ibid.: b_{jv}). While Dee disapproves of the use of perspective to deceive the senses (the possible applications referred to by Puttenham and Scot), he applauds its role in ‘*Naturall Philosophie*, which, without *Perspective*, can not be fully understood, nor perfectly attained unto’ (ibid.). The science of ‘*Catoptrike*’, Dee adds, ‘hath so many uses, both merveilous, and profitable’ (ibid.).

As these examples illustrate, references to perspective float between false and true vision. In its early modern usage, the term ‘was associated not only with proto-scientific investigation but also with fantasy, wonder, illusion, and magic’ (Cohen 2009: 140). But in all these contexts, mastering perspective means dominating the representation of space. Like Agrippa’s ‘perspective’ glass in the anecdote quoted above, the ‘glass prospective’ (5.105; 6.5; 13.28, 77) in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* makes events that take place far away available for the view.² And like the “splitting” of the scene’ (Porter 2013: 142) produced by the mirror magic in *Friar Bacon*, Face’s description of the perspective effect in *The Alchemist* divides his client’s vision into three squares. ‘On one side’, Kastril is invited to see the identities of ‘all sufficient young heirs in town / Whose bonds are current for commodity’ (3.4.87–90). ‘On th’other side’, the perspective device shows ‘the merchants’ forms, and others / That ... / ... will trust such parcels’ (91–3). ‘In the third square’, Face promises, will be visible ‘the very street and sign / Where the commodity dwells and does but wait / To be delivered’ (94–6).

The perspective vision described here is like the theatre stage: it shows the protagonists, their activities and the venue of a potential plot. Face’s scenario recalls the multiple settings of the simultaneous stage employed for performances of mediaeval mystery plays. But rather than showing parts of the action, Face’s perspective stage splits one theatrical enactment into its components. Together, they constitute a play. ‘Science’ produces theatre that is taken for magic. Gaspar Schott believed that the ‘art of perspective’ (1657: 36) is linked with what he calls ‘magical optics’ (57). ‘If art and nature ... can create such wonders as we see in the fields of *Magia Optica*, *Catoptrica*, *Dioptrica*, and *Parastatica*’, Schott asks,

‘what cannot the devil produce of the same sort through magicians?’ (trans. Clark 2007: 135; for the Latin, see Schott 1657: 36–7).

For Jonson’s acquaintance, William Drummond of Hawthornden, life is ‘but Alchimie, vaine Perspective, and deceiving Shadowes’ (1968: 80). This comment brings together the metaphor of the *theatrum mundi* with the notion of the theatre as a parade of false images (‘Perspective’) produced by actors (‘Shadowes’). In *The Alchemist*, the reference to the perspective device produces a verbal image of a stage on the material stage of the playhouse. With perspective as a means to dominate and distort space and perception, the scene’s repeated references to the authority of the ‘Doctor’ (3.4.26; 58; 82; 126; 148) place the alchemist in a position of control of the action. It has been suggested that the playwright Jonson identified himself with the alchemist Subtle, who can transform his clients into popular personae who will be sought after ‘as playhouses [bid] for a poet’ (3.4.70). Like the manipulation of specular devices in *The Alchemist*, Jonson, with *The Alchemist*, manipulates the mirror of the stage to potentially transform audiences.

Multiplied figures: Indulging in specular fantasies

The theatricality of the glasses manipulated by the frauds is mirrored and complemented by the specular surfaces evoked by their client Sir Epicure Mammon. Mammon first shares a specular fantasy of a mirror room that will ‘disperse / And multiply the figures as [he] walk[s]’ (2.2.46–7). Later, he compares the erotic power of Doll’s eyes to a ‘burning glass’ (4.1.140). The first remark comes up in Mammon’s vision of his life enriched by alchemical wealth. He envisions having ‘a list of wives and concubines / Equal with Solomon, who had the stone / Alike with me’ (2.2.35–7). To celebrate his sexual indulgence with these women, Mammon proclaims:

I will have all my beds blown up, not stuffed;
Down is too hard. And then mine oval room
Filled with such pictures as Tiberius took

From Elephantis, and dull Aretine
But coldly imitated. Then my glasses
Cut in more subtle angles to disperse
And multiply the figures as I walk
Naked between my *succubae*.

(2.2.41–8)

Mammon's 'blown up' beds recall Bosola's description of the glass-blower's device to 'swell up' (*Duchess of Malfi*, 2.2.9) women's bellies in *The Duchess of Malfi*. His 'oval' bedroom, walled with reflective glasses cut and fixed in specific 'angles,' further reminds us of the 'Amphitheatrical-Glass' (1658: 359) discussed by Giambattista Della Porta in *Natural Magic*. The purpose of Mammon's glasses (sexual pleasure) is trivial, their effect (multiplied images) is catoptric science and the result of the specular setup (a parade of nudity) is erotic theatre.

Mirrors have been associated with illicit (homo)sexuality at least since antiquity. Mammon's vision is reminiscent of the sexual practices attributed to the Roman slave owner Hostius Quadra, retold by Seneca the Younger in his *Natural Questions*. Seneca's story similarly links distorted vision in and via trick mirrors to debased sexuality. Using mirrors 'for rousing passion' (Book 1, 16.1), Seneca tells his readers in great detail how Hostius Quadra

had mirrors made of the type I described (the ones that reflect images far larger) in which a finger exceeded the size and thickness of an arm. These, moreover, he so arranged that when he was offering himself to a man he might see in a mirror all the movements of his stallion behind him and then take delight in the false size of his partner's very member just as though it were really so big. ... Mirrors faced him on all sides in order that he might be a spectator of his own shame. ... Not content to see how greatly he sinned he surrounded himself with mirrors by which he separated one by one and assembled his vices. (ibid.: 16.2–4)

In Hostius's setup as described by Seneca, the purpose of the glasses is to make visible naturally invisible sights and to *magnify* the erotic parts

of the body. In *The Alchemist*, Mammon instead aims at *multiplying* the erotic scenes, both performed by him and depicted in his picture gallery. Like Hostius, he imagines being surrounded by specular pornography *ad infinitum*.

Mammon shares with Hostius a fetishistic fondness for images. The erotic emphasis in his fantasy, as in Seneca's account of Hostius, is on watching oneself watching. While Mammon might indulge in the sight of the women in his bedroom and picture gallery, his glasses are also supposed to 'disperse / And multiply the figures as [he] walk[s] / Naked between [his] *succubae*' (46–8, my emphasis). Mammon's parade of nakedness between his *succubae* and the mirrored walls of his bedchamber is a theatre of the self, in which he is both the spectator and the spectacle. His '*succubae*', a term that adds a sense of supernatural mirror magic to Mammon's vision, join him like the shadows in the glass evoked by Face in the opening scene.

Mammon's second specular reference is again part of a sexual fantasy. Returning to the alchemist's house to meet Doll, he imagines how her presence in noble circles would 'set all the eyes / Of court afire like a burning glass' (4.1.139–40). He dreams of adorning her with 'the jewels / Of twenty states', whose 'light / Strikes out the stars' (141–2). The splendour of 'the glory of her sex' (130) and her jewel-studded appearance is imagined as working everyone who gazes upon her 'into cinders' (141). This notion that the beams of a beautiful woman's eyes can ignite fires of passion and 'strike and wound their recipient's heart like Cupid's darts' (Goodman-Soellner 1983: 222) is a common trope in early modern painting and poetry. In those arts, the 'combustive power' (ibid.: 220) of 'the lady's mirrored beauty' (222) is commonly likened to the effects of burning glasses, because 'the beauty of the lady was said to transform an ordinary looking-glass, in which she admired herself, into a burning mirror' (220).

Like Mammon's first mirror reference, his image of the burning glass is embedded in a (meta)theatrical setting supported by glass technology. He tells Doll to refrain from 'learn[ing] / Physic and surgery' in 'this nook here of the 'Friars, which, he claims, 'is no climate / For her to live

obscurely in' (4.1.131–3). Herself learned in the skills practised in 'the 'Friars', Doll is introduced as an actor, whom Mammon wants to lure away from the theatre. His fantasies of specular trickery illustrate the mirror's capacity to transform space into *theatrical* space, the privately performed into the publicly enacted. Via its panoramic mirror walls the bedchamber becomes a theatre of self-love. The court Mammon imagines to be affected by the burning glass is a stage for Doll's beauty, which, he hopes, she will choose over the theatrical site of Blackfriars shared by the alchemical laboratory and the playhouse.

Conclusion: The bursting of the natural-magic mirror

I noted that the trickster plot of *The Alchemist* opens and closes with the breaking of glasses. In Act 1, Scene 1, Doll '*breaks Subtle's glass*' (1.1.115–6 s.d.) to de-escalate the fight between her co-impostors. In Act 4, Scene 5, when their trickery is about to collapse, Face causes '*a great crack and noise*' (4.5.55 s.d.) sounding from the offstage space of the alchemical laboratory. Bursting onto the stage, Face shares the news of an explosion that has allegedly demolished all the (notoriously unseen) laboratory equipment: 'All the works / Are blown *in fumo*; every glass is burst, / Furnace and all rent down! As if a bolt / Of thunder had been driven through the house. / Retorts, receives, pelicans, bolt-heads / All struck in shivers!' (57–62).

All the objects listed by Face are containers made of glass.³ Just like the breaking of the mirror in *Richard II* marks the end of the protagonist's performance in the role of the king, the bursting of the glasses in *The Alchemist* brings the tricksters' performance of their alchemical business to an end. For their clients, especially Mammon, it also shatters the prospect of future prosperity. Mammon is desperate to learn if any instrument was 'preserved' (71) or if anything was 'saved that's good for med'cine' (90). Face sends Mammon away with the vague hope that if 'the scraping of the shards' (92) will yield anything valuable, they will send it after him.

But the fantasy of greatness that Mammon had pictured in his specular visions had, like the performances of the alchemists in the

play and the actors on the stage, only existed in the time and space of representation. Once the theatrical illusion is shattered like the glasses in the unseen alchemical laboratory, there is nothing left to be 'sent home' (94). Catherine Wilson points out 'that broken glassware, ... failed experiments, explosions, and irreproducible results are features of scientific experiences' (1995: 20). In *The Alchemist*, they are the results of theatrical performances *posing* as natural-magic experiences. When Face's master Lovewit returns to his house, Face, too, returns to the stage 'as *Jeremy the butler*' (5.2.1–2 s.d.), and, like Puck at the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, he tries to persuade Lovewit that the neighbours reporting on his fraudulent activities 'had seen double' (5.2.31) and that 'all [is] *deceptio visus*' (5.3.62).

Lovewit leaves the onstage space to inspect the rooms of the laboratory. As he returns, he comments on the 'empty walls' darkened by smoke and 'a few cracked pots, and glasses' (5.5.39–40). While R. L. Smallwood concludes that in *The Alchemist*, 'after all, there is no laboratory' (1980: 154), Lovewit's testimony corrects this claim: there might have been no laboratory *scenery* on the visible part of the stage, but the blackened walls and broken glasses suggest the existence of an offstage laboratory *in the world of the play*. Like the actors playing them on stage, the alchemical performers in the play apparently acted their plot in a theatrical space fitted for the purpose. After the end of one performance, this space is ready to be refurnished and played on again. In the closing moments of *The Alchemist*, Lovewit thus visits an abandoned performance venue, whose appearance foreshadows the state of the actual Blackfriars playhouse, which, when Jonson's audience will be gone only a few minutes later, too, will be scattered with used props.

Egyptian glass: The Jesuit mirror in *A Game at Chess*

At least one recorded case of legerdemain involves a specular construction that resembles the mirror trick in *A Game at Chess*. The French con artist Catherine Monvoisin, also known as La Voisin,

used it to make clients see images on the reflective surface of a basin filled with water. During their scrying sessions, she asked her clients to fix their gaze onto the watery surface, on which they would see the reflection of an image she had fastened onto the ceiling above the basin. She would then interpret the image they described to her as a visual manifestation of the clients' future. This and her other ingenious trickeries were adapted, for example, by Thomas Corneille in his comedy *La Devineresse, ou Les Faux Enchantements* (1679). La Voisin was eventually convicted for murder. She was burnt at the stake as a witch in 1680.

A similar setup involving water and a mirror is included in Francis Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* (1626). 'Put a *Looking-Glasse* into a *Basen* of *Water*', Bacon explains, and

I suppose you shall not see the *Image* in a *Right Line*, or at equall *Angles*, but aside. I know not, whether this *Experiment* may not be extended so, as you might see the *Image*, and not the *Glasse*; Which for *Beauty* and *Strangenesse*, were a finde *Prooffe*: For then you should see the *Image* like a *Spirit* in the *Aire*. As for Example, If there be a *Cesterne* or *Poole* of *Water*, you shall place over against it a *Picture* of the *Devill*, or what you will, so as you doe not see the *Water*. Then put a *Looking-Glasse* in the *Water*: Now if you can see the *Devills Picture* aside, not seeing the *Water*, it will looke like a *Devill* indeed. They have an old Tale in *Oxford*, that *Friar Bacon* walked betweene two *Steeple*s: Which was thought to be done by *Glasses* (1626: 197)

At around the same time, a con woman and the 'father of the notion of the independence of experimental science' (Webster 1982: 10) applied the laws of reflection for similar apparatuses. For Eric Langley, Bacon's setup illustrates the 'integration of the scientific and the mythic, the seemingly empirical with the poetic, the fictive, and the fanciful' (2009: 53–4). He considers this fusion of two seemingly disparate ways of thinking 'characteristic' (ibid.: 53) of seventeenth-century natural magic.



Figure 8 Illustration of one of the mirror tricks notoriously performed by the convicted ‘witch’ Catherine Monvoisin in seventeenth-century Paris. From Thomas Corneille’s *La devineresse, ou Les faux enchantements, comédie représentée par la troupe du roy* (1680), kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. © Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arts du spectacle, RESERVE 8-RF-2760.

The mirror-trick plot in *A Game at Chess* extends over three scenes: the ‘magical glass’ (3.1.330) is introduced in Act 3, Scene 1; it is part of the stage action in Act 3, Scene 3; and its images are discussed in Act 4, Scene 1, which includes a second pretend-mirror encounter offstage. Critics have suggested several sources that might have inspired Middleton to include this plot element. T. H. Howard-Hill assumes that the playwright adapted the similar scene from William Rowley’s comedy *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman* (c. 1608–18), in which the princess Leonice makes her beloved believe that he sees his future wife ‘amply

personated in a glasse' (3.2.149). In fact, Leonice's 'speculatory magick' (155) is the reflection of her own face behind him in the mirror. However, as the examples discussed throughout this chapter illustrate, Middleton could have found lots of inspiration for mirror trickery of all sorts on and beyond the stage, in the daily practices of natural magicians, enthusiastic experimentalists and legerdemainists.

Most editors of *A Game at Chess* believe that 'the Jesuitess us[es] a handheld mirror to conjure the suitor, who appears behind the White Queen's Pawn, so that she sees his reflection' (Gurnis 2018: 112), while Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson suggest that 'a large mirror' was used as a part of the 'scenery' (2017: 97). This scenario is supported by Musa Gurnis who identifies the mirror 'as a fixed feature in the space, not as a moveable object' (2018: 113). But Gurnis suggests an *imaginary* wall mirror, with the two Queen's Pawns 'looking *outward* through the opening of the discovery space (as if it were a wall mirror that they were looking *into*), summon the suitor, who appears *before* them on the main stage (not *behind* them, as he would be in an actual reflection)' (ibid.: 112). That way, similar to *The Alchemist*, presence is created despite or through absence; 'the actors can create the impression of a wall mirror in the empty architectural frame simply through their gaze and gestures' (ibid.: 113).

I agree that the scene is more likely to ask for a full-length mirror apparition to make the trick work. Since there are no records to prove that the King's Men owned as expensive a prop as a wall mirror when they performed *A Game at Chess* at the Globe in 1624, the mirror might indeed have been present only in the imagination of actors and audiences. However, we know that the same company for performing this play went to great lengths to acquire the costume originally worn by the former Spanish ambassador in England, Count Gondomar, to add authenticity to his stage version in the character of the Black Knight (Gurnis 2018: 95). If far from likely, it is tempting to speculate how a wall mirror would have allowed audiences to see the auditorium and themselves reflected on stage. Instead of only seeing yet another actor performing what the White Queen's Pawn says she sees in the mirror, audiences would have actually shared the two pawns' specular vision.

In this final section, I address the significance of the natural-magic mirror in the play from three perspectives. First, I show how the specular illusion is at the centre of the polemic against the deceitful and idolatrous practices attributed to the Spanish-Catholic enemy. Second, I argue that the staging of the mirror (con)fuses anti-Catholic sentiments with anxieties caused by occult (pagan) rituals, which are then projected onto the deceitful female. Third, I reflect upon the continuation of the encounter with the mirror in the second, offstage, mirror scene to illuminate the framing of the Jesuit (meta)theatre before I conclude my discussion of *A Game at Chess* by comparing the mirror scene to the play's second visual spectacle, the dancing statues.

Speculative virtue: Converting the Protestant virgin

The mirroring of black and white is the premise of *A Game at Chess*, the game and the play. Based on the traditional staging of 'badness' as blackness (see the 'blotting' of Lucretia's face in Chapter 3), the black figures in the play represent negative inversions of their white counterparts. The play, banned after its nine-day run because its demonization, a literal blackening, of the Spanish-Jesuit characters overstrained the diplomatic relations between England and Spain, opens and closes with incitements against Catholics addressed at the audience. In the Induction, the stage impersonation of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, enters the stage to share his regret that he cannot see 'any of [his] disciples' (Induction 4) in the auditorium but only Protestant 'truth and goodness never yet deflowered' (10). In the Epilogue, the representative of Protestant innocence, the White Queen's Pawn, encourages spectators to make 'known' the Jesuit 'night glow-worms' who 'in private lurk' (Epilogue 6–8) among them.

On one level, the aim of the Black Queen's Pawn's trick is to lure the White Queen's Pawn into offering her virginity to the Black Bishop's Pawn, who is reflected in the mirror, and whom she takes for a vision of her future husband. On another level, the mirror trick is a bed trick: the ultimate purpose of the plot is to trick the Black Bishop's Pawn into a

sexual encounter with the Black Queen's Pawn, whom he, in turn, takes for the White Queen's Pawn. The Black Queen's Pawn tells her virginal victim that in 'a magical glass [she] bought of an Egyptian' (3.1.330) she has beheld 'an absolute handsome gentleman, a complete one' (322). She adds that the White Queen's Pawn's 'name brings him [into the mirror] / As often as [she] use[s] it' (332-3), and that the 'speculative virtue' of the 'stone' (331) has revealed to her that the White Queen's Pawn will marry the man in the mirror despite having 'promised single life' (326).

When they re-enter 'the room he did appear to [the Black Queen's Pawn]', the Black Queen's Pawn directs the White Queen's Pawn's, and the audience's, attention to 'the magical glass that showed him' (3.3.1-2). As the scene unfolds, the Black Queen's Pawn orchestrates a theatrical spectacle complete with music ('Sweet vocal sounds', 15) and costume ('*in rich attire*', 51-2 s.d.). Her staging of the Black Bishop's Pawn's apparition in the mirror is designed to evoke the spectacle of Catholic ceremony. She invokes the man in the mirror thrice: first, in the 'powerful name ... / Of the mighty Black House Queen' (25-7) and then, 'in the White Queen's name' (33). Her third incantation lists the charms of the White Queen's Pawn:

My truth reflects the clearer; then now fix
 And bless your fair eyes with your own for ever.
 Thou well-composed, by fate's hand drawn
 To enjoy the White Queen's Pawn,
 Of whom thou shalt by virtue met
 Many graceful issues get,
 By the beauty of her fame,
 By the whiteness of her name,
 By her fair and fruitful love,
 By her truth that mates the dove,
 By the meekness of her mind,
 By the softness of her kind,
 By the lustre of her grace,
 By all these thou art summoned to this place.

(36-49)

The Black Bishop's Pawn then appears behind the two Queen's Pawns, who see him reflected in the mirror, and exits. To Protestant ears, the Black Queen's Pawn's incantation is likely to have sounded like a sermon preached during Catholic Mass. Its archaic, chanting recital might have created the horror of 'theatrical, Catholic enchantment' (Gurnis 2018: 203, 77n). Religious vocabulary informs the scene, and the man in the mirror in fact is a Catholic clergyman in disguise, who later returns in his reverend habit and 'entertains' the Black court 'with [a] *Latin oration*' (5.1.9–10 s.d.).

Identifying the Spanish-Catholic characters in the play as Jesuits intensifies this association with theatrical beguilement. Jesuits 'were notorious for their theatrical deceptions' (Bicks 2009: 464), and dramatic activities were central components of the Jesuit curriculum. They developed a 'propaganda theatre' (Schnitzler 1952: 284) to 'present their message in the most enticing manner, shrewdly disguising it under the colorful cloak of splendid entertainment' (286). The seventeenth century, as Henry Schnitzler notes, was 'the Jesuit school theatre's golden age' (ibid.: 284). Like the scene staged by the Black Queen's Pawn, Jesuit performances involved 'elaborate scenic effects' (ibid.: 287) and 'episodes showing magicians and sorcerers at work' (286). The goal of Jesuit theatre's 'suggestive power' was to make the spectator '[surrender] his entire being to the drama's spiritual message' (ibid.: 285).

Since 'manuals on dramatic theory and playwriting' (ibid.: 289) composed by Jesuits circulated widely, their dramatic art 'proved stimulating' (286) for playwrights of the period. If we agree that 'the Jesuits were the first stage directors in the modern sense of the term' (ibid.: 290), the Black Queen's Pawn assumes the part of the Jesuit director. Characterized not only as a Catholic and Spanish but also as a female evil-doer, she shares the fates of Eleanor (in *Edward I*) and Lucretia (in *The Devil's Charter*) of representing such personified non-Protestant evils like the Whore of Babylon. She uses the 'illusionary trappings of the theater' (Bicks 2009: 475) to appeal to the White Queen's Pawn's sensuality in order to attract and direct her attention.

The play's Black Knight embodies the fears expressed by both antitheatricalists and anti-Catholic polemicists when noting how 'with pleasant subtlety and bewitching courtship, [he has] / Abused all [his] believers with delight' (1.1.258–9). Mirrors had been used since antiquity to support the leaders of religious groups in attracting and maintaining followers. Specular devices were at work, for example, to 'create a godlike apparition on the altar of a temple', so that 'priests were able to control the mood of the unsuspecting populace' (Goldberg 1985: 105). In *A Game at Chess*, the theatre of and in the mirror shakes the 'certainty' (3.3.57) of the White Queen's Pawn's devotion to a pious Protestant life in chastity. Seeing the man whom she takes for her future husband puts her in a conflict 'twixt [her] fear and [her] desire' (70). In its entirety, the scene is designed to suggest idolatrous worship. The man in the mirror is praised as a graceful 'object' (12), and once the object's reflection vanishes with the actor's exit, the White Queen's Pawn, much like Narcissus in love with a bodiless visual effect, is desperate to gaze on his image 'a little longer' (3.3.52).

An idol, from the Greek *eidolon*, is 'a visible replica of an object' (Cohen 2009: 138) in three senses: first, within the pre-Keplerian intromission theory *eidola* are 'picturelike effluxes' (Edgerton 1975: 67) that were believed to '[emanate] out from the object and [migrate] into the eye' (Cohen 2009: 138); second, an idol is an object of cultic worship; and third, it can be any 'visible but intangible image such as is produced by an optical illusion, reflection, etc.' (OED, 'idol, *n.*, II.5), that is, a mirror image. In *Novum Organum* (first published in 1620), Francis Bacon discerns 'four sorts of Idols or false Images, which besiege Mens minds' (1676: 4). The first sort he calls '*Idola Tribus*' ('Idols of the Tribe'), which 'are founded in humane Nature it self' (ibid.). His fourth sort are '*Idola Theatri*' ('Idols of the Theatre'), which 'are entered into Mens minds' via 'all the kinds of Philosophy, which have been invented and received we look upon as so many Fables produced and acted to make fictitious and senical Worlds' (ibid.).

These two Baconian modes of idolatrous deception come together in the Black Queen's Pawn's mirror trick. Images produced by the human

senses (*Idola Tribus*) are deceptive, Bacon explains, since 'humane Understanding is like an unequal looking-glass to the rayes of things' when it 'mix[es] its own Nature with the Nature of things, doth wrest and infect it' (ibid.). The mirror trickery in *A Game at Chess* mixes the White Queen's Pawn's false expectations (fuelled by the Black Queen's Pawn's previous praise of the man in the mirror) with the illusory quality of theatrical representation. It brings together the flaws of the human mind, what Bacon elsewhere calls 'an enchanted glasse, full of superstition and Imposture, if it bee not delivered and reduced' (1605: 55v), with a material, yet fake, enchanted glass. The mirror becomes a symbol of idolatrous distraction used by the Catholic enemy to lure innocent Protestant virgins into sin.

Enchanted with praises: Summoning the pagan ritual

Magic, from mediaeval times, had been 'defined as a perversion of religion' (Kassell 2005: 8). In the mirror scene of *A Game at Chess*, the theatrical show of deprecated religious ceremony is fused with the theatricality of occult rituals, which, from a Protestant perspective, are not too far removed from Catholic practices. The Black Queen's Pawn's invocation resembles both a priestess's sermon and a sorceress's incantation. They meet in an actress's performance since magical incantation, like the Mass, too, 'is allied to poetry and music' (Yates 1967: 263). Like Greene's magician-director Friar Bacon, the Black Queen's Pawn guides her spectator's attention through the specular performance (3.3.29; 35; 50; 55). Her three attempts at invoking the man in the mirror point to the equal importance of the number three in Christian theology and pagan rituals (as shown, for example, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, when Venus responds to Pygmalion's prayers by causing the candle's flame to 'thrice ... burn brightly', Book 10, 279).

The myth of Orpheus and Eurydice is evoked in the Black Queen's Pawn's cautioning to 'not [look] back or [question] the spectre' (3.1.343). 'Spectre' here oscillates between implying a ghostly and a specular apparition. This ambivalence is also contained by the reference to the

man in the mirror as a 'shadow' (3.3.55), which effectively sums up what in this scene is happening on stage: an actor ('shadow') portrays the character of the Black Bishop's Pawn; the Black Bishop's Pawn is an actor ('shadow') in the Black Queen's Pawn's mirror show; as an actor, he pretends to be a ghostly apparition ('shadow') in the magic mirror; but in fact, the White Queen's Pawn simply sees his reflection ('shadow') behind her own in a regular mirror.

With her final incantation, the Black Queen's Pawn '[summons] [the man in the mirror] to this place' (3.3.49). The air, she says, is 'enchanted with [the White Queen's Pawn's] praises' (50). Words like 'summoned' (49) and 'enchanted' (50), as well as 'apparition' (11), 'invocation' (21), 'conjure' (28), 'invoke' (33) and the marking of the mirror as a 'magical glass' (3.1.330; 3.3.2) for the onstage spectator frame the scene as an occult spectacle, while the offstage audience can assume that what they see is (also *in* the play) only theatrical show.

The 'magic' mirror is characterized as an 'Egyptic glass' (3.3.24), which the Black Queen's Pawn claims to have 'bought of an Egyptian' (3.1.330). For some members of the audience, this might have recalled Othello's narrative of the handkerchief that 'an Egyptian to [his] mother [gave]' who 'was a charmer and could almost read / The thoughts of people' (*Oth*, 3.4.58–60). The 'magic' that, according to Othello, infuses 'the web of it' (71) is explicitly Egyptian in origin. Similar to the handkerchief in *Othello* (c. 1602), the 'Egyptic glass' in *A Game at Chess* is conflictively marked as a sacred object, a Catholic idol and a pagan fetish.

In early modernity, 'Egypt was traditionally associated with the darkest and strongest magic' (Yates 2002: 19). What Frances A. Yates calls 'Renaissance "Egyptianism"' (ibid.: 455) is connected to the hype of Hermes Trismegistus among Renaissance magi. Advocates of Hermeticism actually 'believed that "Hermes Trismegistus" was a real person, an Egyptian priest' (Yates 1967: 256). For the period's intellectuals, like John Dee and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, whose interests tended to move effortlessly between the spheres of theology, science and occultism, 'the ancient and mysterious religion of Egypt, the supposed profound knowledge of its priests, their ascetic way of

life, the religious magic which they were thought to perform in the subterranean chambers of their temples, offered immense attractions' (Yates 2002: 5).

While the followers of the teachings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus praised Egypt as a source of knowledge, the arts of the Egyptians were, at the same time, often considered synonymous with deceptive practices. As recorded in *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits*, the angels revealed to Dee that the 'doings of the Egyptians, seem, and are not so' (Causabon 1659: 116). In *The Muses Looking-Glasse*, we learn that 'self-love' can deceive one by casting 'her Egyptian mists' (1.4). Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra* is 'this false soul of Egypt' (4.12.25). In *The Novella* (1632), 'Egyptians' are associated with 'heathenish worship' (3.1). Merlin's telescopic mirror in *The Faerie Queene* is compared to the specular device used for 'th'Aegyptian Phaeo', which was built by 'Great Ptolomae ... all of glasse, by Magicke powre' (Book 3, Canto 2, 20.3–7).

Beyond what Frances A. Yates calls 'the Egyptian-Hermetic religion' (2002: 460), English Protestants popularly conceived of Egypt as a pagan nation indulging in idolatrous worship. The fundamental error in this perception is that Islamic culture, which had informed early modern Egypt, quite to the contrary had 'instituted fear of icons, including mirror images' (Macfarlane and Martin 2002: 76). Still, the Black Queen's Pawn's repeated description of her mirror as an 'Egyptic glass' (3.3.24) marks this instrument as non-English and non-Protestant in its origin and introduces it instead as a foreign and pagan object used in cultic acts of conjuring.

In Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), 'Egyptian' divine immanence' is combined with 'Pseudo-Dionysian light mysticism to produce that acute sense of the divine in things so characteristic of Renaissance Hermetism' (Yates 2002: 454). At one point, Kircher explains that 'the divine Dionysius testifies that all created things are nothing else but mirrors which reflect to us the rays of the divine wisdom', a claim he connects to the practices of 'the

wise men of Egypt' (trans. Yates 2002: 454; for the Latin, see Kircher 1652: 150).

The myth of the Dionysian mirror evoked here is another instance of pagan specular deceit, which might have had an influence on Middleton's design of the mirror's fatally deceptive theatre. As related by Nonnos of Panopolis, a mirror was among the toys of Zeus's illegitimate son Dionysus. Incited by Zeus's wife Hera, 'the Titans cunningly smeared their round faces with disguising chalk, and while [Dionysus] contemplated his changeling countenance reflected in a mirror they destroyed him with an infernal knife' (*Dionysiaca*, Book 6, 170–3). In the Dionysus myth, the mirror is a curiosity that *reflects* the victim's face to *deflect* his attention.

Like the Titans in the myth, in *A Game at Chess* the black pawns, too, appear in disguise. They deceive the White Queen's Pawn either literally in costume (Black Bishop's Pawn) or cloaked in feigned friendship (Black Queen's Pawn). The Egyptian mirror is used as an instrument to attract the White Queen's Pawn's attention while she, like Dionysus, is prevented from turning around to recognize the threat. Some well-read members of the audience might have been familiar with the myth of Dionysus and his mirror. Knowing the parallels existing between the two stories contributes to an understanding of the scene as a spectacle that is equally infused by elements of pagan ritual, ritualistic magic and the dangers of theatrical enticement. Eventually, the mirror's rich connotations and background stories mark it as intrinsically 'other'.

The very self-same: Faking a second mirror scene

The mirror scene's metatheatrical play with pretence in *A Game at Chess* is intensified with the second mirror scene which is only *reported* to take place offstage between the Black Queen's Pawn and the Black Bishop's Pawn to complete their beguilement of the White Queen's Pawn. When the White Queen's Pawn and the Black Queen's Pawn return to the stage after the encounter with the mirror, the White Queen's Pawn is astonished to see the Black Bishop's Pawn, still '*richly accountred*' (4.1.1

s.d.), beyond the mirror. She tells the Jesuitess that this is 'the very self-same that the magical mirror / Presented lately to [her]' (4.1.36–7).

Since the man in the mirror, according to the deceit plot of the black pawns, was not able to see the White Queen's Pawn through the mirror, which allegedly enables specular observation only one way, he first passes by 'like / A most regardless stranger' who is 'ignorant of his fate' (37–9). Offering to cure this 'ignorance' (62), the Black Queen's Pawn invites him to 'bring the knowledge of a secret nearer' (68). She claims to know 'the nearest way to that perfection / (Of a most virtuous one) that joy e'er found' (84–5). Introducing her device as a prognostic mirror for lovers, she promises that 'tis in [her] power now / To bring time nearer' (42–3). To prove it, she leaves the stage with the Black Bishop's Pawn. They pretend to again consult the 'magical glass' (93). The White Queen's Pawn remains alone on the stage. She shares with the audience her determination to be 'confirmed he is [her] own for ever' when in the mirror '[her] proportion come as fair and full / Into his eye as his into [hers] lately' (94–6).

The offstage mirror scene in *A Game at Chess* recalls the offstage laboratory in *The Alchemist*. In *A Game at Chess*, however, audiences know that some sort of mirror *is* there since they saw the pawns interacting with or acting in front of it (or some space posing as a mirror) in the earlier scene. In that previous scene, the mirror magic performed by the Black Queen's Pawn constitutes a play-within-the-play, an interaction of 'shadows' on many levels. In the later scene, it is an offstage event, even more shadowy than the other, since it is only made present in the dialogue of the black pawns returning to the stage. Once they return, the Black Bishop's Pawn echoes the White Queen's Pawn's words, affirming that she is 'the very self-same that the mirror blest [him] with, / From head to foot, the beauty and the habit' (97–8). While his reflection, according to the Black Queen's Pawn, was 'but [a] shadow' (3.3.55), he claims that her mirror image indeed resembled her 'substance' (4.1.101) beyond the mirror.

The Black Bishop's Pawn's stressing of the substance of his specular experience is ironic on many levels: if it happened in the world of the play,

it was an *insubstantial* vision in a mirror (a shadow); if it happened on stage, it was performed by actors (shadows); and ultimately, audiences can guess that a second mirror scene did not happen at all. The White Queen's Pawn, too, should be able to guess it. While she was entertained in front of the mirror for seventy-one lines, the two black pawns return after only four monological lines uttered by the White Queen's Pawn. However, she does not see the temporal discrepancy. She finds herself completely drawn in by the theatrical deception, enamoured by the shadows, their performance and rhetorical craft.

Early modern writers were 'interested in all forms of shadow-substance pairing: dream, actor, ghost, mirror-image as well as pictures' (Gent 1981: 53). In many plays of the period, Shakespeare's *Richard II* and its mirror scene among them, the term 'shadow' is thus 'explored through its antonym "substance" so as to throw light upon the disjunction between outward, sometimes deceitful, appearances and truth' (Sabatier 2017: 214). I suggest that the pairing of the Black Bishop's Pawn's 'shadow', as reflected in the onstage mirror, and the White Queen's Pawn's 'substance', as reported to have appeared in the offstage mirror, contributes to contemporary discussions of theatrical experiences. Defenders of the theatre traditionally praised it as an art that surpasses both poetry and painting by bringing together words and images. According to the Horatian (originally Simonidian) dictum *ut pictora poesis* ('as is painting, so is poetry'), 'a poem is a speaking picture and a picture is a silent poem' (qtd. Barkan 2013: 130; from Juan Luis Vives in *De causis corruptarum artium* [1531]). The producer of theatre, in the role of 'the teacher of the audience', accordingly 'is both painter and poet' (qtd. *ibid.*).

Examples of how the prevalent conflict of substance and shadow found its way into stage plays as a means to negotiate the hybrid form of the theatrical arts from within the theatre are vast: in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c. 1589–93), Proteus, being denied the 'substance' of his beloved Silvia, asks for her picture, her 'shadow', to which he can 'make true love' because he, too, is 'but a shadow', an actor (4.2.120–2). Ferdinand, in *The Duchess of Malfi*, is delighted that his sister, 'plagued in

art', takes the spectacle of the waxen figures 'for true substantial bodies' (4.1.109–13). The authors of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607) admit being 'unable to present the substances' (Dedicatory Epistle, 11–12) and that their play will thus serve as 'the shadow or picture of a friend [that] is kept as a devoted ceremony' (8–9).

As in these plays, the addition of the shadow-substance contrast to the mirror scenes in *A Game at Chess* addresses the theatre's engagement with 'the susceptibility of sight to manipulation and error' (Tribble 2014: 250). Early modern playwrights, like jugglers posing as magicians, exploited 'the malleability of vision' (ibid.). The two mirror scenes in *A Game at Chess* illustrate that seeing a scene and hearing it reported are equally unreliable. The Black Bishop's Pawn's mirror apparition in Act 3, Scene 3 is 'but [a] shadow' (3.3.55), the product of acting. The White Queen's Pawn's mirror apparition is said to look like her 'substance' (4.1.101), but this substance neither appears on stage nor, we may conjecture, did it ever figure in an offstage-mirror encounter. The actual 'substance' of the White Queen's Pawn is all that is available. But it, too, like the mirror image, is finally only a shadow, an impersonation by an actor.

The complexity of the scenes is fuelled by the Black Queen's Pawn's understanding that 'knowledge is a mastery' (4.1.43). This applies particularly to the clever exploitation of discrepant knowledge. Mastering the apparatus of the theatre, she manipulates the White Queen's Pawn and the Black Bishop's Pawn. Secrecy is the essential component of her trickery. The 'speculative virtue' (3.1.331) of the magic mirror is a 'mystery' (3.1.329; 4.1.88) and a 'secret' (4.1.68; 78). Such references recall John Dee's remark how he 'opened to [the Emperor Rudolf II] [his] secret of [his] glasse' (Causabon 1659: 256). In *A Game at Chess*, the secret of the 'magical glass' is that there is no 'magical glass'. There is no magic *mirror* in the offstage-mirror scene since it never took place. There is no *magic* mirror in the onstage-mirror scene since the mirror is just a prop in the Black Queen's Pawn's, and Middleton's, stage spectacle. For the White Queen's Pawn, her participation in her antagonist's mirror trick appears to have enhanced

her awareness of the theatricality of living (in the sense of acting) in and beyond the playhouse when she acknowledges that 'the world's a stage on which all parts are played' (5.2.19). She now, too, has the mastery of knowledge to see through the looking glass.

Conclusion: The continuation of the natural-magic mirror

The themes of religious ceremony, occult ritual and (meta)theatrical show that inform the mirror scene(s) in *A Game at Chess* are revisited in the dance of statues in Act 5, Scene 1. It is 'a taste / Of the old vessel' (5.1.34–5), that is, of Catholicism, intended to bid the White Knight and the White Duke welcome to the Black House. First, '*an altar is discovered and statues [standing on each side]*' (35–6 s.d.). Then, a song is sung that invites the 'senseless things' to be 'quickened by some power above' (42–4), and '*the statues move and dance*' (45–6 s.d.). There is no mirror required for staging this interlude. However, the scene again addresses the issues explored in the mirror scene. It thus proves their relevance to the play as a whole.

The spectacle is supposed to complete the conversion of the White Knight and the White Duke to the black religion. It confirms the Protestant conviction that Catholic priests 'relied on mere spectacle to stimulate their audience' (Williamson 2009: 81). Playwrights could add altars to imitate the 'extraordinary visual effects' (ibid.) generated by the rival religion's rituals. Elizabeth Williamson identifies Middleton's contribution to this convention as 'the most dramatic example of this strategy' (ibid.). Like the mirror scene, the play's dance of statues is informed with elements that viewers can easily take for the product of either divine or demonic intervention. The candles on the altar 'set themselves afire' (5.1.41), from the spheres are 'heard sweet sounding airs' (31) and the lifeless statues 'move portentously, the right-hand way' (47).

Francis Bacon lists 'Statua's Moving' (1625: 225) among the common elements in court masques. Besides being a convention of the Jacobean theatre, making statues '*move and dance*' (*Game at Chess*,

5.1.45–6 s.d.) had also been among the marvels legendarily effected by Egyptian priests. Tales of animated statues were associated with ‘the mechanical art and ... those machines which the Greeks call *automata*, of which Hero has written’ (trans. Yates 1967: 260; for the Latin see Paulinus 1589: 208). Hero of Alexandria, an expert in mirror illusion, ‘expound[ed] mechanical and pneumatic devices for making statues move and speak in theaters or temples’ (Yates 1967: 260). For Hermetic philosophers, the same also evoked ‘magic rites and processes [by which] the Egyptians drew down the powers of the cosmos into the statues of their gods’ (Yates 2002: 3). These two distinct ways to assess accounts of ‘magically activated statues’ (ibid.: 159) illustrate the existence of a ‘basic confusion in [some early modern authors’] mind[s] between mechanics as magic and magic as mechanics’ (Yates 1967: 260).

In *A Game at Chess*, this confusion is highlighted by the stage direction to have the altar ‘discovered’ (5.1.35–6 s.d.). It implies that the revelation of the altar, like, potentially, the mirror scene, was performed in the ‘discovery space’ at the back of the Globe stage, reserved for the staging of ‘secret sight[s]’ (Tassi 2005: 209). This space received its name from the various stage directions asking for characters to *discover* something with a theatrical gesture (like Prospero in *The Tempest*, who ‘discovers’ [5.1.171–2 s.d.] Miranda and Ferdinand playing at chess).

I have shown how *The Alchemist* is shaped by (unseen) acts of demonstration. The plot and language of *A Game at Chess* are, in turn, shaped by “discovery” and conspicuous secrecy’ (Gurnis 2018: 89). The two terms ‘discovery’ (2.1.124; 4.2.68; 5.2.66; 5.3.161) and ‘discover’ (2.1.147; 2.2.173; 3.1.302) are repeated throughout the play. In the end, the White House’s strategy for overcoming the Black House notably is the chess move called ‘checkmate by discovery’ (5.3.174). Like ‘demonstration’ in *The Alchemist*, ‘discovery’ in *A Game at Chess* ‘is the process of performance, a continuous activity involving the play’s audiences’ (Gurnis 2018: 89). The revelations of the theatre’s gadgets in the mirror and statue scenes are its most spectacular discoveries.

Interlude 4: Natural-magic mirror stages

This chapter has identified the specular instruments in Jonson's *The Alchemist* and Middleton's *A Game at Chess* as means to produce theatre. In the physical reality of the playhouse, 'magic' mirrors are always only props that *represent* magic mirrors. I have shown how this process of representation is mirrored in the plays: within the world of the plays, the mirrors, too, are only props handled by the actor-characters to represent magic mirrors for spectator-characters *in* the plays. This makes them *natural* mirrors without *magical* features, both in the plays and on the stage. Natural magic is replaced by theatrical make-believe. A magician and a theatre-maker, in early modern thought, often shared the role of the 'director, a presenter of spectacular shows for the discomfort, edification, or entertainment of spectators' (Howard Traister 1984: 23–4). 'The task of the theatre is to exploit [the] gap' between 'the manifest and the occult, between surface appearances and their underlying causal reality' (Thomas Crane 2013: 261).

The Alchemist and *A Game at Chess* are satirical comedies of the Jacobean era. Like other plays of their time and genre, they make us sense that they 'do not reflect the seriousness with which the sixteenth-century Englishman viewed magic' (Goltra 1984: 28). Earlier plays which involve magic mirrors (staged before the 1610s) rarely question their mirrors' magical properties. In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, the 'magic doth effect [a] massacre' (13.76), and Bacon '*breaks the glass*' (84–5 s.d.) to 'with it [end] the shows / That necromancy did infuse the crystal with' (83–4). In *John a Kent and John a Cumber* (1590), one of the titular Johns sees his rival magician 'plotting downes pastimes to delight the Ladyes' (2.2.737) in '*his glasse*' (736–7 s.d.). Still in *Macbeth* (1606), the witches conjure up a parade of kings, including one 'who bears a glass / Which shows [Macbeth] many more' (4.1.118–19). In *The Devil's Charter* (1607), Pope Alexander consults a '*magical glass*' (4.1.1 s.d.). Finally, in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, the personification of Fame gives to each of the brothers a '*prospective glass*'

(Epilogue 13–14 s.d.) that allows them to magically see each other at other ends of the world.

Later plays, however, like *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*, either stress the *natural*-magic component of specular wonders (like *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, c. 1612–24) or ridicule those who still believe that mirrors can produce actual wonders (like *Albumazar* [1615] and *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman*). This, I suggest, is an effect of what Steven P. Marrone identifies as the ‘disenchantment of society’ (2015: 215). As the seventeenth century advanced, ‘magic was no longer anti-science, or a competitor to science with even greater claims to be taken as the truth’ (ibid.). Instead, it ‘had become ... an irrelevancy, a commentary on reality lacking any pretense to being informative’ (ibid.). The era slowly witnessed magic’s ‘turning into the joke, or idle game, that it is regarded as being in educated circles in our own day’ (ibid.).

This process described by Marrone is, I believe, connected to different factors that also influenced the period’s playwriting and theatrical practice. First, the ‘Scientific Revolution’ had been boosted by the discoveries made in optics by Galileo and Kepler in the first decade of the seventeenth century. ‘Scientists’ in their tradition considered optics ‘a decisive weapon against superstition’ (Nordlund 1999: 157). These developments eventually transformed science into a field that is ‘more antiseptic, more “desacralized” – less “enchanted” we might say’ (Marrone 2015: 216) than the eclectic field of natural magic. As a result, Marrone argues, ‘magic disappeared as either a phenomenon to be reckoned with or a category to be understood’ (ibid.).

In 1609, John Dee died. Mark Pendergrast suggests that this year, which is also shaped by the world-changing telescopic gazes of Galileo Galilei and Thomas Harriot, could be identified as the year ‘in which the true Scientific Revolution began’ (2003: 81). It was the moment, Pendergrast notes, ‘when Magic divided amoeba-like from Science, when the mirror gave back only the cold, hard light it received’ (ibid.). In 1612, the death of the Emperor Rudolf II followed. It marked the end of an era of patronage for the occult arts. To this was added the dawn of what Frances A. Yates calls the ‘post-Causabon era’ (2002: 433): in

1614, Isaac Causabon (the father of Dee's later editor Florence Estienne Méric Causabon) substantiated that the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the collection of Hermetic dialogues at the heart of Hermetic philosophy, could impossibly, as had been assumed before, have been written in pre-Christian times. This reassessment 'did not immediately take effect and there were many who ignored it, or refused to believe it' (ibid.: 434). However, Yates shows that it still 'shattered at one blow ... the whole position of the Renaissance Magus and Renaissance magic with its Hermetic-Cabalist foundation' (ibid.: 433). Movements like this, I argue, eventually also contributed to shattering the 'truly' magic mirror's presence on the seventeenth-century stage. The rest may not be silence, certainly not the end of the theatre. But the rest is science.

Conclusion: The mirror up to theatre

In the previous chapters, I have discussed mirrors as stage props and verbal tropes on the early modern stage from four distinct perspectives. I hope to have shown that, by engaging with the complexity of specular stage materials, it is possible to arrive 'at complex speculative conclusions' (Knapp 2014: 682) about the plays and the culture that produced (and was in turn produced by) them. I have argued that the mirrors handled in early modern drama are instruments of reflection and inversion. By *reflection* I mean that they are used to address themes and beliefs which were present in the public discourse beyond the stage. The eight plays discussed in this book serve as examples of how the early modern theatre made use of mirrors to reflect (upon) issues of sovereign power, exemplary government, female agency and the theatricality of (natural-)magic practices. By claiming that specular *inversion*, too, is at work in these plays, I mean that the stage mirrors function *like* mirrors beyond the stage in that they not only *reflect* but also *invert* the images they confront. We have seen that mirrors offered playwrights stages upon the stage to produce images of established concepts which at the same time question their own principles.

The Interludes at the end of each chapter themselves offer a space for reflection in the sense that they allow us to review the theatrical potential of mirrors as they are positioned in the different thematic contexts discussed. They all are embedded in material or rhetorical setups that involve spectators and something or someone conceived of as spectacle. All these mirrors are marked as performative devices. 'Imperial mirrors' (Chapter 1) remind audiences of the theatricality of sovereignty at the heart of ostentatious displays of rulership. 'Exemplary

mirrors' (Chapter 2) illustrate how the mirror of the theatre and the mirror of history are remixed in the historico-theatrical mirror of the history play. 'Cosmetic mirrors' (Chapter 3) are placed at the centre of dressing-table scenes whose specular self-performances create plays-within-the-play. 'Natural-magic mirrors' (Chapter 4) are linked to the gradual decline in occult beliefs which contributed to the stage's exposure of the theatrical techniques behind magical practices.

The scenes and images discussed are without historical sources. They are inventions for the playhouse stage. It is tempting to imagine how some of the stage mirrors would have contributed to elaborate scenic effects. *The Duchess of Malfi*, like *Bussy D'Ambois* and *The Alchemist*, was first performed at the Blackfriars, an '[indoor] playhouse lit by candles depending from chandeliers and surrounding the stage as footlights' (Stern 2004: 30). At 'the Torchy Fryers' (Lenton 1629: 16), 'the representation of material culture was particularly dominant' (Dustagheer 2017: 123–4). Its 'visual environment' consisted of audiences whose sartorial appearance contemporaries described as "glittering," "spangled," [and] "glistered" (ibid.: 126).

Sarah Dustagheer notes that 'the "gorgeous," sparkling aesthetic of the playhouse', with its 'candlelight reflections' (ibid.: 127) and 'rich display of properties' (138), further 'reflected this appearance' (131). If a costume that 'contained metallic thread ... shimmered under the candlelight at the Blackfriars' (ibid.: 129), a similar effect would have been true for a mirror. This also applies to court performances of *Macbeth* and *The Devil's Charter*, which, while both plays were also acted at the Globe, likely took place during the Christmas season 1606–7. Plays staged at outdoor theatres, like *Richard II* with its onomatopoetic verbalization of the shattering of the mirror, 'embedded and supported their appearance in the text of the play' (ibid.: 135).

In Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson's categorization of domestic interiors, mirrors are listed among the "performative groups" of objects' (2017: 42). They enable, and even enforce, the performance of the self for the self. Theatre-makers adopted the mirror as a medium for dramatic and theatrical self-reflection(s). Thomas Randolph's *The*

Muses Looking-Glass is filled with ‘indifferent glasses’ (Epilogue) held up to the stock characters. These glasses, with the ominous central glass hidden behind the stage said to be shaped by Apollo, the god of the theatrical arts, out of ‘water from the muses’ spring, / ... freez’d / Into a crystal’ (5.3), are revealed as the mirrors of the theatre. ‘Upon our stage two glasses oft there be; / The comic mirror and the tragedy’ (1.3), explains the actor-character Roscius. ‘The comic glass is full of merry strife, / The low reflection of a country life’ (1.3), he continues. ‘Grave tragedy, void of such homely sports’, instead, ‘is the sad glass of cities and of courts’ (1.3). A similar differentiation is made in Thomas Tomkis’s *Lingua*. ‘Comedus and Tragedus’ (4.2) appear in the pageant staged by the figure Auditus. They are ‘twins, but so unlike, / As birth to death’ (4.2), says Anamnestes. ‘Both vice detect and virtue beautify’, he adds, ‘By being death’s mirror, and life’s looking-glass’ (4.2). These references specify Hamlet’s description of theatre as a ‘mirror up to Nature, to show Virtue her feature, Scorn her own image’ (3.2.22–3).

Hamlet makes clear that the holding up of a mirror ‘*was and is* [the purpose of playing]’ (20–1, my emphasis). Ben Jonson in *Every Man Out of His Humour* introduces his play as ‘a mirror / As large as is the stage whereon we act, / Where they shall see the time’s deformity’ (Induction 116–18). Its character Cordatus recites the ancient definition, attributed to Cicero by Donatus, that ‘comedy [is] to be “*imitatio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis*” [“An imitation of life, a mirror of social intercourse, a representation of truth”]: a thing throughout pleasant and ridiculous, and accommodated to the correction of manners’ (3.1.526–9). This is echoed in various non-dramatic texts engaging with the theatre, for example, by Thomas Elyot, Thomas Heywood, Thomas Lodge and Stephen Gosson. While Elyot, Heywood and Lodge apply the Ciceronian dictum to defend the theatre, Gosson refutes it to attack stage plays.

In *The Book of the Governour* (first published in 1531), Elyot notes that comedy is ‘a picture, or as it were a mirrour of mans lyfe: wherein yvell is not taughte, but dyscovered’ (1537: 47v). Heywood, in *Apology for Actors* (1612), too, defines comedy as an ‘imitation of life, the glasse

of custome, and the image of truth' (1612: Fv). He cites the 'inraged Muse', who, he writes, '*showed Pryde his picture on a stage, / Layde ope the ugly shapes his steele-glasse hid*' (ibid.: B2r). The ugliness is 'layde ope' in, as John Taylor puts it in his dedicatory verses, the 'true transparant Christall mirror' (ibid.: a3v) of the stage. Replying to Stephen Gosson's criticism of the theatre in *The School of Abuse* (1579), Thomas Lodge, in *A Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage-Plays* (1579), reminds readers that 'Tully [i.e., Cicero] defines [comedies] thus' (Pollard 2004: 52), followed by the said Ciceronian definition.

In *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (1582), Gosson replies to 'Master Lodge' that the definition of the stage play 'in Ciceroes name' as 'a very Glasse of behaviour ... is easily confuted' (1582: no page [equals C8r]). Lodge, Gosson adds, refers to the ancient view of the theatre as '*the Schoolmistresse of life; the lookinge glasse of manners; and the image of trueth*', but he does not provide 'any reason of his owne, to prove it' (ibid.: C4r). Accordingly, Gosson 'conclude[s], that a plaie, can bée no *looking glasse of behaviour*, and the rebuking of manners is as fit for the S[t]age, as the picture of Chastitie for the stues' (ibid.: D4r). Countering the dictum of the stage as a mirror, antitheatricalists like Gosson in turn introduce their own treatises as a 'looking glass' (Rainolds 1599: A3r) or *A Mirrour of Monsters* (Rankins 1587).

In 1588, Thomas Thomasius's Latin-English dictionary defines *comoedia* as 'a play, wherein, as in a glasse, the image of civill and private living is represented' (1589, 'Comoedia'). Similar definitions of tragedy are scarcer. However, as the examples from Thomas Randolph's and Thomas Tomkis's plays show, they, too, were present in early modern thought. References to or rejections of the concept of the stage as a mirror permeate the period's (anti-)theatrical discourse. Marie-Madeleine Martinet suggests that stage plays that engage with mirror props or tropes 'materialize the mirror of the theatre' (1981: 252, my translation). I argue that stage mirrors, like portraits as suggested by Keir Elam, 'create a relationship not only between ... characters but also between the character-actor and the audience' (2010: 68). When portraits are staged, the scenario is 'of a picture (the portrait) within a

picture (the stage)’ (ibid.: 72). The same, as I have implied in Chapter 4, is true for mirrors: on the stage, they double the scenes represented in front of them, multiply perspectives and create stages upon the stage.

In the various materialized and verbalized shapes they assume on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage, mirrors offer themselves as figures of early modern theatricality. Thomas P. Adler and Thomas A. Whitaker have made this point for the twentieth century. Adler identifies among twentieth-century playwrights ‘an awareness of the centrality of the mirror as stage prop to metatheatre’ (1980: 372), describing how ‘variation[s] of the play-within-the play’ allow ‘the mirror [to be] the stage wherein the character, as his own audience, sees himself’ (356):

To the extent that drama, by its very nature, is mimetic ..., the theatrical artifact mirrors life. If every play – to a greater or lesser degree – is a mirror of reality, then every prominent on-stage mirror serves as a metaphor for the nature of the dramatic work itself. (ibid.: 355)

Adler illustrates how, in twentieth-century drama, mirrors are both metaphors for the dramatic art and become stages-upon-the-stage (ibid.: 355–6). Whitaker suggests reformulating Hamlet’s formula of ‘the purpose of playing’ being ‘to hold ... the mirror up to Nature’ (3.2.20–2) insofar ‘that the purpose of playing is to hold the mirror up to “playing ...”’ (1996: 702). ‘Every play reflects a human nature as histrionic as the mirror itself’, Whitaker argues, noting that ‘surely most of what Hamlet means by “nature” is the histrionic’ (ibid.). If the purpose of playing is ‘to hold the mirror up to “playing ...”’, then every play, to some extent, reflects what it means for an action to be acted on the stage. Whitaker continues:

When playing holds the mirror up to ‘playing,’ it reflects not only the modes of histrionic behavior in its posited stage-world, its ‘performed action,’ but also its own modes of histrionic behavior as an ‘action of performance.’ We always behold not merely the represented ‘characters’ and ‘actions,’ but also ourselves – as actors and witnesses. As a participatory and self-reflexive art, theater mirrors its own act of ‘holding up the mirror.’ (ibid.: 719)

For Whitaker, the figurative mirror of self-reflexive theatre 'is always an agent of deception' (ibid.: 701). 'Even the theater's most "realistic" images,' he reminds us, 'are shared illusions' (ibid.). What happens on the stage, he adds, 'is a shared display of deception that can enact and expose the trickery, hypocrisy, self-deception, and psychological denial that largely constitute and control our society and ourselves' (ibid.: 703). This view conforms with Frank Kermode's identification of the theatre as 'a scene of deception as well as of reflection' (1985: 42). It is also connected to Erving Goffman's observation that 'the issues dealt with by state-craft and stage management ... occur everywhere in social life' (1990: 26). Western comedy, according to Whitaker, 'allow[s] us to glimpse directly the great secret of theater itself – a beneficent and shared deception that, however dark and disastrous its material, may constitute a playful and creative exploration of our life together' (1996: 704). Stage mirrors, whether materialized as props or evoked in language, contribute, as I have shown in my chapter on *The Alchemist* and *A Game at Chess*, to a playful and self-reflexive exposure of the theatrical apparatus.

I would like to close this book by suggesting that the observations shared by Adler and Whitaker about modern drama are even more valid for *early* modern drama. This I believe to be true for at least three reasons: first, mirrors, in early modernity still more than in today's screen culture, were, like the theatre, instruments to make visible images normally difficult to access or hidden from the view; second, the public discourse positioned the technology of the mirror, like the mechanisms of the theatre, in between early modern English culture's inclination to (self-)monitoring and its proclivity for visual (self-)display; third, in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England, the mirror, like the theatre, was still a rather novel medium with regard to the material developments which had contributed to its increasing availability beyond the spheres of aristocratic circles. Its novelty, like the theatre's, invited (self-)scrutiny.

When the Swiss doctor Thomas Platter travelled to England in 1599, he found that, from the theatre, English audiences 'learn what is

going on in other lands ... in a familiar place, since for the most part the English do not much use to travel, but are content ever to learn of foreign matters at home' (qtd. Mason Vaughan, Cioni and Bessell 2010: 14). In this description, the theatre functions like the 'prospective glass' that, in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, allows the brothers 'to see one another' despite dwelling in different parts of the world (Epilogue 13–4 s.d.). The stage here becomes a telescopic mirror like those employed by monarchs in 'imperial mirror' legends. Henry S. Turner similarly observes that 'the stage – the "Globe" – functions as a kind of atlas at the turn of the seventeenth century' (2006: 7). Like geographical publications in the manner of Arthur Hopton's *Speculum Topographicum; or, The Topographicall Glass* (1611), it 'becomes a mirror in which the entire world may be reduced to graphic form' (ibid.). But the stage provided not only access to geographically distant sights. As we have seen, it also was a platform to explore alternative scenarios of and potentially controversial views on diverse topics of public concern. Like a mirror, it made these accessible to everyone watching.

The role of the mirror as a figure of extremes has been pursued throughout this book. It serves as an attribute of both prudence and vanity, of self-control and self-love. As a medium of self-reflection, it was at the same time recommended for spiritual consideration and condemned for encouraging conceitedness. 'Mirrors were not only ambivalent but also Janus-like' (2016: 2), writes Nancy M. Frelick. The mirror was considered a 'threshold phenomenon allowing for the contemplation of inner and outer worlds' (ibid.); and the 'cultural climate in which the [early modern] poet lived' provided 'the possibility of regarding the mirror as the most beautiful *and* perilous object of his secular experience' (Goldin 1967: 15, my emphasis).

As Sergius Koderá observes, 'this ambivalent attitude is characteristic ... of the Renaissance' (1999: 97). It made it possible for the mirror to, at the same time, serve as 'an image of deterioration, a screen, focusing lens, instrument of deception, magical object, image of vanity or self-cognition' (ibid.). This inherent ambiguity connects the mirror to the theatre, which traditionally fosters a similar polyvalence. 'Theatrical

representation appears ambiguous,' according to Philip Armstrong, 'because of its unpredictable and uncontrollable "reflective" capacity, its tendency to reverse and turn upon the beholder, forming, informing and reforming identity and behaviour' (1996: 220). Audiences of both theatrical and specular reflection, and most intensely of specular reflection in the theatre, are attracted by visual stimuli. But they are also invited to get 'actively engaged with the dramatic action they are seeing' (Hanlon Murphy 2014: 3). Mirrors and stages cater to the period's desire to behold and scrutinize (oneself).

The years around 1600 were a transitional period both for theatrical performance and the manufacture as well as the distribution of mirrors. Publications like George Gascoigne's *The Steele Glas*, discussed in Chapter 2, and the numerous attitudes towards the 'passing invention' of 'looking glasses' (*Lingua*, 3.6.) shared in early modern drama and other forms of literature, testify to the mirror's hybrid status as common commodity and suspicious novelty. Notably, the same again applies to the situation of the theatre as it evolved in the decades around 1600. Semi-professional forms of theatrical display in England had been around since the religious cycle plays of the Middle Ages. But the opening of the Red Lion, the first purpose-built playhouse of which we know, in 1567 and the more commercially successful Theatre in 1576 initiated a new era of play-acting. After 1600, with the emergence of indoor playhouses, the theatrical experience went through further modifications. In 1603, the change of the regime from Elizabethan to Jacobean contributed to a changing social, political and, arguably, theatrical climate.

The mirror is a performative medium. The theatre is a specular medium. The era's literary output illustrates how discussions of mirrors were informed by attitudes towards the theatre. At the same time, I hope to have shown that the theatre was influenced by developments concerning the mirror, by the changes affecting its material and the connotations attached to it. All these observations result in my concluding claim that in Elizabethan and Jacobean England the

mirror and the stage were intrinsically connected. The two media shared dynamics, purposes and experiences. They were constituent parts of the early modern period's material and performative culture; and their similarities turned the stage into a mirror, and the mirror into a stage.

Notes

1

- 1 The Latin term *specular* is related to *speculum* and indicates the act of looking with the aim of gathering information (in the sense of spying). *Speculum* (mirror) also shares the same root with *specula* (watchtower).
- 2 My confidence in considering aspects of the panoptical setup as a continuation rather than an inversion of early modern visual politics is supported by the arguments of Rolf Haubl, Ronald Huebert and David McNeil. Haubl rejects Foucault's understanding of the panopticon as a product of modernity and explains how the 'pan-optical control emerging in practice at the courts of absolute monarchs is later made effective in the course of a theory-driven process' (1991: 743, my translation). Given the system of state intelligence refined under Elizabeth I, Huebert and McNeil, too, suggest that 'clearly Foucault is implying that the relentless surveillance made possible by Bentham's architectural machine was a culmination of early modern prototypes' (2019: 9).
- 3 Since Act 4, Scene 1 had been cut from the earlier quarto prints due to its explosive political subject (the deposition of a lawful king), the first reference to the mirror used in that scene occurs in the Fourth Quarto of 1608.
- 4 The anecdote was known in England, for example, via Edward Grimestone's English translation of Pierre Matthieu's *The Heroyk Life and Deplorable Death of the Most Christian King Henry the Fourth* (1612). That it had circulated earlier is attested by a reference by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who recalls 'one notable example of a Conuiurer ... , which is reported in the memories of Fraunce who represent[ed] to a Lady of greate calling, all those personnes, as it were in a dumbe shewe, which should possesse the crowne in this our age' (1583: no page [equals H4r]). While Howard omits the mirror, other Englishmen returning from travels to the continent recount incidents of catoptromancy involving Catherine's Italian conjurers (Delatte 1932: 85–6).

- 5 One common usage of the term 'speculation' is as an equivalent to the sense of sight or the ability to see. Sometimes it becomes connected to or interchangeable with 'reflection'. Shakespeare brings the two terms into dialogue in the exchange between Achilles and Ulysses in Act 3, Scene 3 of *Troilus and Cressida* (1601–2).
- 6 'Speculation', in the word's early modern usage, can also be equivalent with (self-)reflection in the sense of an act of contemplation. As a process of 'conjectural consideration or meditation', speculation is 'an attempt to ascertain or anticipate something by probable reasoning' (OED 'speculation', *n.*, II.5.c), hence foresight.

2

- 1 In the Middle Ages, one type of travelling 'cunning men' was called *specularii* because they practised mirror magic. John of Salisbury mentions them already in the twelfth century in his own contribution to the 'mirror for princes' genre, *Policraticus* (Book 1, Chapter 12 [1513: f. 20v–22r] and Book 2, Chapter 27 [f. 76r–79r]).
- 2 In mediaeval (and still in Tudor) palaces and mansions, referred to as the 'Great Chamber' was usually a semiprivate room used for family gatherings or more public affairs. Notably, the household of a member of the royal family, too, was called the 'Chamber'. This also involved monetary issues.
- 3 Muranese glassmakers developed 'the secret of making good and perfect mirrors of crystalline glass' (qtd. Bell 2008: 231) around 1500. In the sixteenth century, crystal mirrors 'were gradually becoming more available in England, though they were not produced there until after 1624' (Anderson 2015: 167). Still, as early as in 1567 the first patent for the production of crystal-glass vessels in England was issued to one Jean Carré (Kalas 2002: 530). What Maurice Hunt calls 'precrystalline mirrors' (2011: 4) were also often made of glass. But their glass was usually of bad quality, often tainted or tinted, and either convex or concave in shape (ibid.). Accordingly, Rayna Kalas points out that those crystal glass mirrors so sharply criticized in *The Steele Glas* 'were not the first mirrors made from glass, but they were the first that rivaled steel "glasses"' (2002: 519).

3

- 1 Elizabeth's reign experienced 'an increased sale of mirrors' (Gunn 1973: 85). While they were imported from Antwerp, Rouen and Venice 'in increasing amounts' (Godfrey 1975: 236), Elizabeth allegedly also 'encouraged the manufacture of mirrors in England' (Schweig 1973: 22). A 'faire large looking glasse set in frame, corded with crimson velvett, bound with passamayn lace of Venis gold' (qtd. Karim-Cooper 2006: 192) is among the New Year's gifts Elizabeth received from her admirers. The queen's lodgings, too, were furnished with mirrors, as reports of visitors to Whitehall and Hampton Court Palace testify (Loomis 2014: 17).
- 2 The first documented uses of the term in late-sixteenth-century English refer to powder magazines on board of ships (OED, 'powder room,' *n.*, 1). From the late eighteenth century, it also denoted cosmetic spaces (2.a).
- 3 The Globe Quartos edition of *The Devil's Charter* (1999; edited by Nick de Somogyi) is, with the exception of the earlier Garland edition (1980; edited by Jim C. Pogue), the only recent scholarly edition available. While it includes acts and scenes, it lacks line numbers. The references to lines in this chapter are my own counting.
- 4 It seems as if Barnes had first attempted to poison his victim with a tainted lemon. When this first attempt failed, he mixed mercury sublimate with sugar and poured it into John Browne's claret. Browne survived both attacks. But, like Barnes's Lucretia, he suffered 'a great inflamacion torture and distemperature in his bodye' (qtd. Eccles 1933: 178). It is assumed that Barnes's intended murder of Browne was politically motivated.

4

- 1 The quarto of *The Alchemist* (1612) does not include stage directions referring to the glass. The lines '*She catcheth out Face his sword: and breakes Subtles glass*' were added to the first folio of Jonson's works (1616: 609).
- 2 When attached to the word 'glass,' 'perspective' and 'prosppective' basically mean the same. As an adjective, '*perspective*' often refers to instruments that 'assist the sight, magnifying' (OED, 'perspective, *adj.*,'

I.2), while '*prospective*' means 'looking into the future; forward-looking, anticipatory; having foresight or regard for the future' (OED, '*prospective*, *n.* and *adj.*', B.1). The first includes telescopic technologies, the second prognostic processes. A '*perspective glass*' is 'a scrying glass, a magic mirror' (OED '*perspective glass*, *n.*') and a '*prospective glass*', too, is 'a magic glass, mirror, or crystal in which it is supposed that distant or future events can be seen' (OED '*prospective glass*, *n.*', 1). They both also signify non-magical telescopic technologies.

- 3 A '*retort*' is a 'container with a bulb and a long downward-curving neck, used in distilling liquids and in other chemical operations' (OED, '*retort*, *n.1*', 1). One meaning of '*receiver*', too, is a 'container, usually of glass, for collecting and condensing the products of distillation' (OED, '*receiver*, *n.1*', II.4.c). A '*pelican*' here refers to an '*alembic* having two curved tubes which pass down from the head on opposite sides and re-enter at the body of the vessel, formerly used in distillation' (OED, '*pelican*, *n.*', 4). A '*bolt-head*' is a 'globular flask with a long cylindrical neck, used in distillation' (OED, '*bolt-head* | *bolt's-head*, *n.*', 2).

References

- Adelman, Janet (1985), “‘Born of Woman’: Fantasies of Maternal Power in *Macbeth*”, in Marjorie Garber (ed.), *Cannibals, Witches, and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance*, 90–121, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Adler, Thomas P. (1980), ‘The Mirror as Stage Prop in Modern Drama’, *Comparative Drama*, 14(4): 355–73.
- Agrippa of Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius ([1527] 1575), *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, trans. Ia. San. Gent, London: Henry Bynneman.
- Agrippa of Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius ([1527] 1676), *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, trans. not cited, London: J. C. for Samuel Speed.
- Agrippa of Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius ([1531–3] 1651), *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. J. F., London: R. W. for Gregory Moule.
- Ainsworth, Henry (1611), *An Arrow Against Idolatrie. Taken Out of the Quiver of the Lord of Hosts*, Amsterdam: Giles Thorp.
- Albright, Evelyn May (1927), ‘Shakespeare’s *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy’, *PMLA*, 42(3): 686–720.
- Anderson, Miranda (2007), ‘Early Modern Mirrors’, in Miranda Anderson (ed.), *The Book of the Mirror: An Interdisciplinary Collection Exploring the Cultural Story of the Mirror*, 105–20, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Anderson, Miranda (2015), *The Renaissance Extended Mind*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Anonymous (1558), *The Passage of Our Most Drad Sovereigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the Citie of London to Westminster the Daye before Her Coronacion. Anno, 1558*, London: Richard Tottill.
- Anonymous (1620), *Hic Mulier: or, the Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of our Times. Express in a briefe Declamation*, London: I. Trundle.
- Anonymous (2020), ‘*The Famous Victories of Henry V*’, ed. Brian Walsh, in Jeremy Lopez (ed.), *The Routledge Anthology of Early Modern Drama*, 353–81, London: Routledge.

- Appadurai, Arjun (1986), 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 3–63, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Apuleius (2017), 'Apologia', trans. Christopher P. Jones, in *Apologia. Florida. De Deo Socratis*, trans. and ed. Christopher P. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 12–239, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Armstrong, Philip (1996), 'Watching Hamlet Watching: Lacan, Shakespeare and the Mirror/Stage', in Terrence Hawkes (ed.), *Alternative Shakespeares*, vol. 2, 217–38, London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin ([1989] 2002), *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd edn, London: Routledge.
- Ashmole, Elias (1652), *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum. Conating Severall Poeticall Pieces of our Famous English Philosophers, who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their owne Ancient Language*, London: J. Grismond for Nathaniel Brooke.
- Astington, John H. (2017), *Stage and Picture in the English Renaissance: The Mirror Up to Nature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aubrey, John (1949), *Brief Lives and Other Selected Writings*, ed. Anthony Powell, London: Cresset Press.
- Bacon, Francis (1605), *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane*, London: [Thomas Purfoot and Thomas Creede for] Henrie Tomes.
- Bacon, Francis (1625), *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, London: John Haviland for Hanna Barret.
- Bacon, Francis (1626), *Sylva sylvarum, or, A Naturall Historie*, London: J. H. for William Lee.
- Bacon, Francis (1651), *A True and Historical Relation of the Poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. With the Severall Arraignments and Speeches of Those That Were Executed Thereupon. Also, All the Passages Concerning the Divorce between Robert Late Earle of Essex, and the Lady Frances Howard: With King James's and Other Large Speeches*, London: T. M. and A. C. for John Benson and John Playford.
- Bacon, Francis ([1620] 1676), *The Novum Organum*, London: Thomas Lee.
- Bacon, Francis (2008), *New Atlantis*, in Susan Bruce (ed.), *Three Early Modern Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis, and The Isle of Pines*, 149–86, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

- Bacon, Roger (1659), *Frier Bacon His Discovery of the Miracles of Art, Nature, and Magick. Faithfully Translated Out of Dr Dees Own Copy*, trans. T. M., London: Simon Miller.
- Baldwin, William [et al.] (1559), *A Myrroure for Magistrates. Wherein May Be Seen by Example of Other, with Howe Grevous Plages Vices Are Punished: And Howe Frayle and Unstable Worldly Prosperitie Is Founde, Even of Those, Whom Fortune Seemeth Most Highly to Favour*, London: Thomas Marshe.
- Banks, Carol (2000), “The purpose of playing ...”: Further reflections on the mirror metaphor in Shakespeare’s plays’, *Signatures* 2: 1–12.
- Barish, Jonas (1981), *The Antitheatrical Prejudice*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Barkan, Leonard (2013), *Mute Poetry, Speaking Pictures*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Barmazel, Julie (2008), “The servant to defect”: *Macbeth*, impotence, and the body politic’, in Nick Moschovakis (ed.), *Macbeth: New Critical Essays*, 118–31, London and New York: Routledge.
- Barnes, Barnabe (1606), *Foure Bookes of Offices. Enabling Privat Persons for the Special Service of All Good Princes and Policies*, London: [A. Islip] for George Bishop, T. Adams and C. Burbie.
- Barnes, Barnabe (1980), *The Devil’s Charter: A Critical Edition*, ed. Jim C. Pogue, New York: Garland.
- Barnes, Barnabe (1999), *The Devil’s Charter: A Tragedy Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the Sixth*, ed. Nick de Somogyi, Globe Quartos, London: Globe Education and Theatre Arts Books, Routledge.
- Bartky, Sandra Lee (1988), ‘Foucault, Femininity, and the Mondernization of Patriarchal Power’, in Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (eds), *Foucault and Feminism: Reflections on Resistance*, 61–86, Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Baudrillard, Jean ([1981] 1994), *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Beard, Thomas (1597), *The Theatre of Gods Iudgements: Or, a Collection of Histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiasticall, and Prophane Authours, Concerning the Admirable Iudgements of God upon the Transgressours of His Commandements. Translated out of French and Augmented by More Than Three Hundred Examples*, London: Adam Islip.
- Bedford, Ronald and Philippa Kelly (2007), *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation 1500–1660*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Bell, Ilona (2008), 'Mirror Tropes and Renaissance Poetry', in Jeanne Shami (ed.), *Renaissance Tropologies: The Cultural Imagination of Early Modern England*, 229–53, Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.
- Bellany, Alastair (2002), *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bentham, Jeremy ([1787] 1995), *The Panopticon Writings*. London: Verso.
- Besterman, Theodore (1924), *Crystal-Gazing: A Study in the History, Distribution, Theory and Practice of Scrying*, London: William Rider.
- Bevington, David (2002), 'Edward II', in David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, 351–6, London: W. W. Norton.
- Bezio, Kristin M. S. (2015), *Staging Power in Tudor and Stuart English History Plays: History, Political Thought, and the Redefinition of Sovereignty*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Bicks, Caroline (2009), 'Staging the Jesuitess in *A Game at Chess*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 49(2): 463–84.
- Bloom, Gina (2007), *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bowsher, Julian and Pat Miller (2009), *The Rose and the Globe: Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark*, London: Museum of Archaeology.
- Božovič, Miran (1995). 'Introduction: "An Utterly Dark Spot"', in Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings*, 1–27, London: Verso.
- Bradbrook, M. C. (1987), 'Renaissance Contexts for *The Duchess of Malfi*', in Harold Bloom (ed.), *John Webster's The Duchess of Malfi*, 41–63, New York: Chelsea House.
- Bradbrook, M. C. (1989), *Shakespeare in His Context: The Constellated Globe*, Totowa: Barnes & Noble.
- Braunmuller, Albert R. (2011), 'Edward I: In Peace Triumphant, Fortunate in Wars', in David Bevington (ed.), *George Peele*, 333–52, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Bright, Curtis C. (1996), *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era*. Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Brome, Richard (1873), *The Novella*, in *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brome Containing Fifteen Comedies Now First Collected in Three Volumes*, vol. 1, 101–78, London: John Pearson.
- Bronfen, Elisabeth (1992), *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity, and the Aesthetic*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Brooke, N. S. (2006), 'Introduction', in George Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, ed. N. S. Brooke, The Revels Plays, xix–lxxvi, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bruster, Douglas (2002), 'The Dramatic Life of Objects in the Early Modern Theatre', in Jonathan Gild Harris and Natasha Korda (eds), *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, 67–96, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruster, Douglas (2003), *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture: Early Modern Literature and the Cultural Turn*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bullough, Geoffrey (ed.) (1973), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare. Volume VII. Major Tragedies: Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bulwer, John (1653), *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: Or, the Artificiall Changling. Historically presented, in the Mad and Cruell Gallantry, Foolish Bravery, Ridiculous Beauty, Filthy Finesse, and Loathsome Loveliness of Most Nations, Fashioning and Altering Their Bodies from the Mould Intended by Nature; with Figures of Those Transfigurations. To Which Artificiall and Affected Deformations Are Added, All the Native and Nationall Monstrosities That Have Appeared to Disfigure the Humane Fabrick. With a Vindication of the Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature. And an Appendix of the Pedigree of the English Gallant*, London: William Hunt.
- Carroll, William C. (2014), 'Spectacle, Representation and Lineage in *Macbeth* 4.1', *Shakespeare Survey*, 67: 345–71.
- Castaldini, Alberto (2018), 'Rafael Mirami's *Specularia* (1582): A Jewish Skeptical Source?', *Transylvanian Review*, 27(1): 197–211.
- Causabon, Florence Estienne Méric (1659), *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee [...] and Some Spirits*, London: D. Maxwell for T. Garthwait.
- [Cavendish], Margaret, [Duchess of] Newcastle (1655), *The Worlds Olio*, London: J. Martin and J. Allestrye.
- [Cavendish], Margaret, [Duchess of] Newcastle ([1666] 1992), *The Description of a New World Called The Blazing World, And Other Writings*, ed. Kate Lilley, London: William Pickering.
- Chapman, George (1999), *Bussy D'Ambois*, ed. N. S. Brooke, The Revels Plays, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Chapman, George (2008), 'The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois', in Katharine Eisaman Maus (ed.), *Four Revenge Tragedies: The Spanish Tragedy, The Revenger's Tragedy, The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, The Atheist's Tragedy*, 3rd edn, 175–248, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chapman, George, John Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and Philip Massinger (2007), 'Rollo, Duke of Normandy (The Bloody Brother)', in George Walton Williams (ed.), *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon. Volume X: The Honest Man's Fortune; Rollo, Duke of Normandy; the Spanish Curate; the Lovers' Progress; The Fair Maid of the Inn; The Laws of Candy*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 2nd edn, 166–291, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chettle, Henry (1603), *Englands Mourning Garment: Worne Heere by Plaine Shepheards, in Memorie of Their Sacred Mistresse, Elizabeth; Queene of Vertue While She Lived, and Theame of Sorrow Being Dead [...]*, London: Thomas Millington.
- Cixous, Hélène ([1975] 1976), 'The Laugh of Medusa', trans. Paula Cohen, *Signs*, 1(4): 875–93.
- Clark, Stuart (1980), 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', *Past & Present*, 87(87): 98–127.
- Clark, Stuart (2007), *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clapham, John (1951), *Elizabeth of England. Certain Observations Concerning the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Evelyn Plummer Read and Conyers Read, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clulee, Nicholas (1977), 'Astrology, Magic, and Optics: Facets of John Dee's Early Natural Philosophy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 30(4): 632–80.
- Clulee, Nicholas (1984), 'At the Crossroads of Magic and Science: John Dee's Achemastrie', in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, 57–71, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coddon, Karin S. (1989), "'Unreal Mockery": Unreason and the Problem of Spectacle in *Macbeth*', *English Literary History*, 56(3): 485–501.
- Cohen, Adam Max (2006), *Shakespeare and Technology: Dramatizing Early Modern Technological Revolutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cohen, Adam Max (2009), *Technology and the Early Modern Self*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Coignet, Matthieu (1586), *Politique Discourses Upon Trueth and Lying. An Instruction to Princes to Keepe Their Faith and Promise: Containing the*

- Summe of Christian and Morall Philosophie, and the Duetie of a Good Man in Sundrie Politique DisCourses upon the Trueth and Lying*, trans. Edward Hoby, London: [John Windet for] Ralfe Newberie.
- Collop, John (1656), *Poesis Rediviva: Or, Poesie Reviv'd*, London: Humphrey Moseley.
- Corson, Richard (1972), *Fashions in Makeup: From Ancient to Modern Times*, London: Peter Owen.
- Da Vinci, Leonardo (1970), *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*, 2 vols., vol. 1, ed. Jean Paul Richter, New York: Dover Books.
- Day, John, William Rowley, and George Wilkins (1995), *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in Anthony Parr (ed.), *Three Renaissance Travel Plays: The Travels of the Three English Brothers, The Sea Voyage, The Antipodes*, 55–134, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dean, Paul (1999), 'Murderous Repetition: *Macbeth* as Echo Chamber', *English Studies*, 80(3): 216–23.
- Dee, John (1570), 'Mathematicall Preface', in *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara*, trans. H. Billingsley, London: John Daye.
- Dee, John (1998), *The Diaries of John Dee*, ed. Edward Fenton, Oxfordshire: Day Books.
- Dekker, Thomas (1980), *The Whore of Babylon: A Critical Edition*, ed. Marianne Gateson Riely, New York: Garland.
- Delatte, A. (1932), *La Catoptromancie Greque et Ses Dérivés*, Liège: Imp. H. Vaillant-Carmanne; Paris: Librairie E. Droz.
- Della Porta, Giambattista ([1589] 1658), *Natural Magick [...] in Twenty Books. [...] Wherein Re Set Forth All the Riches and Delights of the Natural Sciences*, trans. not cited, London: Thomas Young and Samuel Speed.
- Desmet, Christy (1991), '“Neither Maid, Widow, nor Wife”: Rhetoric of the Woman Controversy in *Measure for Measure* and *The Duchess of Malfi*', in Dorothea Kehler and Susan Baker (eds), *In Another Country: Feminist Perspectives on Renaissance Drama*, 71–92, Metuchen: Scarecrow Press.
- Doebler, John (1974), *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures: Studies in Iconic Imagery*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Dolan, Frances E. (1993), 'Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand: Art, Nature, and the Face-Painting Debate in Early Modern England', *PMLA*, 108(2): 224–39.
- Donne, John (1954), *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols., vol. 7, ed. Evelyn Simpson and George R. Potter, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Döring, Tobias (2006), *Performances of Mourning in Shakespearean Theatre and Early Modern Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Downname, John (1611), *The Second Part of the Christian Warfare; or the Contempt of the World: Tending to Arme and Confirme the Weake Christian against the Tentations of Prosperitie, and to Preserve Him from the Immoderate Loue of Earthly Things; by Proving Unto Him, That Both the World and Worldly Vanities Are so Base and Worthlesse, That They Deserve Not to Be Esteemed and Loved of a Christian, in Comparison of Gods Spirituall Graces and Heavenly Ioyes [...]*, London: Felix Kyngston.
- Drew-Bear, Annette (1981), 'Face-Painting in Renaissance Tragedy', *Renaissance Drama* 12: 71–93.
- Drew-Bear, Annette (1994), *Painted Faces on the Renaissance Stage: The Moral Significance of Face-Painting Conventions*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses.
- Drummond of Hawthornden, William (1968), 'A Cypresse Grove', in L. E. Kastner (ed.), *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden. With 'A Cypresse Grove'*, vol. 2, 67–108, New York: Haskell.
- Dustagheer, Sarah (2017), *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars, 1599–1613*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eccles, Mark (1933), 'Barnabe Barnes', in Charles J. Sisson (ed.), *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans*, 166–241, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Eco, Umberto (1986), 'Mirrors', trans. not cited, in Paul Bouissac, Michael Herzfeld, and Roland Posner (eds), *Iconicity: Essays on the Nature of Culture. Festschrift for Thomas A. Sebeok on his 65th Birthday*, 215–37, Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Edgerton, Samuel Y. (1975), *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective*, New York: Harper & Row.
- Eggert, Katherine (2006), 'The Alchemist and Science', in Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield (eds), *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, 200–12, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eggert, Katherine (2021), *Disknowledge: Literature, Alchemy, and the End of Humanism in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard (1995), 'Introduction: The Spectacle of the Female Head', in Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (eds), *Off with*

- Her Head! The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, 1–13, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Eisaman Maus, Katharine (2016). 'Richard the Second', in Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus and Gordon McMullan (eds), *The Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd edn, 885–94, London: W. W. Norton.
- Ekeblad, Inga-Stina (1958), 'The "Impure Art" of John Webster', *The Review of English Studies*, 9(35): 253–67.
- Elam, Keir (2004), 'English Bodies in Italian Habits', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.), *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality*, 26–44, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Elam, Keir (2010), '"Most Truly Limned and Living in Your Face": Looking at Pictures in Shakespeare', in Virginia Mason Vaughan, Fernando Cioni, and Jacquelyn Bessell (eds), *Speaking Pictures: The Visual/Verbal Nexus of Dramatic Performance*, 63–89, Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Elder, William (1658), *Pearls of Eloquence, or, the School of Complements. Wherein Is Shewed a Brief Description of Beauty, Virtue, Love, and Eloquence. Composed for the Good and Benefit of Young Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Scholars Who Are Desirous to Adorn Their Speech with Gentile Ceremonies, Complemental, Amorous and High Expressions of Speaking or Writing*, London: T. L.
- Elias, Norbert ([1939] 1982), *The Civilizing Process. Volume II: Power & Civility*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, 4th edn, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Elyot, Thomas ([1531] 1537). *The Boke Named the Governour*, London: Thomas Berthelet.
- Enterline, Lynn (1995), *The Tears of Narcissus: Melancholia and Masculinity in Early Modern Writing*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Evans, R. J. (1973), *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ewbank, Inga-Stina (1975), '"What words, what looks, what wonders?" Language and Spectacle in the Theatre of George Peele', in G. R. Hibbard (ed.), *The Elizabethan Theatre V: Papers Given at the Fifth International Conference on the Elizabethan Theatre Held at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1973*, 124–54, London: The Macmillan Press [in cooperation with the University of Waterloo].
- Fetrow, Fred M. (1979), 'Chapman's Stoic Hero in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 19(2): 229–37.

- Fisher, Will (2001), 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54(1): 155–87.
- Fisher, Will (2006), *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flachmann, Michael (1977), 'Ben Jonson and the Alchemy of Satire', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 17(2): 259–80.
- Fletcher, John [et al.] (2007), *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, in Fredson Bowers (ed.), *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon. Volume X: The Honest Man's Fortune; Rollo, Duke of Normandy; The Spanish Curate; The Lovers' Progress; The Fair Maid of the Inn; The Laws of Candy*, 2nd edn, 554–657, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foakes, R. A. ([1961] 2002), *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ford, John (1985), *The Fancies, Chast and Noble*, ed. Dominick J. Hart, New York: Garland.
- Forker, Charles R. (2001), 'Unstable Identity in Shakespeare's *Richard II*', *Renascence*, 54(1): 3–22.
- Foucault, Michel ([1976] 1978), *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, Michel ([1984] 1986), 'Of Other Spaces', trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16(1): 22–7.
- Foucault, Michel ([1975] 1995), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2nd edn, New York: Vintage Books.
- Foxe, John ([1563] 1837), *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition*, vol. 6, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley, London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside.
- Frelick, Nancy M. (2016), 'Introduction', in Nancy M. Frelick (ed.), *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections*, 1–29, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Friedberg, Anne (2009), *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fuchs, Barbara (2001), *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gainsford, Thomas (1616), *The Rich Cabinet. Furnished with Varietie of Excellent Discriptions, Exquisite Charracters, witty Discourses, and Delightfull Histories, Devine and Morrall*, London: J[ohn] B[eale] for Roger Jackson.
- Galen (2018), *Hygiene*, vols. 1 and 2, ed. and trans. Ian Johnston, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Garber, Marjorie (2008), *Profiling Shakespeare*, New York: Routledge.
- Garrison, John S. (2020), 'Mirrors and Macbeth's Queer Materialism', in Brett Gamboa and Lawrence Switzky (eds), *Shakespeare's Things: Shakespearean Theatre and the Non-Human World in History, Theory, and Performance*, 53–65, London: Routledge.
- Gascoigne, George (1576), *The Steele Glas: A Satyre. Together with the Complainte of Phylomene. An Elegie Devised by the Same Author*, London: [Henry Bynneman for] Richard Smith.
- Gauden, John (1656), *A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty. Or Artificiall Hansomenesse. In point of Conscience between Two Ladies*, London: R. Royston.
- Gent, Lucy (1981), *Picture and Poetry 1560–1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance*, Leamington Spa: James Hall.
- Georgopoulou, Xenia (2011), *The Body as Text in Shakespeare's Plays: The Fashioning of the Sexes*, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar ([1979] 2020), *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Giles, Melanie and Jody Joy (2007), 'Mirrors in the British Iron Age: Performance, Revelation and Power', in Miranda Anderson (ed.), *The Book of the Mirror: An Interdisciplinary Collection Exploring the Cultural Story of the Mirror*, 16–31, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Gilman, Ernest B. (1978), *The Curious Perspective: Literary and Pictorial Wit in the Seventeenth Century*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gilpin, Richard (1677), *Demonologia sacra. Or, a Treatise of Satan's Temptations: In Three Parts*, London: J. D. for Richard Randal and Peter Maplasden.
- Godfrey, Eleanor S. (1975), *The Development of English Glassmaking 1560–1640*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Goffman, Erving ([1959] 1990), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin.
- Goldberg, Benjamin (1985), *The Mirror and Man*, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Goldberg, Jonathan (1987), 'Speculations: *Macbeth* and Source', in Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O'Connor (eds), *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology*, 242–64, New York: Routledge.

- Goldin, Frederick (1967), *The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Goltra, Robert J. Jr. (1984), 'The Ceremonial Magician of Tudor-Stuart Drama: A Product and Reflection of Contemporary Belief', MA diss. Emporia State University.
- Goodman, Godfrey (1839), *The Court of King James I*, 2 vols., vol. 1, ed. John S. Brewer, London: Richard Bentley.
- Goodman-Soellner, Elise (1983), 'Nicolas Lancret's *Le miroir ardent*: An Emblematic Image of Love', *Simiolus*, 13(3/4): 218–24.
- Gosson, Stephen (1582), *Playes Confuted in Five Actions, Proving That They Are Not to Be Suffred in a Christian Common Weale, by the Waye Both the Cavils of Thomas Lodge, and the Play of Playes, Written in Their Defence, and Other Obiections of Players Frenδες, Are Truely Set Downe and Directlye Aunsweread*, London: Thomas Gosson.
- Grabes, Herbert ([1973] 1982), *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, trans. Gordon Collier, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greenblatt, Stephen (1988), *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Greenblatt, Stephen ([1980] 2005), *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Greenblatt, Stephen (2010), 'Shakespeare's Beauty Marks', in *Shakespeare's Freedom*, 18–48, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Greenblatt, Stephen (2016), 'General Introduction', in Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus and Gordon McMullan (eds), *The Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd edn, 1–74, London: W. W. Norton.
- Greene, Robert (2002), 'The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay', in David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, 134–81, London: W. W. Norton.
- Griffin, Eric J. (2009), *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Grössinger, Christa (1997), *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Gunn, Fenja (1973), *The Artificial Face: A History of Cosmetics*, New York: Hippocrene Books.

- Gurnis, Musa (2018), *Mixed Faith and Shared Feelings: Theater in Post-Reformation London*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Haber, Judith (1997), "My Body Bestow upon My Women": The Space of the Feminine in *The Duchess of Malfi*, *Renaissance Drama*, 28: 133–59.
- Hakewill, George (1608), *The Vanitie of the Eie. First Beganne for the Comfort of a Gentlewoman Bereaved of Her Sight, and Since Upon Occasion Inlarged & Published for the Common Good*, Oxford: Joseph Barnes.
- Haley, David (1993), *Shakespeare's Courtly Mirror: Reflexivity and Prudence in All's Well That Ends Well*, Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses.
- Hall, Edward (1548), *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancaster [and] Yorke*, London: Richard Grafton.
- Hamamra, Bilal Tawfiq (2020), "I pray sir, hear me: I am married": Language and Sexual Politics in Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, *Anglia*, 138(1): 1–19.
- Hamling, Tara and Catherine Richardson (2017), *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500–1700*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hammond, Gerald and Austin Busch (eds) (2012), *The English Bible: King James Version. Volume Two: The New Testament and the Apocrypha*, London: W. W. Norton.
- Hanlon Murphy, Virginia (2014), 'A Mirror for Spectators: The Dramaturgy of Participation and Unreliable Mirror Figures in Sixteenth-Century Drama', PhD diss., University of Tennessee.
- Harkness, Deborah E. (1999), *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haubl, Rolf (1991). 'Unter lauter Spiegelbildern...' *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Spiegels*, 2 vols., vol. 2, Frankfurt on the Main: Nexus.
- Hawkins, Michael (1982), 'History, Politics and *Macbeth*', in John Russell Brown (ed.), *Focus on Macbeth*, 155–88, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Heywood, Thomas (1612), *An Apology for Actors. Containing Three Briefe Treatises. 1 Their Antiquity. 2 Their Ancient Dignity. 3 The True Use of Their Quality*, London: Nicholas Okes.
- Heywood, Thomas (1964), 'The Second Part of the Iron Age', in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood. Now First Collected with Illustrative Notes and a Memoir of the Author in Six Volumes*, vol. 3, 347–431, New York: Russell & Russell.
- Higgins, Michael (1947), 'The Development of the "Senecal Man": Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* and Some Precursors', *The Review of English Studies*, 23(89): 24–33.

- Hoenselaars, A. J. (1994), 'Mapping Shakespeare's Europe', in A. J. Hoenselaars (ed.), *Reclamations of Shakespeare*, 223–48, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Holinshed, Raphael [et al.] (1577), *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande. Conteyning the Description and Chronicles of England, from the First Inhabiting Unto the Conquest: The Description and Chronicles of Scotland, from the First Original of the Scottes Nation Till the Yeare of Our Lorde 1571: The Description and Chronicles of Yrelande, Likewise from the First Originall of That Nation Untill the Yeare 1571*. London: John Hunne.
- Holinshed, Raphael [et al.] (1587), *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles Comprising 1 the Description and Historie of England, 2 the Description and Historie of Ireland, 3 the Description and Historie of Scotland*, London: [Henry Denham].
- Holland, Henry (1590), *A Treatise Against Witchcraft: Or A Dialogue, Wherein the Greatest Doubts Concerning That Sinne, Are Briefly Answered: A Sathanicall Operation in the Witchcraft of All Times Is Truly Prooved: The Moste Precious Preservatives Against Such Evils Are Shewed: Very Needful to Be Known of All Men, but Chiefly of the Masters and Fathers of Families, That They May Learn the Best Meanes to Purge Their Houses of All Unclean Spirits, and Wisely to Avoide the Dreadfull Impieties and Greate Daungers Which Come by Such Abominations*, Cambridge: John Legatt.
- Hook, Frank S. (1962). 'Edward I. Introduction', in Frank S. Hook and John Yoklavich (eds), *The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, 1–67 and 171–205 ('Explanatory Notes'), New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Howard, Henry (1583), *A Defensative Against the Poyson of Supposed Prophetes: Not Hitherto Confuted by the Penne of Any Man, Which Being Grounded, Eyther Uppon the Warrant and Authority of Olde Paynted Bookes, Expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of Damned Spirites, Judicialles of Astrologie, or Any Other Kinde of Pretended Knowledge Whatsoever, De Futuris Contingentibus: Have Beene Causes of Great Disorder in the Common Wealth, and Cheefely Among the Simple and Unlearned People*, London: John Charlewood.
- Howard, Jean E. (1987), 'The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies', in Arthur F. Kinney and Dan S. Collins (eds), *Renaissance Historicism: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*, 3–33, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Howard Traister, Barbara (1984), *Heavenly Necromancers: The Magician in English Renaissance Drama*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

- Huebert, Ronald and David McNeil (2019), 'Early Modern Spectatorship: An Overview', in Ronald Huebert and David McNeil (eds), *Early Modern Spectatorship: Interpreting English Culture 1500–1780*, 3–19, Montreal et al.: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Hunt, Maurice A. (2011), *Shakespeare's Speculative Art*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hurlburt, Holly (2013), 'Power', in Karen Raber (ed.), *A Cultural History of Women in the Renaissance*, 163–82, London: Bloomsbury.
- Ioannou, Maria (2014), 'Beauty, Feminism, Art: Constructing Female Identity Through the Discourse of Beauty', in Maria Ioannou and Maria Kyriakidou (eds), *Female Beauty in Art: History, Feminism, Women Artists*, 1–13, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Irigaray, Luce ([1974] 1985), *Speculum of the Other Woman*, trans. Gillian C. Gill, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- James VI and I (1918), *The Political Works of James I. Reprinted from the Edition of 1616*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jay, Martin (1988), 'Scopic Regimes of Modernity', in Hal Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality*, 3–27, Seattle: Bay Press.
- Jay, Martin (2008), 'Scopic Regime', in Wolfgang Donsbach (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, 12 vols., vol. 10, ed., 4515–7, Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Jeamson, Thomas (1665), *Artificiall Embellishments. Or Arts Best Directions How to Preserve Beauty or Procure It*, Oxford: William Hall.
- Jeffreys, Sheila ([2005] 2015), *Beauty and Misogyny: Harmful Cultural Practices in the West*, 2nd edn, London: Routledge.
- Jones, Ann Rosalind and Peter Stallybrass (2000), *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jonson, Ben (1612), *The Alchemist*, London: Thomas Snodham for Walter Burre.
- Jonson, Ben (1616), *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, London: W. Stansby for Rich. Meighen.
- Jonson, Ben (1842), *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, London: Shakespeare Society.
- Jonson, Ben (1996), *The Devil Is an Ass*, ed. Peter Happé, *The Revels Plays*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Jonson, Ben (2002), 'Epicene, or the Silent Woman', in Katharine Eisaman Maus, in David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, 782–860, London: W. W. Norton.
- Jonson, Ben (2012a), 'Cynthia's Revels, or the Fountain of Self-Love' [quarto version], ed. Eric Rasmussen and Matthew Steggle, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson. Volume 1: 1597–1601*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 439–547, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jonson, Ben (2012b), 'The Underwood', ed. Colin Burrow, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson. Volume 7: 1641; Bibliography*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 69–296, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jonson, Ben (2023), *The Alchemist*, ed. Tanya Pollard, Arden Early Modern Drama, London: Bloomsbury.
- Kacunko, Slavko (2010), *Spiegel – Medium – Kunst: Zur Geschichte des Spiegels im Zeitalter des Bildes*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink.
- Kahn, Coppélia (1981), *Man's Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Kalas, Rayna (2002), 'The Technology of Reflection: Renaissance Mirrors of Steel and Glass', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32(3): 519–42.
- Kalas, Rayna (2007), *Frame, Glass, Verse: The Technology of Poetic Invention in the English Renaissance*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. ([1957] 2016), *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Karim-Cooper, Farah (2006), *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Karim-Cooper, Farah (2007), "'This alters not thy beauty": Face-paint, Gender and Race in Richard Brome's *The English Moor*', *Early Theatre*, 10(2): 140–49.
- Karim-Cooper, Farah ([2000] 2016), 'Shakespeare's Women and the Crisis of Beauty', in Dymphna Callaghan (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, 2nd edn, 467–80, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Kassell, Lauren (2005), *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London. Simon Forman: Astrologer, Alchemist, and Physician*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kastan, David Scott (1999), *Shakespeare after Theory*, New York: Routledge.

- Kaulek, M. Jean (ed.) ([1885] 1971), *Correspondance politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac, Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre (1537–1542)*, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints.
- Kelly, Philippa (2002), 'Surpassing Glass: Shakespeare's Mirrors', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 8(1): 2.1–32.
- Kermode, Frank (1985), 'Cornelius and Voltemand: Doubles in *Hamlet*', in *Forms of Attention*, 33–63, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kern Paster, Gail (1993), *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- King, Margaret L. and Albert Rabil, Jr. (eds) (1983), *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and about the Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy*, Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Modern Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton.
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1975), *Elizabethan Backgrounds: Historical Documents of the Age of Elizabeth I*, Hamden: Archon Books.
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1993), 'Scottish History, the Union of the Crowns and the Issue of Right Rule: The Case of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*', in Jean R. Brink and William F. Gentrup (eds), *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice*, 18–53, Aldershot: Scolar Press.
- Kircher, Athanasius (1652), *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, vol. 1, Rome: Mascardi.
- Knapp, James A. (2014), 'Beyond Materiality in Shakespeare Studies', *Literature Compass*, 11(10): 677–90.
- Knox, John (1880), 'Appendix. John Knox's apologetical Defence of his First Blast, &c. to Queen Elizabeth', in Edward Arber (ed.), *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, 57–62, London: The British Museum.
- Kodera, Sergius (1999), 'The Stuff Dreams Are Made of: Ficino's Magic Mirrors', *Accademia: Revue de la Société Marsile Ficin*, 1: 85–100.
- Kodera, Sergius (2010), *Disreputable Bodies: Magic, Medicine, and Gender in Renaissance Natural Philosophy*, Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies.
- Kodera, Sergius (2016), 'Between Stage-Prop and Metaphor: Mirrors in Giovan Battista Della Porta and Giordano Bruno', in Nancy M. Frelick (ed.), *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections*, 235–55, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Kodera, Sergius (2022), 'Of Crystal Orbs and Divinatory Mirrors: The Vicissitudes of Pregnancy and Artistic Agency in Titian's *Allegory of*

- Marriage*, in Daniel Unger (ed.), *Titian's Allegory of Marriage: New Approaches*, 229–50, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Korhonen, Anu (2008), 'To See and to Be Seen: Beauty in the Early Modern London Street', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12: 335–60.
- Korhonen, Anu (2019), 'Self and Society', in Edith Snook (ed.), *A Cultural History of Hair in the Renaissance*, 39–52, London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Krauss, Rosalind (1976), 'Video: The Aesthetics of Narcissism', *October*, 1: 50–64.
- Kyd, Thomas (2002), 'The Spanish Tragedy', in David Bevington, in David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, 8–73, London: W. W. Norton.
- Lander Johnson, Bonnie and Bethany Dubow (2017), 'Allegories of Creation: Glassmaking, Forests, and Fertility in Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*', *Renaissance Drama*, 45(1): 107–37.
- Langley, Eric (2009), *Narcissism and Suicide in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Latham, Jacqueline E. M. (1984), 'Machiavelli, Policy, and *The Devil's Charter*', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 1: 97–108.
- Lenton, Francis (1629), *The Young Gallants Whirligigg: Or Youths Reakes. Demonstrating the Inordinate Affections, Absurd Actions, and Profuse Expences, of Unbridled and Affectated Youth: With Their Extravagant Courses, and Preposterous Progressions, and Aversions. Together with the Too Often Deare Bought Experience, and the Rare, or Too Late Regression and Reclamation of Most of Them from Their Habituell Ill Customes, and Unqualified Manners*, London: M[iles] F[lesher] for Robert Bostocke.
- Locke, John (1690), *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, the False Principles, and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, and His Followers, Are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter Is an Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government*, London: Awnsham Churchill.
- Lodine-Chaffey, Jennifer (2019), '"Beyond Death": John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Posthumous Influence', *The Ben Jonson Journal*, 26(1): 113–32.
- Loftus Ranald, Margaret (1977), 'The Degradation of Richard II: An Inquiry into the Ritual Backgrounds', *English Literary Renaissance*, 7(2): 170–96.
- Loomis, Catherine (1996), 'Elizabeth Southwell's Manuscript Account of the Death Queen Elizabeth [with text]', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26(3): 482–509.

- Loomis, Catherine (2014), 'A Brittle Gloriana: Staging the Deposition of Queen Elizabeth I', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 33(1): 3–26.
- Lucacs, Peter (2019), *The Annotated Popular Edition of King Edward the First (aka Edward I) by George Peele*, www.elizabethandrama.org/the-playwrights/george-peele/edward-george-peele (retrieved 7 February 2025).
- Lucas, Scott C. (2019), 'Introduction', in Scott C. Lucas (ed.), *A Mirror for Magistrates: A Modernized and Annotated Edition*, xv–xlii, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyly, John (2006), *The Woman in the Moon*, ed. Leah Scragg, The Revels Plays, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Macfarlane, Alan and Gerry Martin (2002), *The Glass Bathyscaphe: How Glass Changed the World*, London: Profile Books.
- Maguire, Laurie (2009), *Helen of Troy: From Homer to Hollywood*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Mahler, Andreas (1997), 'Don Quixote, Hamlet, Foucault – Language, "Literature", and the Losses of Analogism', in Hugo Keiper, Christoph Bode and Richard J. Utz (eds), *Nominalism and Literary Discourse: New Perspectives*, 251–68, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Maillet, Arnaud (2004), *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art*, trans. Jeff Fort, New York: Zone Books.
- Manningham, John (1868), *Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602–3*, ed. John Bruce, Westminster: J. B. Nichols.
- Mansell, Robert (1641), *The True State of the Businesse of Glasse of All Kindes, as It Now Standeth Both in the Price of Glasse and Materialls, How Sold These Fifteen Yeers Last Past, and How Formerly, The Price of Materialls as They Are Now Bought, and What Hath Been Formerly Paid, with a Report of the Condition of All Kinds of Glasses*, London: publ. not cited.
- Marcus, Leah S. (2009), 'Introduction', in John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Arden Early Modern Drama, 1–113, London: Bloomsbury.
- Marlowe, Christopher (1997), 'Tamburlaine the Great, Part One', in Anthony B. Dawson (ed.), *Tamburlaine, Parts One and Two*, 1–87, London: Methuen Drama.
- Marrone, Steven P. (2015), *A History of Science, Magic and Belief: From Medieval to Early Modern Europe*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Martinet, Marie-Madeleine (1981), *Le Miroir de L'Esprit dans le Théâtre Élisabéthain: Variations Dramatiques sur une Idée Philosophique, Littéraire et Artistique*, Paris: Didier Érudition.

- Mason Vaughan, Virginia, Fernando Cioni and Jacquelyn Bessell (2010), 'Introduction: Verbalizing the Visual and Visualizing the Verbal', in Virginia Mason Vaughan, Fernando Cioni and Jacquelyn Bessell (eds.), *Speaking Pictures: The Visual/Verbal Nexus of Dramatic Performance*, 11–22, Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Massinger, Philip (2011), *The City Madam*, ed. Cathy Shrank, Globe Quartos: Globe Education and Nick Hern Books.
- Massinger, Philip (2020), 'The Picture', in Lucy Munro and Jeremy Lopez (eds.), *The Routledge Anthology of Early Modern Drama*, 382–468, London: Routledge.
- Matthieu, Pierre (1612), *The Heroyk Life and Deplorable Death of the Most Christian King Henry the Fourth. Addressed to His Immortall Memory*, trans. Edward Grimestone, London: George Eld.
- Maxwell, Lynn M. (2014), 'Wax Magic and *The Duchess of Malfi*', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 14(3): 31–54.
- Maxwell, Lynn M. (2019), *Wax Impressions, Figures, and Forms of Early Modern Literature*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McMillin, Scott (1984), 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*: Eyes of Sorrow, Eyes of Desire', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 35(1): 40–52.
- Melbourne, Jane (1985), 'The Inverted World of *Bussy D'Ambois*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 25(2): 381–95.
- Melchior-Bonnet, Sabine ([1994] 2001), *The Mirror: A History*, trans. Katharine H. Jewett, London: Routledge.
- Middleton, Thomas (2003), *A Game at Chess*, ed. T. H. Howard-Hill, The Revels Plays, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Middleton, Thomas (2020), 'Women Beware Women', in Roberta Barker and Jeremy Lopez (eds.), *The Routledge Anthology of Early Modern Drama*, 662–742, London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. (1994), *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Montrose, Louis A. (2006a), 'Elizabeth through the Looking Glass: Picturing the Queen's Two Bodies', in Regina Schulte (ed.), *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World 1500–2000*, 61–87, New York: Berghahn Books.
- Montrose, Louis A. (2006b), *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Montuori, Deborah (1988), 'The Confusion of Self and Role in Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 28(2): 287–99.
- Moseley, C. W. R. D. (2009), *Shakespeare's History Plays: Richard II to Henry V. The Making of a King*, Tirrill: Humanities-Ebooks.
- Moss, Candida R. (2010), 'The Man with the Flow of Power: Porous Bodies in Mark 5:25–34', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 129(3): 507–19.
- Mühleisen, Hans-Otto and Theo Stammen (1997), 'Politische Ethik und politische Erziehung: Fürstenspiegel der frühen Neuzeit', in Hans-Otto Mühleisen, Theo Stammen and Michael Philipp (eds), *Fürstenspiegel der frühen Neuzeit*, 9–21, Frankfurt on the Main: Insel.
- Muir, Kenneth (1951), 'Introduction', in William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Kenneth Muir, The Arden Shakespeare, Second Series, London: Methuen Drama.
- Mulvey, Laura (1975), 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen*, 16(3): 6–18.
- Mumford, Lewis (1934), *Technics and Civilization*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Munday, Anthony (1980), *An Edition of Anthony Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber*, ed. Arthur E. Pennell, New York: Garland.
- Nahoum-Grappe, Véronique (1993), 'The Beautiful Woman', in Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge (eds), *A History of Women in the West: III. Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, 85–100, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Nashe, Thomas (1972a), 'Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil', in J. B. Steane (ed.), *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, 49–145, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Nashe, Thomas (1972b), 'The Unfortunate Traveller or The Life of Jack Wilton', in J. B. Steane (ed.), *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, 251–370, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Neale, J. E. (2001), *Queen Elizabeth I: The Classic Biography of the Great Tudor Queen*, Chicago: Academy Chicago.
- Newman, Harry (2019), *Impressive Shakespeare: Identity, Authority and the Imprint in Shakespearean Drama*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Nicholes, Alexander (1615), *A Discourse, of Marriage and Wiving: and of the Greatest Mystery Therein Contained: How to Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, London: N[icholas] O[kes] for Leonard Becket.

- Nichols, John (1823), *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth. Among Which Are Interspersed Other Solemnities, Public Expenditures, and Remarkable Events During the Reign of that Illustrious Princess*, 3 vols., vol. 3, London: John Nichols.
- Nichols, John (2014), *The Processes and Public Progressions of Queen Elizabeth I. A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols., vol. 3: 1579 to 1595, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nonnos of Panopolis (1940), *Dionysiaca, Volume I: Books 1–15*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nordlund, Marcus (1999), *The Dark Lantern: A Historical Study of Sight in Shak-speare, Webster, and Middleton*, Goteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
- Northbrooke, John (1577), *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A Treatise Wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds with Other Idle Pastimes &c. Commonly Vsed on the Sabbeth Day, Are Reproved by the Authoritie of the Word of God and Auntient Writers*, London: Henry Bynneman for George Byshop.
- Orchard Halliwell, James, James Crossley, John Eglinton Bailey and M. R. James (eds) (2013), *John Dee's Diary, Catalogue of Manuscripts and Selected Letters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Orgel, Stephen (1999), 'Macbeth and the Antic Round', *Shakespeare Survey*, 52: 143–53.
- Ovidius, Naso Publius (1916), *Metamorphoses*, Volumes 1 and 2, trans. Frank Justus Miller and rev. G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ovidius Naso, Publius (1929), 'Art of Love', in *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley and rev. G. P. Goold, 11–176, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary* [OED Online], Michael Proffitt (Chief Editor), Oxford: Oxford University Press, www.oed.com (retrieved 6 February 2025).
- Paganelli, Eloisa (1995), '“A Miserable Knowledge of the Small Compass of our Prison”: Shifting Perspectives in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*', in Paola Bottalla and Michela Calderaro (eds), *Counting and Recounting: Measuring Inner and Outer Space in the Renaissance*, 149–71, Trieste: Edizioni La Mongolfiera and Università degli studi die Tri este, Dipartimenti di Scienze Geografiche e Storiche.

- Parsons, John Carmi (1994), *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- Pasquier, Nicolas (1623), *Les Lettres de Nicolas Pasquier, fils d'Estienne Contenant Divers Discours des Affaires Arrivées en France, Sous les Regnes de Henry le Grand & Louys XIII.* Paris: publ. not cited.
- Pater, Walter ([1901] 2011), 'Shakespeare's English Kings', in *The Works of Walter Pater*, 9 vols., vol. 5: *Appreciations*, 185–204, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paulinus, Fabius (1589), *Hebdomades*, Venice: Francesco De Franceschi.
- Peele, George (1962), 'The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First', in Frank S. Hook and John Yoklavich (eds), *The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, 69–212, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Pendergrast, Mark (2003), *Mirror | Mirror. A History of the Human Love Affair with Reflection*, New York: Basic Books.
- Petersen, J. K. (2013), *Introduction to Surveillance Studies*, Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Phillippy, Patricia (2006), *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases, and Early Modern Culture*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Platt, Hugh (1602), *Delightes for Ladies, to Adorne Their Persons, Tables, Closets, and Distillatories: With Beauties, Banquets, Perfumes and Waters. Reade, Practise, and Censure*, London: Peter Short.
- Pliny the Elder (1952), *Natural History, Volume IX: Books 33–35*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Plowden, Edmund (1816). *The Commentaries, or Reports of Edmund Plowden [...]. Containing Divers Cases upon Matters of Law, Argued and Adjudges*, 2 vols., vol. 1. London: S. Brooke.
- Poitevin, Kimberly (2011), 'Inventing Whiteness: Cosmetics, Race, and Women in Early Modern England', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 11(1): 59–89.
- Pollard, Tanya (1999), 'Beauty's Poisonous Properties', *Shakespeare Studies* 27: 187–210.
- Pollard, Tanya (ed.) (2004), *Shakespeare's Theatre: A Sourcebook*, Malden: Blackwell.
- Pollard, Tanya (2005), *Drugs and Theater in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Porter, Chloe (2013), *Making and Unmaking in Early Modern English Drama: Spectators, Aesthetics and Incompletion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Powell, Louise (2017), “‘It Seems She Was Born First’: The Persistence of Twinship in *The Broken Heart* and *The Duchess of Malfi*”, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 26: 1–15.
- Prynne, William (1628), *The Unloveliness, of Lovelockes. Or, a Summarie Discourse, Prooving: The Wearing, and Nourishing of a Locke, or Love-Locke, to Be Altogether Unseemely, and Unlawfull unto Christians*, London: publ. not cited.
- Puttenham, George (1589), *The Arte of English Poesie. Contrived into Three Bookes: The First of Poets and Poesie, the Second of Proportion, the Third of Ornament*, London: Richard Field.
- Pye, Christopher (1990), *The Regal Phantasm: Shakespeare and the Politics of Spectacle*, London: Routledge.
- Rackin, Phyllis (1990), *Stages of History: Shakespeare’s English Chronicles*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rainolds, John (1599), *Thõverthrow of Stage-Playes, by the Way of Controversie Betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes, Wherein All the Reasons That Can Be Made for Them Are Notably Refuted; Thibjections Aunswered, and the Case so Cleared and Resolved, as That the Iudgement of Any Man, That Is Not Froward and Perverse, May Easely Be Satisfied [...]*, Middleburg: Richard Schilders.
- Randolph, Thomas ([1875] 1968). ‘*The Muses Looking-Glass*’, in W. Carew Hazlitt (ed.), *Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph of Trinity College, Cambridge. Now First Collected and Edited from the Early Copies and from MSS. with Some Accounts If the Author and Occasional Notes*, vol. 1, 173–266, New York: Benjamin Blom.
- Rankins, William (1587), *A Mirrour of Monsters: Wherein Is Plainely Described the Manifold Vices, &c Spotted Enormities, That Are Caused by the Infectious Sight of Playes, with the Description of the Subtile Slights of Sathan, Making Them His Instruments*, London: I. C. for T. H.
- Ray, Meredith K. (2010), ‘Experiments with Alchemy: Caterina Sforza in Early Modern Scientific Culture’, in Kathleen P. Long (ed.), *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture*, 139–63, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Reeves, Eileen (2008), *Galileo’s Glassworks: The Telescope and the Mirror*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Ribner, Irving (1962), *Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest for Moral Order*, London: Methuen.
- Richardson, Catherine (2011), *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Riehl, Anna (2010), *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riviere, Joan ([1929] 1989), 'Womanliness as Masquerade', in Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan (eds), *Formations of Fantasy*, 35–44, London: Routledge.
- Robertson, Étienne-Gaspard (1831), *Mémoires récréatifs, scientifiques et anecdotiques du physicien-aéronaute*, Paris: Wurtz.
- Roche, Serge, Germaine Courage and Pierre Devinoy (1985), *Mirrors*, trans. Colin Duckworth and Angus Munro, New York: Rizzoli.
- Rodwell, Warwick [and Marie Louise Sauerberg] (2013), *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone: History, Archaeology and Conservation*, Oxford: Oxbow Books and The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.
- Rowley, William (1910), 'A Shoe-maker, a Gentleman', in Charles Wharton Stork (ed.), *William Rowley: His All's Lost By Lust, and A Shoemaker, a Gentleman*, 163–281, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Rye, William Brenchley (1865), *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First*, London: John Russell Smith.
- Sabatier, Armelle (2017), *Shakespeare and Visual Culture: A Dictionary*, London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare.
- Salisbury, John of (1513), *Policraticus*, Paris: publ. not cited.
- Salter, Thomas (1579), *A Mirrhor Mete for All Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens, Intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie, No Lesse Profitable and Pleasant, Then Necessarie to Bee Read and Practised*, London: [J. Kingston for] Edward White.
- San Juan, Rose Marie (2011), *Vertiginous Mirrors: The Animation of the Visual Image and Early Modern Travel*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Sauerberg, Marie Louise (2013), 'The Polychromy of the Coronation Chair: A detailed study', in Warwick Rodwell [and Marie Louise Sauerberg] (eds), *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone: History, Archaeology and Conservation*, 77–104, Oxford: Oxbow Books and The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

- Schechner, Sara J. (2005), 'Between Knowing and Doing: Mirrors and their Imperfections in the Renaissance', *Early Science and Medicine*, 10(2): 137–62.
- Schnitzler, Henry (1952), 'The Jesuit Contribution to the Theatre', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 4(4): 283–92.
- Scholz, Susanne and Daniel Dornhofer (2013), 'Introduction: Spectatorship and the Making of Early Modern Courtly Space', *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit*, 17(1): 1–8.
- Schott, Gaspar (1657), *Magia universalis naturae et artis*. [...] *Pars 1, continet Optica*. [...], Frankfurt on the Main: Schönwetter.
- Schuler, Robert M. (2004), 'Magic Mirrors in *Richard II*', *Comparative Drama*, 38(2/3): 151–81.
- Schweig, Bruno (1973), *Mirrors: A Guide to the Manufacture of Mirrors and Reflecting Surfaces*, London: Pelham Books.
- Scot, Reginald (1584), *The Discoverie of Witchcraft, Wherein the Lewde Dealing of Witch-es and Witchmongers Is Notablie Detected* [...]. *Heereunto Is Added a Treatise up-on the Nature and Substance of Spirits and Divels, &c.*, London: [Henry Denham for] William Brome.
- Selleck, Nancy (2008), *The Interpersonal Idiom in Shakespeare, Donne, and Early Modern Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seneca the Younger (1971–2), *Natural Questions. Volumes 1 and 2*, trans. Thomas H. Corcoran, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sennert, Daniel [with Nicholas Culpepper and Abdiah Cole] (1661), *Thirteen Books of Natural Philosophy*, London: Peter Cole and Edward Cole.
- Shakespeare, William (1623), *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*, London: Isaac Iaggard and Ed. Blount.
- Shakespeare, William (1998), *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2000), *King Henry VI, Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2002a), *King Henry IV, Part 1*, ed. David Scott Kastan, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2002b), *King Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2007), *The Narrative and Other Poems*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.

- Shakespeare, William (2008), *Timon of Athens*, ed. Anthony B. Dawson and Gretchen E. Minton, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2014), *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. William C. Carroll, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2015a), *King Henry V*, ed. T. W. Craik, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2015b), *King Richard III*, ed. James R. Siemon, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2015c), *The Tempest: Revised Edition*, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2016a), *Hamlet: Revised Edition*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2016b), *Othello: Revised Edition*, ed. [Ayanna Thompson and] E. A. J. Honigmann, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2017a), *King Edward III*, ed. Richard Proudfoot and Nicola Bennett, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2017b), *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2017c), *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. Kent Cartwright, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2019), *King Henry IV, Part 2*, ed. James C. Bulman, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2020a), *Measure for Measure*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller and Robert N. Watson, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2020b), *Twelfth Night*, ed. Keir Elam, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2022), *Cymbeline*, ed. Valerie Wayne, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William (2023a), *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. John Wilders, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.

- Shakespeare, William (2023b), *Troilus and Cressida: Revised Edition*, ed. David Bevington, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William [and Thomas Middleton] (2015), *Macbeth*, ed. Sandra Clark and Pamela Mason, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, London: Bloomsbury.
- Shakespeare, William [and Thomas Middleton] (2016), 'The Tragedy of *Macbeth*', in Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus and Gordon McMullan (eds), *The Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd edn, 2721–73, London: W. W. Norton.
- Shapiro, Marianna (1975), 'Mirror and Portrait: The Structure of *Il libro del Cortegiano*', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 5: 37–61.
- Shickman, Allan R. (1978), 'The "Perspective Glass" in Shakespeare's *Richard II*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 18(2): 217–28.
- Shickman, Allan R. (1991), 'The Fool's Mirror in *King Lear*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21(1): 75–86.
- Shuger, Debora (1999), 'The "I" of the Beholder: Renaissance Mirrors and the Reflexive Mind', in Simon Hunt and Patricia Fumerton (eds), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, 21–41, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sidney, Philip (1595), *The Defence of Poesie* [Alternative Title: *An Apologie for Poetrie*], London: [Thomas Creede for] William Ponsonby.
- Sillars, Stuart (2019), 'Shakespeare's Visual Fractures: Mirror and Perspective in *Richard II*', in Agnès Lafont and Nicholas Myers (eds), *L'Image brisée aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles | Breaking the Image in the Renaissance*, 39–63, Paris: Classiques Garnier.
- Silverman, Kaja (1988), *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Smallwood, R. L. (1980), '"Here, in the Friars": Immediacy and Theatricality in *The Alchemist*', *The Review of English Studies*, 32(126): 142–60.
- Smith, A. Mark (2015), *From Sight to Light: The Passage from Ancient to Modern Optics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Snook, Edith (2008), '"The Beautifying Part of Physic": Women's Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England', *Journal of Women's History*, 20(3): 10–33.
- Snook, Edith (2011), *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Snook, Edith (2015), 'Beautiful Hair, Health, and Privilege in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15(4): 22–51.
- Snyder, Joel (1985), 'Las Meninas and the Mirror of the Prince', *Critical Inquiry*, 11(4): 539–72.
- Sofer, Andrew (2003), *The Stage Life of Props*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sofer, Andrew (2013), *Dark Matter: Invisibility in Drama, Theater, and Performance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail (1996), 'The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display', in Victoria De Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, 113–50, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Spenser, Edmund (1987), *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr., London: Penguin.
- Spenser, Edmund (1999), 'Amoretti and Epithalamion', in Richard A. McCabe (ed.), *The Shorter Poems*, 385–449, London: Penguin.
- Stallybrass, Peter (1992), 'Transvestism and the "Body Beneath": Speculating on the Boy Actor', in Susan Zimmerman (ed.), *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, 64–83, London: Routledge.
- Stelzer, Emanuel (2019), *Portraits in Early Modern English Drama: Visual Culture, Play-Texts, and Performances*, London: Routledge.
- Stelzer, Emanuel (2020), 'Performing Portraits: The Portrait as Prop and Its Performative Dimension in Early Modern English Drama', in Camilla Caporicci and Armelle Sabatier (eds), *The Art of Picturing in Early Modern English Literature*, 197–212, New York: Routledge.
- Stern, Katherine (1997), 'What is Femme? The Phenomenology of the Powder Room', *Women: A Cultural Review*, 8(2): 183–96.
- Stern, Tiffany (2004), *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page*, London: Routledge.
- Stevens, Andrea (2013), *Inventions of the Skin: The Painted Body in Early English Drama, 1400–1642*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Stevens, Andrea (2014), 'Cosmetic Transformations', in Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (eds), *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, 94–117, London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare.
- Stow, John (1592), *The Annales of England, Faithfully Collected Out of the Most Autenticall Authors, Records, and Other Monuments of Antiquitie*,

- from the First Inhabitation Untill This Present Yeere 1592*, London: Ralfe Newbery.
- Strohm, Paul (2005), *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Strong, Roy (1977), *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Strong, Roy (2005), *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy*, London: HarperCollins.
- Stubbes, Philip (1583), *The Anatomie of Abuses: Contayning A Discoverie, or Briefe Summarie of Such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as Now Raigne in Many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: But (Especiallye) in a Verie Famous Ilande Called Ailgna: Together, with Most Fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgements, Executed upon the Wicked for the Same, Aswell in Ailgna of Late, as in Other Places, Elsewhere*, London: [John Kingston for] Richard Jones.
- Stuckrad, Kocku von (2010), *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities*, Leiden: Brill.
- Synnott, Anthony (1990), 'Truth and Goodness, Mirrors and Masks – Part II: A Sociology of Beauty and the Face', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 41(1): 55–76.
- Szonyi, Gyorgy E. (2004), *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Tarte Holley, Linda (1990), *Chaucer's Measuring Eye*, Houston: Rice University Press.
- Tassi, Marguerite A. (2005), *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism, and Painting in Early Modern English Drama*, Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press.
- Teuber, Bernhard (2002). 'Per speculum in aenigmate: Medialität und Anthropologie des Spiegels vom Mittelalter zur frühen Neuzeit', in Wolfram Nitsch and Bernhard Teuber (eds), *Vom Flugblatt zum Feuilleton: Mediengebrauch und ästhetische Anthropologie in historischer Perspektive*, 13–33. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Thomas, Keith (1991), *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*. London: Penguin.
- Thomas Crane, Mary (2013), 'Optics', in Henry S. Turner (ed.), *Early Modern Theatricality*, 250–69, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Thomasius, Thomas (1589), *Dictionarium linguæ Latinae et Anglicanae*, Cambridge: Iohannis Legatt.
- Thomson, Peter (1992), *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd edn, 142–66, London: Routledge.
- Thorndike, Lynn (1941), *A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Volumes V and VI: The Sixteenth Century*, vol. 5, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tillona, Francesca (1980), 'Shadows of Majesty: The King's Two Bodies in Shakespeare's History Plays', PhD diss., Boston University.
- Tomkis, Thomas (1944), *Albumazar: A Comedy*, ed. Hugh G. Dick, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Tomkis, Thomas (1964), 'Lingua', in W. Carew Hazlitt (ed.), *A Select Collection of Old English Plays. Originally Published by Robert Dodsley in the Year 1744*, 331–463, New York: Benjamin Blom.
- Torti, Anna (1991), *The Glass of Form: Mirroring Structures from Chaucer to Skelton*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Tosi, Laura (2011), 'Mirrors for Female Rulers: Elizabeth I and the Duchess of Malfi', in Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (eds), *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, 257–75, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tribble, Evelyn (2014), 'Sight and Spectacle', in Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (eds), *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, 237–52, London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare.
- Tseëlon, Efrat (1995), *The Masque of Femininity*, London: Sage.
- Tuke, Thomas (1616), *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women. Wherein the abominable sinnes of Murther and Poysoning, Pride and Ambition, Adultery and Witchcraft, are set foorth & discovered* [Alternative Title: *A Treatise against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women: Against Murther and Poysoning: Pride and Ambition: Adulterie and Witchcraft. And the Roote of All These, Disobedience to the Ministry of the Word. Whereunto Is Added the Picture of a Picture, or, the Character of a Painted Woman*], London: Thomas Creede and Bernard Alsop for Edward Marchant.
- Turner, Henry S. (2006), *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580–1630*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Vincent, Sue (2009), 'To Fashion a Self: Dressing in Seventeenth-Century England', in Peter McNeil (ed.), *Fashion: Critical and Primary Sources. Volume 1: Late Medieval to Renaissance*, 252–469, Oxford: Berg.
- Vives, Juan Luis (2007), *The Education of a Christian Woman. A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, trans. and ed. Charles Fantazzi, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Waddington, Raymond B. (1967), 'Prometheus and Hercules: The Dialectic of Bussy D'Ambois', *English Literary History*, 34(1): 21–48.
- Webster, Charles (1982), *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science. The Eddington Memorial Lectures Delivered at Cambridge University, November 1980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Webster, John (2002a), 'The Duchess of Malfi', in David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, 1755–832, London and New York: W. W. Norton.
- Webster, John (2002b), 'The White Devil', in David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, 1664–748, London: W. W. Norton.
- Webster, John (2009a), *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Arden Early Modern Drama, London: Bloomsbury.
- Webster, John (2009b), *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. John Russell Brown, The Revels Plays, 2nd edn, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Wecker, Johann Jacob (1660a), *Arts Master-Piece: Or, the Beautifying Part of Physick. Whereby All Defects of Nature in Both Sexes Are Amended, Age Renewed, Youth Continued, and All Imperfections Fairly Remedied. With Many the Most Approved Physical Experiments, so Far Discovered, That Every Man May Be His Own Apothecary*, trans. B. T. London: Nathaniel Brook.
- Wecker, Johann Jacob (1660b), *Cosmetick or, the Beautifying Part of Physick. By Which All Deformities of Nature in Men and Women Are Corrected, Age Renewed, Youth Prolonged, and the Least Impediment, from a Hair to a Tooth, Fairly Amended. With the Most Ab-Solute Physical Rarities for All Ages*, trans. not cited, London: Thomas Johnson.
- Whigham, Frank (1984), *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Whitaker, Thomas R. (1996), 'Holding Up the Mirror: Deception as Revelation in the Theater', *Social Research*, 63(3): 701–30.
- Whitby, C. L. (1985), 'John Dee and Renaissance Scrying', *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 3(2): 25–36.
- White, John ([1957] 1987), *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 3rd edn, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Wiggins, Martin and Catherine Richardson (2017), *British Drama, 1533–1642: A Catalogue. Volume 8: 1624–1631*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williamson, Elizabeth (2009), *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Wilson, Catherine (1995), *The Invisible World: Early Modern Philosophy and the Invention of the Microscope*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wintle, Sarah and René Weis (1991), 'Macbeth and the Barren Sceptre', *Essays in Criticism*, 41(2): 128–46.
- Wright, Iain (2006), '"Come like shadowes, so depart": The Ghostly Kings in *Macbeth*', in Peter Holbrook (ed.), *The Shakespearean International Yearbook. Vol. 6: Special Section, Shakespeare and Montaigne Revisited*, 215–29, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Yates, Frances A. ([1964] 2002), *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, London: Routledge.
- Yates, Frances A. (1967), 'The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science', in Charles S. Singleton (ed.), *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance*, 255–74, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Index

- Acts and Monuments* (Foxe) 67
 Adams, Thomas 25
 Admiral's Men (acting company) 60, 62, 165
 adultery 73–74, 91, 95–96, 142
Advancement of Learning, The (Bacon) 106
 Agrippa (von Nettesheim), Heinrich Cornelius 149–151, 152, 163, 167, 181
 The Three Books of Occult Philosophy 150, 151
 The Vanity of Arts and Sciences 150, 163
 Ainsworth, Henry 67
 Albumazar (Tomkis) 190
Alchemist, The (Jonson) 3, 10, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155–172, 175, 184, 188, 189–190, 194, 198, 205
 alchemy 139, 151, 157, 159, 161–162, 164, 168, 171–172
 Alexandria (Egypt) 14, 36, 188
 altar 144–145, 179, 187–188
 Amazons 70–71
Amoretti (Spenser) 65
 anamorphic paintings *see* perspective
Annales of England, The (Stow) 37
Anthropometamorphosis (Bulwer) 101
 anti-cosmetic discourse 3, 9, 101, 107, 112, 138–141, 143–145
 antitheatricality 3, 40–43, 179, 195–196
 Antonio (character) 111–113, 118–120, 122, 127–129
Antony and Cleopatra (Shakespeare) 70, 166, 182
Apologia (Apuleius) 147
Apology for Actors, An (Heywood) 195–196
 Apuleius (of Madauros) 147
Arte of English Poesie, The (Puttenham) 24–25, 27, 166, 167
Art of Love, The (Ovid) 124
 Ashmole, Elias 162
 attire *see* clothing
 Aubrey, John 162
 aural/acoustic mirror 34, 111, 127–129, 145. *see also* echo
 Bacon, Francis 3, 100, 106, 142, 153, 154, 173, 179–180, 187
 The Advancement of Learning 106
 New Atlantis 153–154
 Novum Organum 179–180
 Sylva Sylvarum 173
 Bacon, Roger 14, 160, 173, 180, 189
 Baldwin, William 56
 Banquo (character) 39–41, 44, 46–50
 Barnes, Barnabe 9, 100, 130, 141–142, 145, 146, 147–148, 205
 The Devil's Charter 3, 5, 9–10, 99–100, 103, 105–106, 108, 129–148, 178, 189, 194, 205
 Foure Bookes of Offices 146
Bartholomew Fair (Jonson) 58
Basilikon Doron (James VI and I) 56
 beard *see* hair
 Beard, Thomas 58
 Baudrillard, Jean 49
 Beaumont, Francis 50
 beautification 9–10, 99–103, 106–107, 110–114, 122–123, 128, 130, 134–136, 138–144, 147–148, 195. *see also* cosmetics
 beauty 25, 65, 70, 86, 100, 102, 107, 111–115, 130, 132–141, 143, 145, 148, 170–171, 173, 177, 184

- Bentham, Jeremy 18, 19, 203
 Bible 78, 101, 142–143, 163
 Black Bishop's Pawn (character)
 176–178, 181, 183–186
 Blackfriars (playhouse) 159, 161,
 164–165, 170–171, 172, 194
 Black Queen's Pawn (character)
 176–186
 blazon 135–136, 141
Book of the City of Ladies, The (Pizan)
 114
Book of the Gouvernor, The (Elyot)
 195
 Bosola (character) 111, 118, 120,
 122–125, 127, 169
 boy actors 133, 147
 Brunelleschi, Filippo 34
 Bruno, Giordano 152
 Bruster, Douglas 4–6
 Bulwer, John 101
Bussy D'Ambois (Chapman) 3, 8–9,
 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 75–97, 194
Bussy D'Ambois (character) 9, 60,
 76–95, 97

 Cardano, Gerolamo 152
 Cardinal (character) 111, 118, 120–
 122, 126–129
 Cariola (character) 110–113
 catoptromancy 38, 71–72, 132, 152,
 156, 160, 164, 203. *see also*
 srying
 Causabon, Florence Estienne Méric
 156, 182, 191
 Cavendish, Margaret 107, 162
 Catholicism 14, 33, 61, 65–68, 119,
 130, 142–145, 176–181, 187
 Cereta, Laura 68
 Chapman, George 8–9, 55, 58, 75–76,
 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88,
 92, 94, 96
 Bussy D'Ambois 3, 8–9, 55, 57, 58,
 59, 60, 75–97, 194
 May Day 58
 The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois
 75–76, 77, 85, 87, 92–95
 Chettle, Henry 102–103
Chronicles (Holinshed) 45, 48, 57
 Cicero (Marcus Tullius) 195, 196
City Madam, The (Massinger) 110
 Cixous, Hélène 116, 136
 Clapham, John 102, 104–105
 Clermont D'Ambois (character) 76,
 87, 92–95
 clothing 8, 58, 60–63, 65, 68–74, 78,
 89, 103, 105, 119, 132, 134, 144,
 146, 177–178, 183, 194
 Coignet, Matthieu 97
 Collop, John 114
 comedy (genre) 3, 10, 58, 117, 151,
 160, 173, 174, 189, 195–196, 198
Comedy of Errors, The (Shakespeare)
 117
 Corneille, Thomas 173, 174
 (de)coronation 8, 31, 50, 60, 61,
 63–69, 71, 72, 74–75
 Coronation Chair 75
 cosmesis 99–100
 cosmetic mirrors 7, 9–10, 84, 99–
 148, 194
 in *The Devil's Charter* 9–10, 129–146
 in *The Duchess of Malfi* 9–10,
 108–129
 cosmetics 9–10, 84, 99–104, 106–108,
 114, 122–124, 130, 134–135,
 137–141, 143, 147, 205
 cosmetology 137–140. *see also*
 cosmetics
Cymbeline (Shakespeare) 58
Cynthia's Revels (Jonson) 137

 D'Aragona, Giovanna 110, 114
 Da Vinci, Leonardo 46
de casibus (genre) 36, 56, 76, 91–92
 Dee, John 152, 155–158, 160–164,
 166–167, 181–182, 186, 190, 191
 showstone 155–157, 161–163
Defence of Poesie, The (Sidney) 96–97

- Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage-Plays*, A (Lodge) 196
- Dekker, Thomas 78, 143
- Delightes for Ladies* (Platt) 140
- Della Porta, Giambattista 79, 151, 154–155, 169
- demonstration 10, 34, 154, 161–165, 188
- Demosthenes (of Athens) 147
- Description of a New World, Called The Blazing World, The* (Cavendish) 162
- Devereux, Robert (second Earl of Essex) 21, 36–37
- devil 25, 84, 91, 100, 110, 117–118, 121, 123, 125, 128–130, 142, 146, 168, 173
- Devil is an Ass, The* (Jonson) 137–138, 152
- Devil's Charter, The* (Barnes) 3, 5, 9–10, 99–100, 103, 105–106, 108, 129–148, 178, 189, 194, 205
- Devineresse, ou Les Faux Enchantements, La* (Corneille) 173, 174
- Dionysus (myth) 182–183
- Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty, A* (Gauden) 113, 139
- discovery 21, 50, 133, 138, 162, 175, 187–188, 190
- Doctor Faustus* (Marlowe) 25
- Doll Common (character) 159, 168, 170–171
- Donne, John 57
- D'Outremeuse, Jean 36
- Downname, John 143
- Drebbel, Cornelius 51
- Drummond of Hawthornden, William 103, 168
- Duchess of Malfi (character) 10, 100, 105, 107, 108–129, 130, 145, 147–148
- Duchess of Malfi, The* (Webster) 3, 9–10, 99–100, 103, 105, 106, 108–129, 130, 147–148, 169, 185, 194
- dress *see* clothing
- dressing table 9, 108, 137, 144, 148, 194
- echo 2, 46, 127–129
- écriture féminine* 107, 136
- Edward I (character) 8–9, 60–65, 67, 68–75
- Edward I (of England) 60, 61, 65, 73, 74–75, 95
- Edward I* (Peele) 3, 5, 8–9, 55, 58, 59, 60–75, 78, 95–97, 115, 142, 178
- Edward II (of England) 32
- Edward III* (Shakespeare) 33
- Edward the Confessor (of England) 75
- Egypt; Egyptian 10, 172, 177, 181–183, 188
- Eisenberg, Peter 14
- Eleanor of Castile (character) 60–61, 63–75, 95–96, 115, 142, 178
- Eleanor of Castile 65, 73, 95
- Elizabeth I (of England); Elizabethan 3, 8, 16, 17, 19, 21, 33, 36–37, 45, 55, 57, 66, 68, 69, 70, 75, 79, 84, 86–87, 95–96, 101–106, 119, 121, 153, 161, 197, 200, 203, 205
- Elyot, Thomas 195
- empiricism 3, 152, 173. *see also* science
- Epaminondas (of Thebes) 78–82, 94
- Epicene* (Jonson) 137–138
- Eulenspiegel, Till 158, 160–161
- Every Man Out of His Humour* (Jonson) 195
- eyesight 3, 7–8, 23–28, 40–44, 45, 47, 50, 64, 86, 105, 126, 132–134, 163–165, 169–170, 186, 204, 205–206
- exemplary mirrors 7, 8–9, 55–97, 118–120, 165, 193–194
- in *Bussy D'Ambois* 8–9, 75–95

- in *Edward I* 8–9, 60–75
 experiments 3, 46, 140, 149, 151–155,
 157, 162–164, 166, 172, 173, 175
- Face (character) 158–163, 166–167,
 170–172, 205
- face blotting *see* face spotting
- face painting 9–10, 91, 101–103,
 106–108, 111–114, 122–123,
 129–146, 147. *see also* cosmetics
- face spotting 142–143, 176
- Faerie Queene, The* (Spenser) 50,
 57, 182
- Fair Maid of the Inn, The* (Fletcher)
 110
- family resemblance 16, 29–31, 47
- Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth,
 The* (Anonymous) 61
- Fancies, Chast and Noble, The* (Ford)
 110
- female agency 7, 9–10, 70–71,
 99–108, 111–118, 127–129, 130,
 132–141, 145, 148, 193
- female rule *see* gynecocracy debate
- femininity 49, 70–71, 99, 102–103,
 106–108, 111, 115, 120–126,
 130, 133, 136–137, 142–143,
 147–148
- (proto)feminism 70–71, 106–108,
 111, 115–117, 127–128, 130,
 148
- Ferdinand (character) 108, 110, 111,
 116–118, 121–123, 125, 127–
 130, 132, 147, 185
- Ficino, Marsilio 152
- fire imagery 26–27, 92, 118, 125–126,
 142–143, 170–171
- Ford, John 110
- Forman, Simon 152
- Fortune (playhouse) 164–165
- Foucault, Michel 15, 17–19, 59, 106,
 115–116, 203
- Four Bookes of Offices* (Barnes)
 146
- France; French 14, 18, 33, 37–38, 41,
 51, 76, 81, 84–87, 89, 96, 108,
 110, 122–123, 172
- Foxe, John 67
- Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*
 (Greene) 160, 167, 180, 189
- Gainsford, Thomas 143
- Galen (of Pergamon) 42–43, 140
- Galilei, Galileo 121, 126, 190
- Game at Chess, A* (Middleton) 3, 10,
 149, 151, 153–155, 172–191, 198
- Gascoigne, George 79–83, 200
- Gauden, John 113, 139
- genealogy 14, 15–17, 20, 23, 29–31,
 37, 40, 47–50, 74
- ghosts 41, 42, 44, 50, 56, 77, 91,
 93–94, 130, 137, 145–146,
 180–181, 185
- glass (material) 1, 3, 15, 19, 23–25,
 28–31, 33–39, 50, 57, 61, 71–72,
 75, 77–89, 91, 102–105, 111,
 118–126, 149–159, 161, 163–
 166, 168–172, 180–181, 200,
 204–206
- brittle 23, 28, 29–31, 33–35, 36, 50,
 78, 159, 171–172
- burning 126, 158, 168, 170–171
- dark 155–158, 161, 163, 166
- enchanted 79, 82, 83–89, 180–181
- flattering 23–25, 37, 80, 85, 87–88,
 102–105, 119, 122
- manufacture 15, 71–72, 81, 124–
 125, 153, 200, 204
- technology 15, 19, 75, 121–122,
 126, 149–155, 157–158, 164–
 166, 169–170, 205–206
- Globe (playhouse) 1, 11, 34, 35, 175,
 188, 194, 199
- Goodman, Godfrey 102, 104, 105
- Golden Age (myth) 83–84, 89, 91–92
- Gosson, Stephen 43, 195–196
- Plays Confuted in Five Actions* 196
- The School of Abuse* 196

- Gorgon *see* Medusa (myth)
 Gower, John 36, 37
 Grabes, Herbert 5, 17, 55, 56, 58, 59, 130
 Grasser, Johann Jacob 14, 15
 Greenblatt, Stephen 4, 6, 59, 69, 75, 106, 136, 139
 Greene, Robert 160, 180
 gynecocracy debate 48, 70–71, 99–108, 110, 116, 118, 119
- hair 40, 46, 47, 70, 74, 108, 111, 113–114, 117–118, 135, 136, 138
 Hakewill, George 26, 42
Hamlet (Shakespeare) 2, 165, 195, 197
 Harriot, Thomas 190
 Henry Bolingbroke (character) 22–35, 117
 Henry II (of France) 38
 Henry III (character) 83–84, 86, 87, 89–91, 95, 96
 Henry III (of France) 38
 Henry IV (of France) 38, 108
Henry IV (Shakespeare) 23
 Part One 23, 25, 26–27
 Part Two 23, 58
 Henry IV (character) 22, 26–27, 34
 Henry V (of England) 57, 60
Henry VI, Part One (Shakespeare) 58
 Henry VII (of England) 8, 14–17, 32, 45
 Henry VIII (of England) 8, 14, 15, 17, 66, 67, 74, 150
 Henslowe, Philip 60, 62
 Hermeticism 181–182, 188, 191
 Hero of Alexandria 188
 Hesiod 83
 heterotopia (Foucault) 115–116
 Heywood, Thomas 25, 195–196
 Hickman, Bartholomew 156
Hic Mulier: or, The Man-Woman (Anonymous) 113
 Hispanophobia 69, 95. *see also* Spain; Spanish
- history plays (genre) 3, 8, 20, 36–37, 55, 58, 96–97, 194
 Holinshed, Raphael 45, 48, 57
 Holland, Henry 123
 Hopton, Arthur 199
 Hostius Quadra 169–170
- idol; idolatry 43, 56, 61, 65–68, 100–101, 102, 142–145, 176, 179–182
 iconoclasm 66, 143–145
 imitation *see* mimesis
 imperial mirrors 7–8, 13–53, 149, 193, 199
 in *Macbeth* 7–8, 37–51
 in *Richard II* 7–8, 21–37
 intelligence 44, 45, 88, 118, 156, 203.
 see also surveillance
 intromission (theory of sight) 43, 179
- inversion 2, 7–11, 19, 21, 23, 26–27, 30, 31, 37, 40, 47, 49–50, 52, 56, 59–60, 69, 76, 83, 87–89, 91, 108, 110–111, 115, 122, 124, 125, 129, 149, 155, 176, 193, 203
- Irigaray, Luce 57
Iron Age, Part Two, The (Heywood) 25, 134
- Italy; Italian 14, 108, 110, 142, 152, 203
- James VI and I (of England);
 Jacobean 3, 8, 9, 10, 17, 37, 39, 40, 46–48, 51, 55, 56–57, 61, 63, 86–87, 94, 95–96, 100, 102, 104, 107, 125, 151, 187, 189, 197, 200
- Jay, Martin 17–18
 Jeamson, Thomas 145
 Jesuits 172, 175–176, 178, 184
John a Kent and John a Cumber (Munday) 189
 John of Salisbury 204
 Jonson, Ben 10, 58, 102–103, 105, 137, 143, 151–152, 157, 162, 168, 172, 189, 195, 205

- The Alchemist* 3, 10, 149, 151, 153,
 154, 155–172, 175, 184, 188,
 189–190, 194, 198, 205
Bartholomew Fair 58
Cynthia's Revels 137
The Devil is an Ass 137–138, 152
Epicene 137–138
Every Man Out of His Humour 195
The Underwood 143
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. 16, 23,
 32, 33, 50
 Karim-Cooper, Farah 101, 102, 106,
 110, 112, 113, 123, 135, 136,
 138, 139, 140, 205
 Kelley, Edward 156, 161–162
King Lear (Shakespeare) 8, 49
 kings; kingship *see* monarchs;
 monarchy
 King's Men (acting company) 39,
 110, 175
 king's two bodies, the 16–17, 23, 30,
 31–35, 46, 48, 50, 64, 67, 69–70,
 102, 105, 113
 Kircher, Athanasius 182–183
Knight of the Burning Pestle, The
 (Beaumont) 50
 knowledge 2–3, 6, 14, 15, 41, 43, 45,
 56, 71, 79, 83, 99–100, 103, 105,
 106, 107, 122, 124–125, 127,
 130, 137–141, 149, 151, 152,
 162, 166–167, 181–182, 184,
 186–187
 of nature *see also* science or
 natural magic
 of the future *see also* prognostic
 mirrors
 of the self *see also* reflexivity
 Knox, John 119
- Lady Macbeth (character) 41, 49,
 132–133
 legerdemain 3, 7, 10, 40, 44, 51, 84,
 151, 154, 155, 157–159, 161,
 163, 166, 169, 171, 172–175,
 176, 179–180, 186, 198
Lingua (Tomkis) 195, 200
 Lodge, Thomas 195, 196
 looking glass *see* mirrors
 Lord Chamberlain's Men (acting
 company) 34
 Louis XIV (of France) 18, 85,
 108, 109
 Louis de Clermont, Bussy d'Amboise
 76
Love's Labour's Lost (Shakespeare)
 112, 136
 Lucretia Borgia (character) 10, 100,
 105, 107–108, 130, 132–148,
 176, 178, 205
 Lyly, John 25
- Macbeth (character) 8, 14, 29,
 39–53, 189
Macbeth (Shakespeare) 3, 7–8, 13,
 17, 18, 20, 37–53, 59, 61, 123,
 132–133, 189, 194
 Macduff (character) 42–45, 48, 59
 magic 6, 10, 14, 19, 38, 41, 45, 51, 69,
 71, 132, 149–152, 154–155, 157,
 160, 162–163, 164, 167–168,
 170, 174–175, 177, 178, 180–
 182, 184, 186, 188, 189–191,
 193–194, 199, 204, 206. *see also*
 sorcery
 magus 3, 149, 152, 181, 191
 make-up *see* cosmetics or face
 painting
 Mammon (character) 158, 162,
 168–171
 Manningham, John 102, 104
 Mansell, Robert 153
 Marlowe, Christopher 25, 134
Doctor Faustus 25
Tamburlaine the Great, Part One
 134
 Mary I (of England) 67, 119
 Mary (Stuart), Queen of Scots 21, 48

- masculinity 7, 10, 16, 37, 49, 55,
 70–71, 76, 79, 80, 83, 99, 116,
 124–125, 136, 140, 141
 (anti)masque 9, 111, 122, 125, 187
 Massinger, Philip 110, 134
 The City Madam 110
 The Picture 134
 materiality 1, 4–7, 15, 19, 23–24, 34,
 39, 57, 61, 68, 72, 75–83, 85, 99,
 101, 108, 116, 120–121, 127,
 131, 136, 142, 151, 153, 155,
 158, 159, 162, 163, 168, 180,
 193–194, 196–198, 200–201
May Day (Chapman) 58
Measure for Measure (Shakespeare)
 40, 78
 Medici, Catherine de' 37–38, 41, 51,
 81, 203
 Medici, Marie de' 108, 109, 110
 medicine; medical 42, 120, 132, 138,
 139–141
 Medusa (myth) 40, 43–44, 166
memento mori 123, 131
Merchant of Venice, The
 (Shakespeare) 123
 mercury 141, 162, 205. *see*
 also poison
 Meres, Francis 25
Metamorphoses (Ovid) 43, 64, 180
 metatheatricality 52–53, 147–148,
 155, 158, 160, 164–165,
 170–172, 180, 183, 186–191,
 193–194, 197–201
 Middleton, Thomas 10, 151, 174, 175,
 183, 186, 187, 189
 A Game at Chess 3, 10, 149, 151,
 153–155, 172–191, 198
 Women Beware Women 134
Midsummer Night's Dream, A
 (Shakespeare) 160, 172
 mimesis 2, 7, 55, 56, 68, 69, 90, 93,
 94, 102, 112, 114, 136, 163, 169,
 187, 195, 197
miroirs de mort 129–130, 131
Mirror of Modestie (Salter) 101
 mirrors (history of)
 ancient 8, 10, 13–14, 36, 99, 152,
 169, 179, 195
 early modern 1–11, 16, 25, 55,
 82–83, 88, 99, 108–109, 129–
 130, 137–138, 144, 166, 174,
 193, 197–201, 204, 205
 mirrors (materiality of)
 crystal 57, 63, 65, 75, 78, 80–83,
 88–89, 92, 101, 118, 134, 152,
 156–157, 160, 165, 189, 195,
 196, 204, 206
 glass 1, 3–4, 15, 23–24, 34, 39,
 50, 57, 61, 75, 77–83, 124–126,
 150–153, 154–155, 169–170,
 204, 206
 metal 23, 57, 77–83
 obsidian 155–158, 163
 steel 77–83, 89–91, 94–95, 196,
 204
 mirrors (purpose of)
 as props 1–11, 13–14, 16, 22–24,
 30, 34–35, 36, 39, 45–47, 50–53,
 60–65, 97, 100, 107, 110, 111–
 118, 130, 132–137, 146, 147–
 148, 157, 159, 161, 174–178,
 185–186, 189, 193–201, 203
 as tropes 1–11, 16, 55–58, 60,
 75–77, 83–89, 91–92, 95–97,
 102, 118–126, 193–201
 magic 6, 10, 14, 19, 38, 41, 45,
 51, 71, 132, 149–152, 155, 157,
 160, 162–163, 167–168, 170,
 174–175, 177, 180–184, 186,
 189–191, 199, 204, 206
 of the theatre 1–3, 5, 11, 52–53, 76,
 95–97, 146, 147–148, 151, 161,
 165, 168, 189–201
 prognostic 13, 37–40, 44–47, 51,
 81, 164, 172–175, 177, 184,
 205–206
 trick 7, 10, 34, 50–51, 84, 150–152,
 154–155, 157, 158, 161, 163,

- 166, 169, 171, 172–175, 176–177, 179–180, 186
- mirrors (shape of)
- broken 16–17, 23, 28, 29–37, 46, 50, 92, 119, 158, 159, 171–172, 189, 194, 205
 - concave/convex *see* curved
 - curved 79, 82–83, 204
 - flat *see* plain/plane
 - frame 1, 34, 108, 119–120, 128, 155–156, 175, 205
 - handheld 1, 39, 110, 175
 - plain/plane 79, 82–83
 - pocket 80, 110
 - shards 1, 33–34, 171
 - table 108, 108, 110, 111, 129–130, 132, 137, 144, 148, 194
 - toilet *see* table
 - wall 158, 169–171, 175
- Mirror for Magistrates, The* 9, 36, 56, 58, 77, 93
- mirror for princes 9, 13, 35, 36, 51, 55–59, 61, 75, 82, 86, 87, 93, 97, 204
- Mirrour of Monsters, A* (Rankins) 196
- monarchs; monarchy 7–8, 13–53, 55–75, 77, 81, 83–84, 85, 86–87, 88, 89, 90–91, 93, 94–97, 102, 103, 104–105, 108, 122, 134, 149–150, 189, 199, 203, 204
- and mirrors 7–8, 13–25, 28, 30–46, 50–53, 55–75, 81, 85, 86–87, 94, 96–97, 102, 104–105, 108, 122, 149–150, 189, 199
- Monsieur (character) 77–79, 81–84, 87–89, 91, 94
- moon imagery 92, 121–122, 126
- Monvoisin, Catherine (La Voisin) 172–173, 174
- Motticilla (character) 130, 132, 138, 140, 141, 144, 147
- Muses Looking-Glass, The* (Randolph) 137, 165, 182, 194–195
- Narcissus (myth) 63–64, 179
- Nashe, Thomas 112, 142, 149–150
- Natural History* (Pliny the Elder) 163
- Natural Magic* (Della Porta) 79, 169
- Natural Questions* (Seneca the Younger) 169–170
- natural magic 2, 3, 7, 10, 149, 152–157, 167, 172, 173, 175, 189–190, 193
- natural-magic mirrors 7, 10, 132, 149–191, 194
- in *The Alchemist* 10, 155–172
 - in *A Game at Chess* 10, 172–188
- natural philosophy *see* natural magic
- Neoplatonism 152
- New Atlantis* (Bacon) 153–154
- New Historicism 6
- New Materialism 4–7
- Nicholes, Alexander 136
- Nonnos of Panopolis 183
- Northbrooke, John 43
- Nostradamus (Michel de Nostredame) 38–39, 51, 81
- Novella, The* (Brome) 182
- Novum Organum* (Bacon) 179–180
- obsidian *see* mirror (materiality of)
- occultism 3, 10, 31, 149, 150–153, 161–162, 163, 176, 180–181, 187, 189, 190, 194
- ocularphobia 26, 40–44
- Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Kircher) 182–183
- Old Lady (character) 122–124
- optics 3, 6, 10, 42, 46, 47, 50–51, 122, 150–154, 156, 157–158, 164, 166, 167, 190
- Orpheus (myth) 180–181
- Othello* (Shakespeare) 181
- Ovid 25, 43, 64, 83, 123–124, 180
- The Art of Love* 124
 - Metamorphoses* 43–44, 64, 180
- paganism 68, 176, 180–183
- Painter, William 114

- Palace of Pleasure, The* (Painter) 114
panopticism (Foucault) 17–20, 22, 27–28, 40, 44–47, 85, 203
Pasquier, Nicolas 41
patriarchy 7, 71, 74, 100, 106–107, 111, 114–118, 119, 126, 127–129, 132, 137, 140–141, 148
Peele, George 8–9, 55, 60, 62, 65, 67, 69, 73–75, 95–96, 142
Edward I 3, 5, 8–9, 55, 58, 59, 60–75, 78, 95–97, 115, 142, 178
performance 3, 4, 10, 11, 21, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 39, 42, 46–47, 48, 50–53, 59, 60, 62, 67, 93, 96–97, 125, 128, 133, 134, 147, 150, 151, 152, 154–155, 156–161, 162, 164–165, 166, 167, 170, 171–172, 174, 175, 178, 180, 182, 184–185, 188, 193–194, 197, 200–201
Perseus (myth) 43–44
perspective 34, 46, 126, 150, 153–154, 157–158, 160, 161–163, 166–168, 189, 197, 199, 205–206
glasses 126, 150, 153–154, 160, 163, 166–167, 189, 199, 205–206. *see also* telescope
paintings 166
Petrarch 65, 102, 136
phallic imagery 116–117, 124–126, 135
Pharos of Alexandria 14, 182
Philipp Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania 14
Philip II (of Spain) 67
Picture, The (Massinger) 134
Pizan, Christine de 113–115
Platt, Hugh 140
Platter, Thomas 198
Play of Wyt and Science, The (Redford) 143
Plays Confuted in Five Actions (Gosson) 196
Pliny the Elder 163
Plowden, Edmund 16, 32
Poesis rediviva, or, Poesie reviv'd (Collop) 114
poison 130, 140–143, 145–147, 205
policy; *politique* 16, 85–86, 95, 137, 146
Pope Alexander (character) 108, 130, 132, 137, 140, 143, 145, 146, 189
portrait painting 15–17, 66, 104, 112–113, 119–120, 135, 196–197
pride *see* vanity
Prince Hal (character) 25, 26–27, 29, 61
prospective *see* perspective
Protestantism 61, 66–67, 68, 119, 142–144, 176–180, 182, 187
Prynne, William 101
Puttenham, George 24–25, 27, 166, 167
Pygmalion (myth) 180
queens; queenship 48, 61, 63–65, 66, 68, 69, 72–74, 86, 95, 102, 110.
see also gynecocracy debate
querelle des femmes see woman controversy
Randolph, Thomas 165, 194–195, 196
Rape of Lucrece, The (Shakespeare) 120–121
Redford, John 143
Red Lion (playhouse) 200
(self-)reflection 2, 4, 6–7, 8, 11, 14–18, 21–25, 28, 30–35, 37, 40, 43, 44, 46–47, 50–51, 55–59, 61, 63–65, 67–68, 72–74, 75–76, 78–79, 81, 82, 87–92, 94–95, 99, 102–104, 107, 110, 111, 117, 119, 122, 128, 129, 133, 135, 144, 146, 148, 151, 155, 156, 160–161, 163, 165, 169, 173, 175–179, 181–185, 193–200, 204
Reformation 42, 66, 95, 144–145, 165

- Renaissance 2, 6–7, 18, 42, 55, 65,
70, 102, 106, 110, 124, 138, 153,
181, 182, 191, 199
- Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, The*
(Chapman) 75–76, 77, 85,
87, 92–95
- reflexivity 6–7, 63–64, 76–77, 79, 103,
147, 197–198. *see also* (self-)
reflection
- Richard II (character) 14, 22–37, 39,
46, 48, 50, 52–53, 117
- Richard II (of England) 8, 21, 37, 52
- Richard II* (Shakespeare) 3, 7–8, 13,
17, 18, 20, 21–37, 39, 45, 47, 50,
52–53, 61, 104, 166, 171, 185, 194
- Richard III* (Shakespeare) 33, 84
- Rich Cabinet, The* (Gainsford) 143
- Richmond, Palace of 14, 15, 16, 45
- Roderigo Borgia (character) *see* Pope
Alexander
- Rollo Duke of Normandy* (Fletcher,
Massinger, Jonson, Chapman)
190
- Rose (playhouse) 1, 11
- Rowley, William 174
- Rudolf II (Holy Roman Emperor)
162, 186, 190
- Salter, Thomas 101
- Saker, Austen 25
- Saul, Barnabas 156
- science 3, 10, 127, 143, 149–155,
156, 163–164, 167, 169, 172,
173, 181, 190–191. *see also*
natural magic
- 'Scientific Revolution' 10, 151,
153, 190
- School of Abuse, The* (Gosson) 196
- Schott, Gaspar 167–168
- scopic regimes 17–18, 20, 23, 26,
27–28, 40, 61, 65
- Scot, Reginald 166–167
- scrying 152, 155–156, 160–163, 173,
206. *see also* catoptromancy
- Seneca the Younger 56, 169–170
- shadows 30, 39, 43, 44, 49, 52–53,
57, 116, 128–129, 145, 146, 151,
158, 160–161, 163, 168, 170,
181, 184–186
- Shakespeare, William 1, 4, 5, 7, 8,
13–14, 16, 17, 20–21, 22, 23, 25,
29, 32–37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 52, 58,
61, 70, 78, 79, 84, 85, 88, 90, 104,
112, 117, 132, 135, 166, 185, 204
- Antony and Cleopatra* 70, 166, 182
- The Comedy of Errors* 117
- Cymbeline* 58
- Edward III* 33
- Hamlet* 2, 165, 195, 197
- Henry IV, Part One* 23, 25, 26–27
- Henry IV, Part Two* 23, 58
- Henry VI, Part One* 58
- King Lear* 8, 49
- Love's Labour's Lost* 112, 136
- Macbeth* 3, 7–8, 13, 17, 18, 20, 37–
53, 59, 61, 123, 132–133, 189, 194
- Measure for Measure* 40, 78
- The Merchant of Venice* 123
- A Midsummer Night's Dream*
160, 172
- Othello* 181
- The Rape of Lucrece* 120–21
- Richard II* 3, 7–8, 13, 17, 18, 20,
21–37, 39, 45, 47, 50, 52–53, 61,
104, 166, 171, 185, 194
- Richard III* 33, 84
- The Tempest* 188
- Timon of Athens* 85
- Troilus and Cressida* 79, 90, 204
- Twelfth Night* 112, 117, 135
- The Two Gentlemen of Verona* 185
- The Winter's Tale* 8
- Shoemaker, A Gentleman, A* (Rowley)
174–175, 190
- Shuger, Debora 6–7, 55, 80
- Sidereus Nuncius* (Galilei) 121
- Sidney, Philip 96–97
- sight *see* eyesight

- Silverman, Kaja 128
 Sofer, Andrew 4–5, 158
 sorcery 82, 155, 164, 178, 180. *see also* occultism
 Southwell, Elizabeth 102, 104–105
 sovereignty 2, 7–8, 13–21, 31, 36–37, 40, 42, 48, 53, 58, 58, 93, 97, 114, 193. *see also* monarchs; monarchy
 Spain; Spanish 8, 14, 21, 61, 65–70, 95–96, 142, 155, 175, 176, 178
Spanish Tragedy, The (Kyd) 134
 spectacle 3, 9, 15, 19, 25, 40–44, 46, 51, 61, 66–68, 130, 136, 145, 147, 149, 151, 155, 158, 170, 176, 177, 181, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 193
 spectre; spectral 40, 50–51, 108, 145, 158, 180–181. *see also* ghosts
speculum books (genre) 3, 9, 55–58, 78, 87, 97, 199
Speculum Topographicum (Hopton) 199
 Spenser, Edmund 65
 Amoretti 65
 The Faerie Queene 50, 57, 182
 spirits 40, 46, 91, 146, 156, 160–162, 173, 182. *see also* ghosts
 statues 153, 176, 187–188
Steele Glas, The (Gascoigne) 79–83, 200
 Stow, John 37
 Stuart dynasty 39, 47–48, 51
 Charles I 32, 57
 James VI and I 3, 8, 9, 10, 17, 37, 39, 40, 46–48, 51, 55, 56–57, 61, 63, 86–87, 94, 95–96, 100, 102, 104, 107, 125, 151, 187, 189, 197, 200
 Mary, Queen of Scots 21–22, 48
 Stuart Myth 39
 Stubbes, Philip 130
 Subtle (character) 159–165, 168, 171, 205
 subversion 7, 8, 10, 20, 39, 48, 59, 65, 87, 100, 107, 118, 139, 148
 sun imagery 20, 24, 26–27, 68, 72–73, 79, 133, 135
 supernatural 47, 166, 170
 surveillance 13, 15–19, 40, 45–47, 203
Sylva Sylvarum (Bacon) 173
Tamburlaine the Great, Part One (Marlowe) 134
 Taylor, John 196
 telescope 13–21, 121–122, 126, 165, 182, 190, 199, 206
Tempest, The (Shakespeare) 188
 Theatre (playhouse) 34, 200
Theatre of Gods Judgements, The (Beard) 58
 Thomasius, Thomas 196
Three Books of Occult Philosophy, The (Agrippa) 150, 151
Timon of Athens (Shakespeare) 85
 Titans (myth) 183
 Tomkis, Thomas 195, 196
 Albumazar 190
 Lingua 195, 200
 tragedy (genre) 3, 9, 32, 36, 39, 44, 76, 91, 100, 117, 147, 160, 195, 196
Travels of the Three English Brothers, The (Day, Rowley, Wilkins) 186, 189, 199
Treatise Against Witchcraft, A (Holland) 123
 trickery *see* legerdemain
Troilus and Cressida (Shakespeare) 79, 90, 204
True State of the Businesse of Glasse of all Kindes, The (Mansell) 153
 Tudor dynasty 13–21, 47, 56
 Elizabeth I 3, 8, 16, 17, 19, 21, 33, 36–37, 45, 55, 57, 66, 68, 69, 70, 75, 79, 84, 86–87, 95–96,

- 101–106, 119, 121, 153, 161,
197, 200, 203, 205
Henry VII 8, 14–17, 32, 45
Henry VIII 8, 14, 15, 17, 66, 67,
74, 150
Mary I 67, 119
Tudor Myth 16
Tuke, Thomas 101, 107, 112, 136,
142, 143
Twelfth Night (Shakespeare) 112,
117, 135
twins 117, 128–129, 195
Two Gentlemen of Verona, The
(Shakespeare) 185
- Ulenspiegel *see* Eulenspiegel, Till
Underwood, The (Jonson) 143
Unfortunate Traveller, The (Nashe)
149–150
utopia 83, 111, 115–116, 117, 121,
153–154, 162
- vanitas* (genre) 3, 9–10, 100, 110–
111, 118, 128–130, 148
Vanitie of the Eie, The (Hakewill)
26
vanity 3, 7, 9–10, 68–70, 78, 87, 89,
92, 101, 103, 106, 108, 110,
117–118, 130, 145, 199
Vanity of Arts and Sciences, The
(Agrippa) 150
Venice 108, 138, 205
Versailles, Palace of 18, 85
- (in)visibility 18–20, 23–28, 29, 37, 41,
42, 43–44, 64–65, 85, 116, 134,
158, 162, 169, 179, 198
Vives, Juan Luis 134, 185
- water imagery 26–28, 72–73, 77–
78, 195
Webster, John 9, 100, 110–114, 117–
118, 128, 145, 147–148
The Duchess of Malfi 3, 9–10,
99–100, 103, 105, 106, 108–129,
130, 147–148, 169, 185, 194
The White Devil 118
Wecker, Johann Jacob 139
White Devil, The (Webster) 118
White Queen's Pawn (character)
175–187
witchcraft; witches 39, 40–44, 45, 47,
48, 49–50, 51, 122, 123, 143,
164, 173, 174, 189
Winter's Tale, The (Shakespeare) 8
Whore of Babylon (Bible) 141–
144, 178
Whore of Babylon, The (Dekker)
78, 143
Whitehall, Palace of 205
Women Beware Women (Middleton)
134
woman controversy 113–114, 116,
118–122
Woman in the Moon, The (Lyly) 134
Works and Days (Hesiod) 83
- Zinzerling, Justus 14