Civic and Medical Worlds in Early Modern England

Performing Barbery and Surgery

Eleanor Decamp

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Performing Barbery and Surgery

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For my parents, Sian and Rob

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Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

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'Thou thought'st to help me'; I am profoundly grateful.

Abbreviations and Conventions

The usual abbreviations are used for journals, e.g. *MLR = Modern Language Review*, *ELH = Journal of English Literary History*, *RES = Review of English Studies*, *N&Q = Notes and Queries*.

Barbers' Archive	The Archives of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, Monkwell Square, London
Comedies and Tragedies	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: 1647)
the Company	The Worshipful Company of Barbers and Surgeons of London, established in 1540 by an Act of Parliament. See Introduction for further clarification of the standard terms I apply in this book for 'barber', 'surgeon', 'barber-surgeon', etc.
Collected Works	Thomas Middleton, *The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007)
Complete Works	William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
Court Minutes	*Minutes of the Court of Assistants* [of The Company]
dir.	directed [by]
DNB	[*Oxford*] *Dictionary of National Biography*
Dramatic Works	Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1966–96)
edn(s)	edition(s)
esp.	especially
FN	footnote
fo.	folio number
MLA	*Modern Language Association*
MR	Mary Rose [used in catalogue references]
MS	Manuscript
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*

REED	Records of Early English Drama
RSC	Royal Shakespeare Company
s.d.	stage direction
Shakespeare Centre	The Shakespeare Centre Library, Stratford-upon-Avon
sig.	signature number
[E]STC	[English] Short Title Catalogue
t.p.	title page
TTN	*The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1597) [used only in chapter five]

I retain the choices (and inconsistencies) of the spelling and punctuation marks of the early modern primary texts, including ampersands, with the following exceptions: diacritical marks from early modern type-set conventions are removed; abbreviations are resolved in closed brackets; 'u' and 'v', and 'f' and 's' are distinguished, as is 'j' from 'i'; capitalized words are made lower-case except in speech prefixes; titles of works are given modern spellings in the main text but retain their early modern spelling in referencing, and capitalized first letters are used in accordance with modern titling conventions; 'The' is elided from main text referencing to plays' titles.

Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from Shakespeare (including collaborative works) are taken from *Complete Works* with the exception of *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Sir Thomas More*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Troilus and Cressida* which are taken from the Arden editions (because I consider these plays at greater length and interact with editorial gloss) referenced in the bibliography. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from Middleton (and his collaborators) are taken from *Collected Works*; quotations from Webster are taken from John Webster, *Three Plays*, ed. D. C. Gunby (London: Penguin, 1972); quotations from Fletcher (and his collaborators) are taken from *Comedies and Tragedies* apart from *Monsieur Thomas* (1639), which was not included in the 1647 Folio. Signature and folio numbers from plays printed pre-1700 are first given in footnotes and thereafter included parenthetically in the main text, similarly for ballads' stanza and line references. Page numbers from lengthy works are preferred if given; errors on the original pagination are signalled where appropriate. Dates of early modern publications are taken from EEBO and compared with the British Library's ESTC and the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA). The place of publication of books pre-1730 is London unless otherwise indicated.

The fair copies of most of The Company's constitutional documents are on eight large skins of parchment, mounted at Barber-Surgeon's Hall, and inaccessible to researchers. References to The Company's law-making are therefore taken from their *Charter, Act and Ordinance Book* (A/6/1, Folio), begun in 1604 for The Company's daily reference, and with only slight alterations

from the constitutional documents. Whereas on the parchment the clauses of the 1606 Ordinances are numbered 45/46, in the Book they are number 38/39. This is due to certain clauses being amalgamated in the copy book. The 1566 Ordinances are only recorded in *Court Minutes* (1566–1603), B/1/2. NB 1566 'rules' precede the copy of the 1566 Ordinances. I am grateful to The Company for granting me permission to quote from their manuscripts.

All references to wills and inventories are taken from manuscripts held at The National Archives, Kew, London. I am grateful to The National Archives for granting me permission to quote from their manuscripts. Copyright for Figure 1.1 was obtained from the British Library.

Name

Introduction: Naming of Parts

'Worth explaining'

In Thomas Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent* there is strife in Queenborough 'Between a Country Barber and a Taylour' (E4r).[1] Hengist orders 'Call in the Barber' and a line later stage directions prescribe '*Enter Barber*'. Barbers on stage were often equipped with recognizable gear of their occupation, so Hengist's line, 'Now, Sir, are you the Barber?' (questioning what is obvious), is likely to catch a laugh. 'Oh most barbarous!', puns the barber in response.[2] Related activities evoked alongside these addresses are palpably barber-orientated: reducing a long tale is envisaged as being 'cut … short'; the barber refers to himself as 'A Corrector of enormities in hair' and 'A promooter of upper lips' [sic], providing fitting antonyms that reflect his trade; and when the barber says that his business 'lyes about the head', Hengist quips, 'That's work for you'. Our understanding of this barber is so far straightforward: like a modern barber his business is tonsorial.

But the Barber suggests that his contemporaries face multiple choice when trying to pin him down onomastically: 'or what your Lordship,/In the neatness of your discretion, shall think fit to call me', he says, having offered epithets. And within fourteen lines he formally redresses his name and status: 'I am a Barber-Chirurgeon', he says. What has happened? The matter of the dispute with the tailor has emerged. The barber wants formally to work and be recognized within the town's civic 'Body' – its 'Corporation' – as a guild member. Hengist says that the barber has 'no business with the Body' ('the Barber's out at the Body', he confirms), punning on the association of the physical (interior) body and calling on ordinance decree about the limits of barbery practice: 'This' (meaning work on the inner as opposed to outer body) ''tis to reach beyond your own profession', declares Hengist. It is at this moment that, to justify his civic – rather than occupational – status, the barber says, 'I am a Barber-Chirurgeon'. He does not assert that title to align himself with medical practice in which he is untrained (i.e. *irregular*), although the comic factor in the scene is that this is *suggested* (and that he is

unwitting); instead 'Barber-Chirurgeon' is supposed to be a bureaucratic title which imbues him with legitimacy in the guild system, with which he has had 'something to do … In [his] time'. Middleton plays on the very theme of medical naming and civic status.

I originally began an examination of medical practitioners in early modern England by focusing on, as I then collectively named them, 'barber-surgeons'. But I soon found that I did not really understand to whom I was referring, and what emerged from early modern writing was a vexed Trinity of 'barber', 'surgeon', and 'barber-surgeon'. This book is motivated by that early puzzlement of mine and a more general observation that when it becomes challenging for a writer to impose a label simply through a name, without pause, iteration, or comment, then there is usually something at stake in the meaning and perception of the subject. The seemingly needless exchange I quote from *Hengist* is easily overlooked. It is not part of the thicker fabric of the drama's contemporary commentary on the collapse of the cloth industry, the scandals of renowned strumpets, the political threats to the country's unity, and its Saxon precedents; and it does not even seem to impact the townspeople's vote for a Mayor later in the scene, an activity in which the Barber is permitted to participate. But in a play that notoriously subverts national crises and petty quarrels, we should not be too dismissive of its inclusion. For Middleton and his contemporaries the questions about a barber's identity and the perimeters of his practice are – as this book unearths – potent ones, so much so that they attain an emblematic quality in this short dialogue and in other texts. The passing fuss about where the Barber *belongs* in Queenborough contributes to and underscores the meaning-making of the drama, which is interested in questions of legitimacy, the correspondences between constitutional and corporeal bodies, the consequences of attempting to 'reach beyond' your lot, and the hazards of being misread and falsely labelled (directly or indirectly). And these themes are further fuelled by the destabilizing effect Middleton has on genre in this play: he is in the business of challenging forms of categorization.

My aim is to clarify writers' references to these figures, question what was up for grabs, and explore the allusive idiom of the occupations that exerted attraction for contemporary audiences but which have been neglected in scholarship. Doing so will help us to recognize these prominent men in their historical contexts – their contemporary practice and its regulations, and the civic and medical boundaries they negotiated – and also will help us to comprehend the way in which writers responded creatively to the barber, surgeon, barber-surgeon controversies, which this introduction will set out. Because the barber, surgeon, and barber-surgeon can overlap and conjoin, functioning as one, two or three practitioners at once, referencing or representing them calls into the question the very possibility of a figure being simply one dimensional, or 'stock'. This was a pertinent question for the stage where all figures are already embodiments (i.e. at least two in one), and particularly

in this period, which was acutely self-conscious of role-playing – an anxiety predominantly about gender and social construction that bred within and beyond the theatres. This book is interested in the conceptual as well as satirical possibilities for early modern writers in featuring barbers, surgeons, and barber-surgeons and their practices in literature and performance; as such it is particularly interested in theatrical works in the period. By studying the ways in which the figures were put to effect in compositions we also see more clearly the consciousness of identity making and unmaking and dramaturgic design in the period's popular culture.

The nineteenth-century editor William Gifford writes of the barbery references in John Ford's *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, 'This stuff is hardly worth explaining': a narrow and naïve reaction to the material that perhaps explains why the barber and practices of barbery in early modern England have been largely neglected in modern criticism.[3] Without wishing to seem too sanctimonious (or smug), it *is* worth pointing out that Gifford misreads the passage's references to citterns, snipper-snappers, and chequered patterns (all of which I examine in this book). Indeed, as we will find, the semantic possibilities of the lexicon allied with barbers are wide-ranging and demand careful exposition: often single words and passing references are misinterpreted or simply unacknowledged by editors and scholars.

To those who do write at any length on the barber he is predominantly a well-endowed reference point for the male and civic (by this I mean the world of urban governance, community and administrative affairs) culture of early modern times. The tonsorial world is indeed rich pickings for investigating socially-constructed (and constructing) and self-making masculinity in the period. Mark Albert Johnston has produced a number of studies on barbers and the homosocial nature of barbers' work and shop culture as well as investigated the significance of the early modern beard, situating his interests within an exploration of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gender construction and social (and sometimes economic) values.[4] By comparison Will Fisher examines early modern beards and hair as prosthetic, heavily-freighted material signifiers of gender, but he does not explore the barber's role in helping to shape and tend to the social/somatic male identity of the period.[5] In exposing an editorial error in *Taming of the Shrew*, Laurie Maguire has written on musical pursuits in barber shops and of the plucked cittern's symbolism of female pliability and passivity, which endorses an egregiously male tonsorial world.[6] Patricia Parker's article on the lexical association of barber and Barbarie, barbarousness, barbarism, and barbarianism, examines barbery's semantic affiliation with the language that referenced the cultures of the East – especially the Berber and Ottoman dynasties – and what was perceived as their depraved and violent (we could say, 'extreme male') society: allusion to sodomy, castration (unhairing, cutting, depilation, and gelding), piracy, and coarse conversions are central to her enquiry.[7] None of these barber-specific studies are book-length.

Even less probed by scholarly endeavour in literary studies is the association that barbers had with surgery and medicine (and vice versa), and consequently the fraught status of the barber-surgeon, both as a literal and implied figure. Margaret Pelling's contributions to History of Medicine are dedicated to the historical practices of barber-surgeons and other irregular practitioners, and she demonstrates how common and significant the barber-surgeon was in the period.[8] But the authors listed in the previous paragraph simply make passing reference to barbers' medical involvements in, for example, bloodletting and treating venereal diseases, taking them as read rather than up for grabs or particularly provocative. Similarly, when William Kerwin, Todd Pettigrew, and David Hoeniger discuss surgeons in their scholarly works on representations of early modern medical practitioners, they do not place surgery's associations with barbery in context.[9] Indeed Pettigrew goes so far as to argue that because surgery has no clear medical narrative or social presence, surgeons are essentially 'purposeless' in literature and hold little cognitive interest; he smoothes over barbers' association with surgery by claiming that mixed practice belonged simply to a 'bygone age': not so, both in terms of practice and in the imagination of the early modern population.[10] It is true in some respects that the surgeon is an entirely different subject of scrutiny whose popular cultural labels are less established and whose practice could be considered purely in terms of medical discourse, discovery, and theory. But this is not a reflection of surgeons' status in the eyes of an early modern audience. Surgeons in their own right may be dramaturgical dead-ends in some respects but this in itself is worth exploring further. They may often be offstage – something I examine – but playwrights did not entirely 'write them off' (which *would* demonstrate 'little cognitive interest'), and their absence and presence is, in part, due to the well-established literary reputation of barbers; surgeons were either incorporated into that established literary type or placed in direct opposition to it. In other words the idea of barbery and the idea of surgery and the idea of barber-surgery are highly interconnected.

While it is easy to see medical practice as heavily intermixed in the period, differences between practitioners are marked enough for us to be aware of the (attempted) heterogeneity of their activities and discourses; moreover, if these differences were not always clearly delineated, the *potential* for them to be separate was itself critical substance.[11] My focus on barber-surgeons, therefore, is emblematic of broader medical characteristics and is a direct means by which we can contrast and see as merging 'the scientific discourse on "elite" … medicine with the … discourse on "non-elite" medicine'.[12] Hence: medical *and* civic in my title. Parker's interest in early modern references to the barber which 'participate both ancient and modern registers at once' is very relevant to this investigation: it is this sense of conflated references (and the plurality and plasticity of these) that simultaneously draws attention to both registers, which is also crucial to our interpretation of the barber-surgeon.

'Usurping the name'

The guild history of barbers and surgeons reveals the complications these practitioners faced in attaining formal civic standing (ratified by Royal charter), securing unified governance, and designating and enforcing the distinction of their occupations, and paves the way for our reading of the controversies surrounding their practices. London is the main focus of *Civic and Medical Worlds* because the literature I examine is the product predominantly of London-based writers, and the metropolis was the centre of the country's greatest civic progress and reform, the heart of medical advancement, and a destination for many foreign medical practitioners. The city population was subject to the most stringent attempts at law making in the country and was therefore most receptive to jibes about a person's exact civic standing and medical accomplishment. Definitions of legal and illegal practice mattered to authorities but probably could seem ridiculous to many Londoners whose bodily health was attended to by irregular practitioners. In the Middleton example above it is the regulations of the London Company that are being impressed satirically on a rural town.[13] Later in this Introduction I will look at barbers/surgeons vexed categorization (both then and now) before outlining some of the distinctions that can be made for the purposes of this study.

In early medieval times, barbery and surgery were practised conjointly by members of holy orders. During the thirteenth century a new papal decree (by Pope Honorarius III) prevented churchmen from practising any medical works. Surgery was adopted by established barbers of the period whose guild system – companies of Barbers – was developing across the country. These barbers were mainly 'barber-surgeons' in practice who lawfully amalgamated tonsorial and medical activities. Richard le Barbour was elected in 1308 to oversee the Company of Barbers in London: the record in a *Letter Book* of his appointment suggests that the main concern about barbers was that they were keeping brothels rather than practising surgery and medicine irresponsibly.[14] Around the same time, a collection of more specialized surgeons began to differentiate themselves under an official cohort (a fraternity or fellowship) in London; their Ordinances were only first approved in 1435.[15] This was a small group but it prided itself on its medical learning.

In 1462 the Company of Barbers gained its official incorporation under Edward IV. In other words it attained civic distinction and standing – an enviable achievement. Already at the end of the fifteenth century this Company housed three types of related practitioners, spelt out here in an Act of 1493: 'barbours surgeons and surgeons barbours enfraunchessid' [imagine a comma after the first 'barbours'] – a mixed bag.[16] The Fellowship of surgeons was clearly endeavouring to distance itself from association with the Company and they had a fraught relationship over the coming decades: both were competing to preside over the practice of surgery in

London. Towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries the leading figures of the Company and the Fellowship were feeling their way – through a series of royal confirmations and legal steps – to establish more comprehensive management of barbery and surgery practice. However, these rather uncoordinated steps did not result in a situation that either group necessarily desired.

In 1493 the two bodies managed to compromise by agreeing to nominate two wardens each who would 'have the sight and good gounaunce of the seide faculte of surgery' in the City.[17] More than anything these wardens appear to have been most concerned with identifying and examining (and sometimes penalizing) the foreign ('straunge') surgeons entering London who needed to be assessed before being allowed to practise. By 1499, a shift in the naming of the Company had taken place, which suggested the governors wanted to define surgeons within the Company independently from barbers: in confirmation with Henry VII of their 1462 charter, the Company is referred to as the 'mistere BARBITONSON *et* SIRURGICON infra Civitatem' [italics mine].[18] And while the Company ordinances of 1530 (signed and approved by the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and also the Treasurer and Chief Justice) address the Company's 'Crafte of Barbor Surgions', in more specific reference to practice in the City, they distinguish 'the Crafte of Barbory or Surgery'.[19] These attempts by the Company to pronounce that they were a coupled rather than conflated collection of practitioners – of craftsmen separate from men of science – threatened the Fellowship: *their* distinction had been the very fact that they were not associated with the denigrated hybrid of the barber-surgeon, who was increasingly condemned for sloppy, dangerous medical practice. Yet more concerning for the Fellowship (and the Company) was an Act of Parliament in 1511 that introduced Bishops as licensing authorities of surgery and physic. The official process of approving men to practise as surgeons was in danger of getting more complex and diffuse and was slipping from the Fellowship's and Company's grasp. Indeed this Act may have helped to prompt the most significant move by the Company and the Fellowship: a formal union in 1540 under Henry VIII's Act of Parliament.[20] It is possible to read this coming together as an advantageous development for both sides. Union enabled members of the Company to benefit from the growing medical prestige of the Fellowship, who were posing as *the* professional body, and the Fellowship to benefit from the Barbers' civic prominence, and its wealth, livery, and precedence in the guild system: John Stow later writes of the Company that it is 'of no meane credit and estate'.[21] But in reality the union of the factions probably resulted from decision-making in higher orders, and possibly the age-old resignation that 'if you can't beat 'em …'.

The new Company, which supervised practices in and around London within a seven-mile radius, was called the 'Mystery and Commonality of

Barbers and Surgeons of London'. But it was in uniting under the one livery that, for the first time, barbery and surgery were officially defined – with laws laid down – as discrete occupations within the civic and medical system, making it such that a 'barber' or 'barber-surgeon' could not refer to a practitioner of lawful surgery any more. Two Barbers and two Surgeons, the authorities stated, should act as Masters of the Company so that there was, at least in theory, representational government. Accompanying by-laws declared that the only surgical activity a London barber could perform was tooth-pulling, while a London surgeon was not permitted to practise barbery. The edicts even stated that barbers could not engage in bloodletting, the medical practice most commonly associated with them. These prescriptions of 1540 were followed by more and more detailed ordinances asserting the division of practices: the first list of rules appears in the Minutes of the Company's Court of Assistance Book in 1566 and these are revised and extended in more formal ordinances of 1606 (after a new Charter was authorized by James I for the Company in 1605), 1633 (following a new Charter of Charles I in 1629), 1681 (James II later granted a new Charter in 1685), and 1709.[22] The orders in particular reveal the surgeons insistently distancing themselves from their historic affiliation with barbery, elevating their science above the craft – although the fact that 'hand' was embedded in the very name of the surgeon from the Greek, '*chiro*', as in *chirurgeon*, made things tricky. This was especially important because throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries surgeons were also challenging what had been the medical and intellectual autonomy of Physicians, and the orthodoxies of medicine at this time (namely Galen and Hippocrates) were uprooted and anatomized across Europe – Andreas Versalius led a new type of anatomy lesson and surgeons were heralded as pathologists, while Ambroise Paré brought invention and trauma treatment to the field.[23] But despite the advances of these figureheads, the surgeon's fraught status was recognized across Europe. In Francisco de Quevedo's vision of hell 'Chirugions with some unwillingnesse followed [Physicians and Apothecaries], because they conceited precedency, the Etymology of their name signifying a Physitian that worketh by hand'.[24] Barbers' medical role meantime, even as dentists, was degraded and marginalized. Indeed the union turned out to be a poor deal for barbers, who were effectively relegated within their own guild and stripped of a competency.

However, although the occupations became formally distinct, the Company's efforts to inspect practitioners' workplaces, impose fines, close shops, and voice the hazards of unskilled procedures did not erase irregular and erroneous practice, which remained common. Barbers continued to perform – not necessarily unsuccessfully – some medical arts besides dentistry, and the Company's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Minutes highlight the persistence of the barbers in medical endeavours, such as bloodletting, for which they were admonished and usually fined.[25] In

Thomas Gale's introductory passages to his translation of Galen's works he suggests that edicts are not stringent enough: 'for I doe wish with all my heart, that politicke laws might be made, to constraine everie man to follow that art, in which hath bene well instructed and brought up in'.[26] Indeed, Barbers were central to the picture of unlicensed medical practice both historically and to the popular imagination. In the early-seventeenth century ballad 'The Rimers New Trimming', the balladeer sings about the precarious treatments barbers perform when they attempt more adventurous works than tooth-pulling or 'cut[ting] a beard': 'Making shew of a cure with a Masticke plaister,/they [the patient] fro[m] your chaire rising, a leg they scrape after', implying that the patient's leg was not scraping along *before*.[27] Offended by the rhymer's criticism (and assumption), the barber plays a prank on the rhymer. Epigram 17 of Thomas Freeman's 1614 collection plays on the association between barbery, surgery and prostitution in the period: the barber hates Lucy the whore because she usurps his practice (trimming and shaving men) but the epigramist suggests that the barber should rather thank her because she will supply him with casualties of venereal diseases who will pay for his services *as a surgeon*:

> *Hersilius* the Barber-Surgeon
> Hates *Lucy* cause shee barbeth many one
> And them so artificially doth trimme
> That they need nevermore be shav'd by him:
> This is the cause *Hersilius* doth hate her
> But would the foolish man well weigh the matter
> How tis his profite that shee plaies the Barber
> His heart gainst her would no such hatred harbor:
> What though she makes him loose a lowsy science,
> Shee fits his Surgery with fatter Clients.[28]

The epigram not only lampoons the overlap between barbery and prostitution (which, as we shall find throughout this book, was conceptual, lexical, and literal in the period), but also the overlap between barbery and surgery performed by the barber-surgeon. Barbery is satirically configured as the 'lowsy science', playing on its treatment of louse-riddled locks, as well as its general status as an inferior practice in comparison to surgery. The final joke is that Hersilius has effectively specialized in becoming all surgeon (Barber-Surgeon minus Barber equals Surgeon) and can claim greater payments (hence 'fatter Clients'). In reality, implies the epigram, it would be less harzardous if the barber-surgeon were deprived of his surgical efforts and became all barber, theoretically depriving the prostitute of her barbering and thus making all involved less disreputable. The epigram is invested on multiple levels in what it means to practise an irregular occupation in the period and how being irregular embodied a sense of fluidity, inevitable

in boundary-crossing. Here that fluidity is figurative through shared terminologies, but also an actuality: early modern barbers were wont to open a scabby brothel *and* able to command a fee for rough surgery.

In his *Whole Course of Chirurgery* (1597) Peter Lowe, the eminent Scottish surgeon, criticizes barbers who persist in performing surgery without training and misname themselves:

> there are some, who, voyde of knowledge and skill, promise for lucres to heale infirmities, being ignora[n]t both of the disease, and the remedies thereof. These faultes be often committed of some who usurping the name of Chirurgian, being unworthie therof, have scarce the skill to cut a beard which properly pertayneth to their traide.[29]

Lowe was responsible for helping to professionalize medical practice in Glasgow by founding a College of Physicians and Surgeons at the end of the sixteenth century and was ahead of his time in eventually uniting the medical arms of physic, surgery, and dentistry. He acknowledges in this passage that a major complication was that there was money to be made from a population who could not afford the more costly services of the trained professional – the 'fatter clients'.[30] Of course, surgeons were not free from criticism of poor practices throughout the period. On 20th June 1609, Mathias Jenkinson was discharged from Surgery in the Company for his 'evell & unskilfull practise'.[31] But it is telling that in William Salmon's *Ars Chirurgica* medical errors are the result of 'Barbers and ignorant Chirurgeons': in other words, all of barbers and only incompetent surgeons.[32]

Unsurprisingly, the relationship between barbers and surgeons within the Company was never straightforward and the union was untenable. Eventually, in 1745, the surgeons split away from all ties with the barbers and established their Royal College leaving behind The Worshipful Company of Barbers, both of which exist today. The dispute that surrounded the eventual split of the company is particularly telling for this book's interest in names, identity making and misrepresentation, and I discuss it in a later paragraph of this Introduction.

Vexed categorizations

Modern editorial notes and criticism often struggle to untangle references to barbers, surgeons, and barber-surgeons and commonly make their description to the Company ambiguous. David Crane explains Cocledemoy's mention of a 'barber-surgeon' in John Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* with, 'the two functions went together at this time, the medical and the cosmetic', smoothing over the complexities I have outlined.[33] Crane is then unable to make much sense of the exchange that follows between Cocledemoy

and a barber's boy, which plays on the differences. In editing *Hengist* in Gary Taylor's *Collected Works* of Middleton, Grace Ioppolo does not wholly grasp the Barber's line: 'I have had something to do with't [the "body"] in my time' (III.iii.61–2). Ioppolo suggests that the Barber 'seems to have been expelled' from the Corporation in the town.[34] This is one possible reading, but several things are going on. The Barber's dejected comment is in the first place a fundamental reflection on the history of his practice: he speaks on behalf of all barbers who have been barred from tending to the inner body. His comment also subtly suggests that he has continued irregularly to practise surgery (playing on his 'barber-surgeon' title) – i.e. this is an ironic understatement (the 'something to do with it' is heavily downplayed for comic effect) of the continued practise of surgery by the barber. As the barber's reference to 'body' is also allusive of the civic Corporation then this is possibly also a remark on how barbers have been side-lined within their guild system. Additionally in *Collected Works*, Paul Yachin's footnote on a reference to a barber-surgeon in line 117 of Middleton and Dekker's *Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinary*, is similar to Crane's: 'barbers were also practitioners in surgery and dentistry'.

Kerwin knows that there is a difference between 'academic surgeons and barbers' in the period, and yet his reference to 'surgeons and their professional partner, barber-surgeons' is misleading, implying that a barber-surgeon (as a practitioner) is 'professional' and collaborative with surgeons, rather than irregular and rejected by surgeons.[35] On a number of occasions in his acclaimed tome on the cultures of dissection in the early modern period, *The Body Emblazoned*, Jonathan Sawday cites 'the unified Barber-Surgeons Company' without any attempt to explain what this unification entailed for members or their practices, and leaving his reader with an impression that the Company formally gathered together practitioners who practised both occupations: i.e. that the Company had one kind of member.[36] Peter Ackroyd's *London* (2001) gives the following synopsis of 'official' medical care in the early-sixteen hundreds:

> there were more genteel, if not more learned, practitioners of healing who came under the aegis of the Company of Barber Surgeons (they were later to split in two, becoming barbers *or* surgeons) or the College of Physicians [italics mine].[37]

Ackroyd misnames the Company, misunderstands who and how it governs, and consequently misconstrues the nature of the 1745 split.

These misconceptions are based on a certain lack of precise historical knowledge but they can also be explained linguistically. They are a matter of the effects of syndeton and the implications of linguistic yoking. As conjunctive, in the case of 'The Mystery and Commonality of Barbers and Surgeons', 'and' highlights co-ordination and connection but it does

not compound. A hyphen (or implied hyphenation), as in the 'Company of Barber-Surgeons', has a different effect. Although early moderns sometimes used the abbreviated, hyphenated title in naming the Company, they understood its function as shorthand, and their references to the barber, surgeon, and barber-surgeon could be interpreted through context. But this understanding of their diversified civic and medical status in the period has been lost through a linguistic slip and historical distance. Nevertheless, it is difficult to get a sense of any coherent categorization in the period as each onomastic attempt (to name the Company or the practitioners) in some degree tries to reflect what I have taken several pages to unravel. Here are some examples of referencing in the early modern period that contributed to the vexed state of naming the practitioners and freemen. Some of these examples show seemingly deliberate attempts to make something more of naming; in other words to make the onomastics work harder to be less ambiguous.

As we found in my opening example from Middleton, the title 'barber-surgeon' was the accepted name in two different types of reference in the period: one occupational, one civic. Calling someone a 'barber-surgeon' could be to designate them an irregular, unspecialized, and unchecked practitioner: the jack-of-all-trades figure of the medical world, ranging from mildly harmless to categorically crude and dangerous.[40] But 'Barber-Surgeon' in early modern London was also the municipal title of a freeman of the Company that applied the abbreviation. Most often we find men are referenced as such in their wills and inventories, and in surgical textbooks written by Company members who assert their guild status in title pages or dedications. Often 'of London' (or equivalent) follows the title to affirm the civic affiliation.

In the agreement of 1493 for two wardens from the Company of Barbers and two from the Fellowship of Surgeons to oversee surgery, the document refers to 'the felishippis of barbours surgeons and surgeons barbours enfraunchessid'.[38] There are a few references to surgeon barbers in these fifteenth-century documents and the title is usually given this way round in the French; from the sixteenth century onwards it settles in the English to barber-surgeon. But the third term in the composition is 'surgeon*s* barbers' [italic, mine]: an unusual use of the plural. Although it is possible someone has written 'surgeons' in error we can make sense of it: it suggests the difficulties the original Company faced in making distinctions between their members. Naming practitioners 'surgeons barbers' seems an attempt by the Company to categorize the two-in-one figures without compromising their status: it is difficult to make plurals wholly conjunctive and therefore this naming resists in some degree the sense of conflated practice. An official list of the London Companies' coats of arms is included in John Stow's *Survey* (1633). The title for the Company of Barbers and Surgeons at first appears simply to employ the abbreviation; upon closer inspection, the title is not

'Barber-Chirurgions' but 'Barbers-Chirurgions', and Stow subtly signals the independence of the groups within the shorthand.[39] These pluralizations suggest the difficulty people faced in trying to represent accurately what divisions were desired or established.

In 1568, the Company tried to set a precept to manage the name of its civic hall where it conducted its administration, licensed practitioners, and trained surgeons, for which is was originally permitted four cadavers per year: 'It is constituted … that here after at any tyme, none of this said Fellowshippe shall pryvatly nor apartly name … the Com[m]on hall … by any other name … but … the Barbers and Surgeons hall'.[41] Evidently, however, it was impossible to control how people referred to the hall and as this title was long-winded we cannot be surprised that contemporaries employed shorthand. In the margin next to the precept we find a telling resignation: 'this not to be read', referring to the annual reading of the Company's rules which all members were obliged to attend. The naming of the hall in the period is inconsistent: Surgeons Hall or Barber-Surgeon's Hall were both used to refer to the Company's residence in Monkwell Square, but interestingly the name Barbers Hall does not seem to have been applied until after the Company divided in 1745. In popular culture, and especially in the writing of the city comics at this time, the hall is evoked as a location of gory anatomization and dissection, and consequently is a conceptual and sensational epicentre of fate and revenge rather than the site of civic governance, professional examination, and learning. For raging Ferdinand seeking revenge in *Duchess of Malfi* 'Barber-Chyrurgeons hall' is where bodies are flayed and emulsified.[42] An example of the Hall's more sober purpose is in John Smith's manual for seamen, which explains that the surgeon must have his 'certificate from the Barber-surgions Hall of his sufficiency'.[43]

Disagreement about distinctions *within* the Company remained potent: correspondences between the barbers of the Company and the surgeons of the Company in advance of their separation in 1745 are an insight into the paths that lay open for deliberate (or inadvertent) misinterpretation of the way in which the practices and practitioners were originally distinguished in accordance with the sixteenth-century conception of the unified Company. *The case of the barbers of London* (1745) summarizes the barbers' objections to the surgeons' reasons for separating, and confirms that definitions of practice and the expectations of practitioners had always been unfixed, contestable, and negotiable. The barbers summarize the surgeons' principle reason for the separation as follows:

> That *Barbers*, in the Time of *Henry the Eigth*, were *all Surgeons,* and that the Parliament, by *uniting* them with others of *superior* Abilities, intended *their* Improvement in *that* Profession; but that they having long since, *ceased* to intermeddle with any Branch of *Surgery*, this *Intent* of the Act is frustrated, and the laudable *Purpose* of the *Union* at an end.

The barbers' objection is clear, and highlights that this '*Reason*' of the surgeons 'is grounded on a *Mistake* in point of *Fact*':

> for tho' it be *true* that the *Barbers* were *all originally Surgeons* … yet long *before* the Union in question, *most* of them had *quitted* the *actual Exercise* of that Profession, and the *Right* itself of exercising it *in virtue* of their Charter, had been *taken away* from them by Parliament … yet from the *Enacting* Part (which expresly *restrains* the *Barbers* from occupying any pary of *Surgery*, except *Tooth-drawing*) it is evident that the *Legislature* did not consider them as *real* Surgeons, nor could intend their *Improvement* in a Science they were *forbid to practise*, so that the Circumstances of Things are *not* altered from what they then were … and therefore the *Barbers* having no Relation to the *Surgeons* or their Art … cannot *now*, with an Propriety be insisted on as a *Reason* for their *Separation*.[44]

Both factions are playing games: in demanding separation, the surgeons push their luck by suggesting that barbers have failed in their duties to improve as surgical practitioners, despite the fact that they were only supposed to specialize in barbery; the barbers play innocent by suggesting that they followed the rules of the original charter and complied wholly with the separation of practices, despite the fact that doubled-up practice persisted.

In most cases in the literature I examine, the context of reference or allusion to barbers, surgeons, and barber-surgeons enables us to understand what is going on in terms of satire, the word-play, and identity making. For the purposes of my own prose, however, I will use the following distinctions in referencing practitioners, places, and practices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Table I.1).

Table I.1 Definition of terms

The Company	*The Mystery and Commonality of Barbers and Surgeons of London, formed by Royal Charter in 1540*
The Hall	*The Company's official residence in Monkwell Street in which civic duties were carried out and anatomies and lectures were conducted*
Surgeon	*A regular practitioner of only surgical works, often called a* Chirurgeon *in the period*
Barber	*A regular practitioner of only barbery (i.e. all tonsorial works and basic dentistry)*[45]
Barber-Surgeon:	*A freeman of the Company (i.e. this is a civic title only)*
barber-surgeon	*An irregular practitioner who practices both barbery and surgery*
barbery	*The trade of a barber in tonsorial works and basic dentistry*[46]
surgery	*The medical practices of a surgeon, often termed* chirurgery *in the period*
Barber-surgery	*The irregular conflated practices of barbery and surgery by a barber-surgeon*

The terms barber, surgeon, and barber-surgeon have an illusion of stability in the definitions outlined here; in reality, they were unstable, prone to misinterpretation and misuse, just like the practices themselves. It is easy to see why modern misconceptions and early modern discrepancies have occurred because there are a variety of differences between their civic, medical, casual, and abused interrelatedness.

'A window onto the pressure points'

In John Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* and John Lyly's *Midas* it is young apprentices who reveal their misunderstanding of the medical and civic worlds they occupy so that a knowing audience can laugh at them and their affectations. Holifernes Reinscure is, according to the *dramatis personae* of *Dutch Courtesan*, a 'Barbers boy'.[47] On his first entrance, he is simply '*the Barber*' (s.d. II.i.162), although Cocledemoy welcomes him as 'my fine boy' (II.i.163), and he is armed with barbery equipment.[48] Cocledemoy then mocks Holifernes's status by referring to him as a 'barber-surgeon' (II.i.164, 166–7). Holifernes is not an official Barber-Surgeon because he is still in his apprenticeship and cannot be a freeman. By naming Holifernes a 'barber-surgeon', Cocledemoy undermines the boy's legitimacy as an apprentice; this is lost on Holifernes, underlining his juvenility. But Cocledemoy teases out of him his pretensions to a higher status than 'barber's boy' or even 'barber'. Holifernes boasts that he is 'an apprentice to surgery' (II.i.168), unwittingly taking Cocledemoy's 'barber-surgeon' reference as his cue. Under the Company's official legislation, an apprentice could only train as a barber or a surgeon. In attempting to seem more learned as a trainee surgeon, Holifernes instead makes himself irregular. This is compounded when Cocledomy draws attention to his name, 'Reinscure', meaning pox of the nether regions or kidneys, which Holifernes is even ready to uncover to Cocledomy who desires his 'further acquaintance' (II.i.172–3): the default of the barber-surgeon is to turn bawdy and make a display of things. Moreover, the barber's boy is an absurd counterpart to his namesake, the great general of Nebuchadnezzar, Holofernes, who is famously beheaded by Judith for threatening to lay siege to her home, and is a potent Renaissance symbol of pride coming before a fall. Deuterocanonical Holofernes threatens to invade foreign territory: so too the barber's boy threatens to take on surgery. Moreover, Holifernes's association with decapitation contributes to the perennial threat that a bloodthirsty barber could slit your throat. Both comparisons are extreme for the purposes of comedy. This scenario in *Dutch Courtesan* and the others would be exaggerated in the plays' early performances if the parts were given to barbers or apprentices.[49] When Cocledemoy then adopts the habit of this apprentice there is an increased sense that a character is not that which he plays, which I examine in Chapter 2.

Lyly incorporates a lively subplot in *Midas* in which Motto, a barber, and his apprentice, Dello, have sustained roles in a comic sequence centring on beards, teeth, and gossip. Motto's (and Dello's) status as a barber is highlighted often: in a stage direction ('*Enter* Dello, *the barber's boy*' (s.d. III.ii.9)), twice when Motto/Dello explain their actions in terms of being a barber ('because a barber' (III.ii.55, 84–5)), once when Dello states, 'I am a barber' (III.ii.53), once through reference to equipment ('barber's basin' (III. ii.63)), and several times when Petulus apostrophizes Motto with 'Barber'.[50] However, while quipping with Licio, Dello declares, 'My master is a barber and a surgeon' (III.ii.64–5). The editors' gloss ('Dello protests hotly that his master is a fully professional barber-surgeon, not a mere barber') does not pay tribute to the subtlety of Lyly's humour, and their earlier footnote, 'Professional barber-surgeons … combined the skills of barbering and surgery, whereas ordinary barbers were limited to the letting of blood and extracting of teeth', is another misleading explanation.[51] If Motto is a barber *and* a surgeon, he is not a freeman Barber-Surgeon. Dello's boast, which plays on the difference between syndeton and hyphenation, is ironic, which would have been understood by an audience but is not understood – for the audience's delight – by Licio, whose response, 'In good time' (III.ii.66), effectively says that Motto should wait patiently to become irregular. In Chapters 1 and 5 I examine *Midas* in more depth revealing how its subplot, immersed in the world of barbery where language and definitions are quibbled over for profitmaking (and therefore are commercial and far from stable), underscores the play's interest in the evanescent world of gold and gossip.

Perhaps most significantly is the fact that the name 'barber-surgeon' is not given to any character in *dramatis personae*, speech prefixes, or stage directions in extant early modern plays. There are many plays with barbers and many with surgeons (twenty-seven and thirty-seven respectively).[52] But when Thomas Berger and his collaborators list these characters in their *Index*, they have one option: 'Barber(s) (*see* Surgeon(s))', and 'Surgeon(s) (*see* Barber(s))'.[53] Only two plays appear on both lists: Francis Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* and William Cartwright's *Ordinary*. This is not because both a barber and a surgeon character appear in each play; strikingly this never occurs. In the dialogue of *Burning Pestle* and *Ordinary* the playwrights deliberately confuse the role 'Barber'/'Chirurgeon'. Nick the Cervantesesque barber in *Burning Pestle* transforms into a giant 'body … bang[er]' (III.334), although the terms 'surgeon'/'surgery' are never used in Beaumont's play, and Cartwright's Chirurgeon only refers to himself as a 'Barber'.[54] These inconsistencies between characters' generic names and their characterization could function visually through props and/or costume to make sense in performance. Implicitly the authors of *Index* are referencing the barber-surgeon. Leslie Thomson names Sweetball in Thomas Middleton's and John Webster's *Anything for a Quiet Life* a 'Barber-Surgeon' in the *dramatis personae* in *Collected Works*, although in speech prefixes she fixes on 'Barber' in

accordance with the earlier text; the *dramatis personae* of the play's quarto lists '*Sweetball*, a Barber'.[55]

In *Dutch Courtesan, Hengist*, and *Midas*, the playwright pauses over the classification of the barber. While the official onomastics are used in dramatis personae, stage directions, speech prefixes, and address, they are made unstable or reclassified in the dialogue. This pattern also occurs in the seventeenth-century ballad 'The Northern Ladd' in which one of the rejected suitors of 'a Lass o'th North Country' is, according to the subtitle, a 'Barber'.[56] In the lyrics, however, the balladeer sings, 'A Barber-Surgeon came to me' (stanza 9, line 1), and the ballad emphasizes his unsuitability as a lover by identifying him as an irregular practitioner through the adjustment made to his name.

Barbery and surgery were in the business of altering, amending, reinventing, and reshaping bodies and therefore identities. An extension of this, which I examine in particular in Chapters 1 and 2, is to see writers referencing and alluding to the barber, surgeon, and barber-surgeon as a means of enabling self-conscious performance and investing in forms of reflexivity that were fashionable in the period, particularly on the stage: disguise tricks and transformations, miraculous offstage repairs of bodies, and deliberate use of suggestive material props were enabled through these figures and their associative practices because in their very nature they called for active interpretation – making sense from context. In this way what was at stake for writers was the overt, reflexive subject of representation itself, of forms of satire and parody, and of the tension between exposition and disguise and between *mimesis* and counterfeit. The differences and cross-pollinations between barbers' and surgeons' practices play out across the period's literary corpus and tell us not just about *their* cultural, social, and occupational histories and attitudes towards the body, but also about how we interpret patterns in language, onomastics, dramaturgy, characterization, materiality, acoustics, and semiology, which are the overarching themes of this book.

Barbery and surgery were also good subjects in composition because their association with damaged, hairy, bleeding, waxy, and scrofulous bodies provided racy material for a writer who wanted to entertain or provoke. In a period that witnessed a radical shift in the understanding of human anatomy and re-imagination of bodily systems, the population seemed obsessively somatic in their idiomatic and figurative expressions, even if the terminologies they applied lacked semantic logic. The controversial practices of barbers and surgeons provided a suitably fraught context in which to locate these expressions, intensifying their impression on the audience. Moreover, early modern metaphors that employed the language or semiotics of barbery and surgery could be as much to do with commentary on the effort, effects, and purposes of literary-mongering or play-patching (a textual or dramaturgical concern) as with the functionality and treatment of the body and bodily matter (a biological and medical concern).

More generally, both the subject of barbery and surgery and the way it was handled by writers contributed to a variety of early modern conceptions of generativeness and waste, and their inherent interrelation and cyclicality. Early modern literary cultures increasingly were unrelenting systems of production, reuse, and elimination: booming opportunities in print cultures meant that cheap publications (quartos, pamphlets, and ballads) were quickly re-valued and reclaimed as ephemera, while the stage perpetually invited new material that was instantly either discarded as waste or celebrated as fit for re-playing. The practices of barbers and surgeons offered writers a way of engaging with this aspect of the culture they inhabited because they were associated with a variety of tropes that could be applied to linguistic, bodily, and material matters. Barbers and surgeons were both charged with removing bodily superfluities and excrements. They were also cast in the role of the cultivators of hairiness (James Wright translates Martial in his book of epigrams: 'Barber *Eutrapelus* did shave so slow … another Beard did grow'[57]), and dealers in *plethora* and the spread of (venereal) disease. This association has a practical literary implication. At a basic level, sequences associated with the figures seem to have been employed by writers as a means to pad out a text or dialogue, or to create textual ruptures, cuttings off, or truncations, matters I examine in particular in relation to the composition of *Sir Thomas More* in Chapter 5 and in relation to offstage surgery in Chapter 2.

The lexicon associated with barbery in particular had abundant potential for word play, punning, *double entendre*, and homophone (for example in 'trim', 'shave', 'poll', 'tong', 'hair') and, as Parker has demonstrated, had rich – although not necessarily academic – etymological precedents. Barbery's compulsive relation to sexuality, moreover, contributed to notions of reproductiveness as well as infertility and castration. By contrast, surgery and surgeons are defaults for signifying elision, absence, and deficiency in a literary work and in representation; often the fictional surgeon is the embodiment of a character wasting away: pale and ineffectual. This, in turn, was countered by activities portrayed around surgery that seem preoccupied with inappropriate forms of nourishment and appetite. The themes of generativeness, multiplicity, superfluity, and waste that were channelled through barbery and surgery in the period – and were implicitly tied into questions about the dual necessity and redundance of accurately categorizing (naming) – could inform momentary, surface-level effects as much as deeply cast visions of a piece of work. The barber and surgeon could be defined separately but there was always the potential for them to conflate – both in terms of practice and literary identity or cultural conception – which propagated an accompanying sense of unwanted reduction or duplication in opposition to the more valuable notion of self-definition.

Importantly, the figures, and the controversies that existed around them, were not simply employed as an excuse for playfulness but could be a

means for a writer to convey acute instances of callousness, recklessness, transgression, systematic abuse, and retribution. In the early modern world barbers and surgeons and barber-surgeons were perceived to have a hand in governing a person's fate, and so the light-heartedness of much of their representation masks deep-seated unease. In a set of 'Jovial Paradoxes', Richard Head, a seventeenth-century master of ribaldry, includes the question, 'Why had a Barber more reason to be honest and trusty than another Trade?' and gives the answer, 'Because whosoever employs him, though but for a Hairs matter, puts his life into his hands'.[58] The stakes are high. Moreover, barbers were profoundly associated with acts of cozenage: of purse, seed, virginity, and even excrement. Ultimately they were a means of unleashing the kind of dark satire in literary works that many critics have sensed but failed to pinpoint. These practitioners were supposed to be in the business of mending bodies but they were profoundly associated with throat-slitting, blinding, hacking, slicing, dissecting, rupturing, incising, flaying, and causing unstoppable bleeding. More troublingly, because barbery and surgery were associated with practitioners who were untrained or in the business of wanting to prove that they were not irregular, they were habitually related to forms of both mild and cataclysmic error making and, moreover, with a sense that randomness and chance could dictate horrific outcomes. These are deep-seated fears, referenced even in Martial's epigrams:

> Who loves his Life, and seeks not yet to dye,
> *Antiochus,* the Barber, let him fly.
> The *Phrygian* Priests not so remorseless launce
> Their Flesh, as he, in their inspired Dance;
> Surgeons, their Patients, less in Blood embrue,
> When from them Limbs, like Carpenters, they hew,
> …
> The Scars you see upon my martyr'd Face,
> Which worse than Wrinkles of Old Age disgrace;
> Not one my froward Wife's curs'd Nails did tear,
> But he whose Hands, less than his Irons, spare.
> The Goat, of all the Creatures, is most wise,
> Who wearing's Beard, *Antiochus* may despise.[59]

The ancient epigrams on barbers seem to have additional significance in the early modern period, when they were in circulation: it then seemed more plausible that a barber, deprived of his surgical arts, would seek bloody gratification. The idea of the barber holding someone to ransom or abusing them in the chair could be an expression of acute frustration of being reduced to hairdressers and beard trimmers. Barbers often, therefore, illustrate characters' pretentions to greater power. But the very fact that these figures resisted definition and raised broad questions of legitimacy in the period meant that

the threat they posed in handling the body was that much stronger. Thus at the heart of this book is a chapter on the semiotics of hazardous barber-surgery that shape moments of high crisis in *King Lear* and *Titus Andronicus*. The context of barber-surgery is a rich, 'possible world' in the drama that would fit with Simon Palfrey's interest in 'nodes of substance' explored in *Shakespeare's Possible Worlds*.[60]

This group of practitioners' work was on the one hand culturally stable, familiar, civically incorporated, and accessible, and was often linked to domestic practice; on the other hand, it was elitist, obscure, risky, emergent, and radical.[61] This double-effect, embodied by the barber-surgeon but embedded both in the conception of barber and surgeon, is not only a practical and linguistic consideration; it is also an aesthetic one. Freud's discussion 'The Uncanny' is helpful here: 'the uncanny is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar', it involves a deep-rooted sense of the double (or *doppelganger*), and it is relevant to figures who 'co-own … a name'.[62] While I do not attempt psychoanalytic analysis of the works I examine, the raw effects of doubleness, which Freud investigates, make sense of the kinds of literary and theatrical impact with which my study is concerned. Writers' recurrent reference and allusion to barbers, surgeons, and barber-surgeons was an effective means through which to examine broader contemporary concerns about what it meant for identities and practices to be conflated. At a time when order, rites, and social standing were still thought to reign supreme (know thyself and thy place), the figure of the barber-surgeon could throw into disarray the idea of a medical and civic hierarchy and social definition, as well as problematize sexual politics, gender-construction and forms of embodiment. When a writer referenced barbery, surgery, or barber-surgery it was a means of revealing a pressure point.[63]

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This study locates itself within broader fields of academic debate on early modern bodies, the pervasiveness of corporeal language in the period, medical narratives in early modern literature, and contemporaries' assessment of the physiology of humours and passions. The pioneering work is Sawday's *Body Emblazoned*, followed by studies from the 1990s until the present day by David Hillman, Carla Mazzio, Richard Sugg, Andrea Carlino, Gail Kern Paster, Susan Zimmerman, Joseph Roach, Katherine Park, Hillary Nunn, and Mary Ann Lund, among others.[64] Maurizio Calbi summarizes the disparate somatic focuses critics have undertaken so far: '"bodies tremulous", "bodies single-sexed", "bodies enclosed", "bodies intestinal", "bodies consumed", "bodies carnivalized", "bodies effeminized", "bodies embarrassed", "bodies sodomized", "bodies emblazoned or dissected", "bodies castrated", or simply "in parts"'.[65] I examine early modern attitudes to, among other things, hair, bloodletting, glisters, warts, and ear-wax, and my discussions of the

vulnerability of eyes, ears, noses, and tongues in the context of barber-surgery corresponds to widening critical interests in the early modern senses.[66]

A variety of gender-concerned studies run concurrent to my investigations, although this book is not looking specifically through the lens of feminist or masculist theory.[67] The barber and the surgeon have a fluctuating and usually ambiguous relationship with gender and sexuality and, as I suggested, can act as general signifiers of transgression. The barbershop is an overtly homosocial space but it could also double as a brothel. The subjects of eroticism, sodomy, sexual corruption, and even rape are deeply embedded in the world of these practitioners who treated venereal diseases and the gross effects of sexual antics. Threats of castration are never far from barbery and surgical activities.[68] Fixing bodies under barbery or surgery could also contribute to early modern concerns about female (false) appearances, as well as the communication of immaturity, foppishness, or maleness through a beard, or lack of one, which Kerwin and Johnston both examine. Surgeons could be related to the explicitly female world of midwifery and birthing, explored by Eve Keller.[69] Women who persisted in medical works were often labelled 'she-surgeons' and were a common cause of anxiety, investigated by Deborah Harkness and M. A. Katritzky.[70] Barbers, meantime, were associated with gossip and wittering females.[71] Finally, Natasha Korda's, Catherine Richardson's, and Wendy Wall's interest in how material items were gendered in the period are also significant to my discussions about the instruments used for barbery and surgery practice, which could be technical and associated with male learnedness or unspecific and associated with females' domestic make-do-and-mend approach; objects could also characterize the sexuality and gender of the figure who handles them.[72] Trying to establish any ultimate coherence in barbers' and surgeons' relationship to gender and sexuality seems a fruitless enterprise: to the early modern imagination the practitioners were a means of abstracting a variety of social pressures and biological uncertainties.

Building on criticism on early modern staging by R. A. Foakes, Andrew Gurr, Alan Dessen, Tiffany Stern, Palfrey, and Jeremy Lopez among others, this study also demonstrates that, despite limited evidence, speculation about the practicalities and effects of contemporary performance and its multi-sensory devices is imperative and unlocks early modern perceptions.[73] Explorations of barbery and surgery are well situated within theatrical analysis because the practices are associated with performances, often public ones. Lively barbers' shops are renowned as gossip centres and places of music-making, and surgery is affiliated with public anatomizations and felon acquisition from the scaffold, although the extent to which the latter is *theatrical* performance will be reviewed.

Equally important to my work are on-going discussions by critics, including those listed above, about the material life of early modern theatre and culture. This criticism follows in the wake of Walter Greg's (and after him, E. K. Chambers with *The Elizabethan Stage* and Gerald Bentley with *Jacobean*

and Caroline Stage) interest in documents of performance, and later Bernard Beckerman's cautionary points about large scenic objects on the early modern stage.[74] Smaller objects, particularly those of the everyday, are now 'the thing'. Criticism over the last decade or so has prioritized the stage prop as a focus of study, which facilitates interpretations of individual scenes, entire plays, and wider social interaction. Two publications stand out: essays in *Staged Properties* (2002) collected by Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, and Andrew Sofer's *The Stage Life of Props* (1998).[75] Sofer examines how a 'material sign-vehicle absorbs the abstract connotations associated with the object it represents', while Harris and Korda make the material dimensions of props central to their interest in contemporary notions of property and production.[76] We are encouraged to think about the practicalities of staging as well as the immediate impact of objects. *Henslowe's Diary* is, unsurprisingly, a crucial text for many of these critics, but the interest in properties also stems from the attention that is given to stage directions, undertaken in particular by Dessen and given authority in the reference work, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions*.[77] Material-culture studies have also gained momentum over the last ten years, promoting cross-pollination between the research undertaken by archaeologists, art historians, social and cultural historians, literary scholars, museum curators, and conservators.[78] The works of Catherine Richardson and Peter Stallybrass and their collaborators in particular have propelled the literary studies in this field.[79] The material culture was on the rise in early modernity. Examining a variety of texts from this period, Korda concludes that 'linguistic and material economies of words and things … are inextricably intertwined'.[80] *Civic and Medical Worlds* explores these connections, keeping in mind Sue Wiseman's reminder that we need to look at who uses objects and how.[81] Also important is a question of who owns objects. Such studies have not yet brought medical equipment into discussions. Those barbery/surgery objects which have iconic and metonymic value emerge in this book, as do those which have the most discernible physical characteristics, and those which are likely to encourage the most jokes (or linguistic attention).[82] I explore the nexus of visual, verbal, kinesthetic, and acoustic forms of communication, which surround the objects under discussion and would have stimulated the early modern imagination.

My literary corpus is deliberately diverse and incorporates a range of documents other than early modern play texts, ballads, and pamphlets, including archival materials at Barbers' Hall, performance records, wills, dictionaries, inventories, encyclopaedias, books of epigrams, medical treatises, and archaeological material. The danger, as Janet Clare remarks, of the 'yoking together of the literary text and the non-literary artefact' is that we can 'ignor[e] respective rhetorical situations' which results in making arbitrary connections.[83] Sloppy 'yoking', again. And this I try to avoid.

***

I structure my discussions in this book thematically to avoid repetition and to ensure a unifying effect on the materials examined; and I consider a range of practical and conceptual options in unearthing my subject and situating it across disciplinary fields. From this Introduction's discussions of names, *dramatis personae* and speech prefixes, I move to discussions of settings and props, disguises, stage directions, and semiotics, and from sound effects and music, to voices and rhetorical turns. In all of the chapters, other than Chapter 3, I discuss the barbery and then the surgery material, signalling connections throughout. Ultimately, as this book shows, the literature from the period shows us why the union of barbers and surgeons was never harmonious: they are opposing cultural as well as medical figures.

In '"Settinge up a shoppe": Inventories and Props' (Chapter 1), I explore how barbery and surgery practices are represented and defined through tool sets. In particular, this chapter is interested in inventories, and reflects on creative and cognitive processes in theatrical production, which draw on acts of list-making. Its study of objects, both referenced and seen (or not referenced/seen), incorporates discussions about the extra-theatrical histories of the occupations' equipment, as set down in contemporary wills, medical tracts and encyclopaedias.

The second chapter, '"Lend me thy basin, apron and razor": Disguise, (Mis) Appropriation and Play', takes disguise motifs as its point of reference for its ideological focus on the practitioner as a theatrical construction. It argues that, in particular, characters on stage who present themselves as a barber establish a barbery context self-reflexively: this has a similar dramaturgical result to 'staging' an actor. A binary effect emerges which corresponds to the first chapter's interest in absent surgery: while barbery often functions as a disguise (and, as such, is readily exposited and performative), surgery is frequently the covered-up process in dramatic action, remaining an offstage phenomenon. Only the practitioner of lewd, accidental, or ineffectual surgery is manifest; invariably this is an allusion to the barber-surgeon through whom barbery shrouds surgery.

Chapter 3 is divided into two case studies. I explore how in *King Lear* and *Titus Andronicus* Shakespeare represents methods of abuse and retributive actions through the semiotics of barber-surgery, and demonstrate how by recognizing these sign systems, thematic structures in the play at large, as well as in specific scenes, are illuminated. The linchpin of each case study is a prop, respectively a chair and a basin, and I examine the wider cultural impact of each.

'"And pleasant harmonie shall sound in your eares": Ballads, Music and Groans, Snip-snaps, Fiddlesticks, Ear-picks and Wax' is the fourth, exploratory and historically-driven chapter which investigates the associations between barbery/surgery and aural/acoustic matters. Clients' ears are another point of focus for the barber; a variety of figurative depictions of blocked and unblocked, clean and over-picked ears in early modern idiom

have a barbery context. While barbery is inscribed with aural/acoustic signifiers, surgery is censored in performance by pre-verbal sounds and music.

The fifth and final chapter, '"An unnecessary Flood of Words"?', investigates the verbal and written cultures which divide barbery and surgery. Barbers are characterized by generating excessive amounts of speech: there is faux worth in their garrulousness 'as purse[s] that cannot be shutte'. Surgeons are satirized for using technical language but are also 'thrift[y] in be[ing] mute'. The chapter reflects the early modern concepts of the value and economy of language, focusing especially on the verb 'trim' and its paradoxical semantics, meaning both to cut back and to adorn, which can be applied to language as well as to hair. Ironically, barbery acts as a conceptual blueprint for rhetorical and punitive gestures whereby a verbose talker is told to trim back his expression; at extreme levels these gestures are surgical and so cutting back language is dramatic amputation.

Prop

1
‘Settinge up a shoppe’: Inventories and Props

‘Many Barbers and Surgeons were fined in London for presuming to “sett up shoppe” without a license’.[1] Court minutes of the Company’s records show a flurry of such fines in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century: on 24th July 1599 ‘Richard Samborne complayned of one Phillip Winter for settinge upp a shoppe in paules church yarde beinge not free’.[2] The threat of unlicensed practice lay in its material manifestation as much as in the figure of the practitioner and was dealt with as such. Unlicensed barber Wheekes was ordered on 4th November 1600 to ‘take downe his basons and macke no shewe twowardes the streete’.[3] At all times, practitioners were forbidden to display vessels of blood as an advertisement for bloodletting, regular or irregular.[4] Barbers were not only instructed not to ‘shave wasshe, poule or trymme’ customers on Sundays (and other holy days), but they were also forbidden to ‘hange upp set or put out any … Basons or … potts upon … poule Racke shoppe windowes or otherwise’ on these days.[5] Barber Marmaduke Jefferson was fined on 8th May 1599 ‘for hangeing oute his basones on Maye daie’.[6]

This chapter is an examination of barbery and surgery gear in early modernity, and investigates how the practices were classified and labelled: the cultural identity of both was embedded in their material properties. Here we find that references to surgery are often without material sense or technicality, and cannot provide stable content for a scene. Instead, the appearance of surgical tools signals short-lived crisis moments, sometimes coaxed by a barbery context’s insistence on the material. By comparison, barbery’s material status offers recyclable content for writers; theirs and their audiences’ familiarity with the barber’s shop and its material investments means that there is greater flexibility in barbery’s theatrical realization. When early modern writers represent the physical properties of barbery and/or surgery they communicate two anxieties as one, which inventory (realized or not) embodies: the unstable growth of materiality in the period and the uneasy attitudes towards the body.

I am concerned with inventories, and examine creative and cognitive processes in theatrical production which draw on acts of list-making. In

'Thinking with Lists in French Vernacular Writing', Rowan Tomlinson investigates the function of lists in a wide range of writing including more literary, imaginative texts. Exploring how early modernity was encountering objects by first-hand observation, which she terms more generally 'autopsy' – the argument that Jonathan Sawday makes in *Body Emblazoned* – Tomlinson explains that early modernity's perception of the world was moving from unity into pieces.[7] The period's increasing influence of 'expert, practical, artisanal knowledge' is part of her focus, but most interesting for my study is Tomlinson's discussion about lists which posit an 'observing eye', implicit in non-dramatic texts, but in dramatic texts often an actualized factor.[8] William West examines the relationship between the theatre and the encyclopaedia culture in the period, viewing the 'encyclopaedia as the repository of the elements that made up the world and the theatre as their place of display', and both as sites of compression and 'impossible completeness'.[9] In particular, West's evaluation of the corresponding spatial realms of theatres and encyclopaedias which produce a space for the discovery, rehearsal and authorization of knowledge, and his interest in imitation and the visual are relevant here.[10] I explore the disparity between implied and actual forms of materiality in theatre, asking whether or not the 'observing eye' is rewarded (and what the dramaturgical or thematic effect of this is in performance), and reflecting on how touch is represented (as an embodiment of 'impossible completeness'). Of stage properties, Andrew Gurr writes, 'Shops, studies and cells in all the playhouses appeared furnished to show what they were'.[11] But writers and players also relied on audiences' ability to project on to the stage their own (pre-)conceptions of particular work spaces – an audience's imagination is pre-furnished.

'these following necessaries'

In two historical texts barbery equipment is inventoried alongside lists of surgical equipment. That the authors separate these lists reinforces my point that, while recognizing their relatedness, we must think about barbery and surgery as discrete practices. John Woodall rose through the ranks of the Company and in 1632 he was appointed master of surgery.[12] In 1617 Woodall published *The Surgions Mate, or A Treatise … of the Surgions Chest*, which was written as an aid for young sea surgeons (he had served as a surgeon with the English merchants), but which could serve more generally as a basic surgical textbook. He produced a second, expanded edition of this work in 1639, which was reprinted posthumously in 1655.[13] One page, the text of which I have included in Table 1.1, inventories barbers' equipment.

Woodall's lists tell us that barbery had, as an established occupation, a definitive language and materiality. Some differences between the editions of *Surgeon's Mate* are worth highlighting. Woodall stipulates in the second edition the number required of most items, reinforcing the fact that the

Table 1.1 Text of the barber's 'necessaries', John Woodall, *The Surgeons Mate* (1617; 1639/55)

1617 edition (sig. A4r)	**1639/1655 edition (sig. D1v)**
And for that the Surgions Mate *by due consequent is to be Barber to the Ships* Company, he ought not to be wan-*ting of these following ne-cessaries*.	If the Surgeons Mate cannot trimme men, then by due consequence there is to be a Barber to the Ships Company, and he ought not to be wanting of these following necessaries.
One Barbers case containing. *Raisors.* *Sizers.* *Combes.* *Combe-brush.* *Eare picker.* *Mullets.*[14] *Gravers.*[15] *Flegmes.*[16] *Paring knives.*[17] *Looking glasse.* Also *Aprons.* *Shaving linen.* *Water-pot.* *Sweet-water.* *Washing-bals.* *Hoanes.*[18] *Whet-stones.* *B*asons, and what else is necessarie to the Barbers profession.	One Barbours case, containing, *Rasours foure.* *Scissers two paire.* *Combes three.* *Combe-brush one.* *Eare-picker one.* *Curling Instruments.* *Turning Instruments and Spunges.* *Mullet one.* *Gravers two.* *Flegme one.* *Paring knives two.* *Looking glasse one.* *Aprons three* *Shaving towels twelve.* *Water-pot one.* *Sweet water one.* *Washing-bals lesse or more.* *Hoane one.* *Whet-stone one.* *Basons two.* And what else is necessary to the Barbers profession, as the expert Barber better knoweth.

text was of practical use. While in the 1617 edition it is evident that the surgeon's mate takes the role of the barber, in the second edition this is not expected. Instead, Woodall indicates that a ship's company required a separate practitioner, even in cramped quarters at sea. Barbering demands training (a seven-year apprenticeship), and by referring to 'the expert Barber' in his later editions, Woodall acknowledges this figure's singular knowledge of his trade.[19] In Huloet's *Dictionarie* there is a specific name for '*A young barbour, which is not perfect in the occupation*': 'Tonstriculus'.[20] Woodall also includes in his second edition three extra items with which the 'expert barber' should be equipped: '*Curling Instruments*', '*Turning Instruments and Spunges*'. Hair styling equipment seems more to define these barbery

particulars suggesting that the practice adjusted to help assert its independence from surgery and to compensate for its loss of activities of a medical nature. Effectively, Woodall garnishes the end of his second inventory ('and what else is necessarie …') with an *et cetera*. In this way he distances himself (as a surgeon) from giving an exhaustive definition of the 'other' trade, appeasing and complimenting the 'expert barber' with whom he would have worked alongside in a civic capacity in the Company.

The Heraldist Randle Holme (1627–1700)[21] printed at his Chester home over half of his *Academy of Armory* (the manuscript of which is dated from 1649) in 1688.[22] This vast encyclopaedic work includes substantial entries relating both to barbery and surgery. Holme stipulates differences and similarities between these practices' equipment, and indicates that while some tools could be seen to double-up, essentially practitioners regarded their instruments as professionally discrete.[23] Natasha Korda notes that 'the diversification of things requires a diversification of terms', and she argues that this diversity renders Holme's 'system of classification' simply 'unstable' because of its 'semantic superfluity'.[24] Old and new terms intertwine, reminding readers that new terms do not automatically replace old ones, but add to them and sometimes modify them, inflecting and augmenting the possibilities of contemporary diction. The difficulties faced in classifying the period's material cultures contribute to the complexities in which I am interested associated with classifying, representing and alluding to barbery, surgery and barber-surgery, or to the barber, surgeon and barber-surgeon, more generally.

On barbery, Holme records nearly thirty tools (or pieces of furniture), over forty phrases specific to the profession, and a further six examples of diction.[25] The detail provides a sense of performance in which sounds (voices), human movements, tools, and *mise-en-scene* (furniture) interact. We can tell from some of the entries that in cataloguing the trade Holme does not give a limiting snapshot of barbery (i.e. recording what is present in one barber's case or shop), but is capturing a sense of the trade *to date*. Entries include 'the like *Bottle* with sweet Powder in; but this is now not used' and more antiquated terms, such as 'poler' and 'pole' (meaning 'a shaver' and 'to shave', respectively). For some instruments Holme gives two names that stand for essentially the same tool (or at least no differentiation between the following is given): 'A *pair of Tweesers,* or *Twitchers*', 'A *Rasp* or *File*' and 'A *Puff* or *Tuff*'.[26] At the end of his section on surgery, Holme inserts a concise list of barbers' instruments that is almost a reproduction of Woodall's list, referring to instruments 'much used and approved off by Mr. *John Woodall* and prescribed in his *Surgeons Mate*'.[27]

We know what is usually included in an early modern barber's inventory from the formal lists examined earlier; wills from the period, and their accompanying inventories, also provide evidence. On 3rd July 1544, Charles Whyte, who was a Warden of the Barbers' Company, lists in his will only a

handful of belongings, but his barbery equipment comes first. He specifies, 'six barbours basons', 'a kettyll with a cork in yt to wasshe heddes wyth' (primitive shampooing furniture), and 'three barbours chayres'.[28] John Vigures's inventory from the late-seventeenth century details the contents of a barber's shop:

> Item six Razors tipt with silver
> twenty other Razors one looking glass
> four case of Razors a
> parcel of Combs two powder boxes
> eight old chaires three brushes
> two Tables one iron Grate a paire
> of Tonges two brass potts three
> peuter basons two brass Candlesticks
> two iron hangers for Candlesticks two
> peuter boxes for wasbolls five
> brass basons to hang in the street
> one peuter Cisterne 1 glass bottle
> for powder a darke Lanthorne
> one brass branch in the window[29]

I began this chapter by referring to public material signs of the trade and here we find objects ('brass basons' and a 'brass branch', the pole) specifically listed for the purpose of advertisement. Would objects that advertised have been distinguished in their material composition from other objects? The variety of materials (silver, pewter, brass, glass, and iron) in Vigures's inventory correspond to the pattern discussed by Korda and others who study the 'increasing volume, value, and variety of goods available' throughout the seventeenth century.[30]

Although specialized, barbers' tools were very recognizable and their basic inventories were familiar and legible to early moderns. Customers of other tradesmen (pewterers, ironmongers, clothiers, and goldsmiths, for example) were more likely to see the product of the trade than the methods and tools of the practice. Cuddy Banks says of the barber's boy in *Witch of Edmonton*, 'he can shew his Art better then another'.[31] In Phillip Stubbes's *Display of Corruptions* (1583), Amphilogus tells Theodorus that barbers 'have invented such strange fashions and monstrous maners of cuttings, trimmings, shavings, and washings, that *you would wonder to see*' [italics mine].[32] Barbery is something to watch, a process which is, in Stubbes's conception, put on as a show.[33] The idea of mystique and rarity ('strange' and 'monstrous' activities) in Stubbes's description is amusing; in reality everything in a (regular) barber's shop was familiar to the customer. Moreover, the environment is not an alien realm in which transformations miraculously occur, but a place where clients have a role in organizing their own subjectivity.[34] The terms of

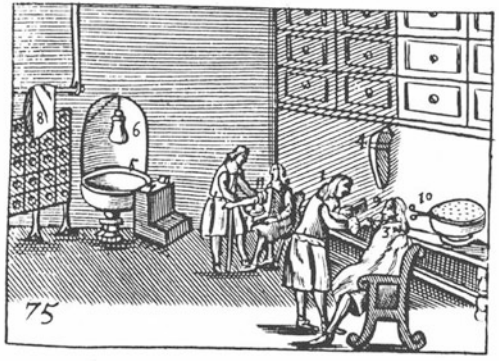
barbery are in open circulation in the shop before a clientele: writers often portray the barber giving instructions to his boy and requesting certain instruments. Moreover, barbery equipment found its place in the household for ablutionary purposes. When Preist and Sweetball depart from the stage to shave their scholars, they leave behind certain instruments of which they decide 'There's inough all ready att y^{e} Colledge' (line 79): 'Comb[s]' and 'Raysours' (see lines 78–82). In some ways, therefore, the joke about barbers is that they do not own anything that is not available to anyone else (excepting, perhaps, their dentistry materials); but by asserting barbers' tools as a collective body in a context-centric location (shop or case), rather than as a dispersed set of objects in the home, barbers could lay claim to their craft and in turn writers could shape the tradesman's image.

Language manuals in the period show us that barbery diction was in general use.[35] The thirty-four terms in John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593) perform and parody a sequence in a barber's shop.[36] The phrases also provide the French for twelve barbery instruments/equipment ('*cleane cloathes*', '*combe*', '*Pomander*', '*soape*', '*bason*', '*Cizars*', '*Ivorie combe*', '*rasor*', '*eare-picker*', '*tooth-picker*', and '*glasse*'). Plate LXXV, below, from the educationalist and Latin scholar Johann Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1659) is one-of-a-kind in that it describes and illustrates the features of a barber's shop (*Tonstrina*).[37] In English, the inventory boils down to 'Case', 'Basen', 'Sope', 'Laver', 'Towel', 'Comb', 'Crisping-Iron', and 'Pen-knife' (see Figure 1.1). The translator of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, Charles Hoole, published *An Easie Entrance to the Latine Tongue* (1649) which includes a similar list of materials attributed to the barber: 'a barbers-box … towel … rasor … barbers-basin … sweet-powder … crisping-iron … pair of scissors … pair of pinsers to pull away hairs … pair of pinsers to pull out teeth … a porringer'.[38] These inventories point towards the material availability and legibility of the trade.

Depictions of barbery naturally lean on the trade's material aspects. John Ford's *Fancies Chaste and Noble* is one of the later texts considered in this book and the barbery props designated in its stage directions are the most detailed. *Fancies* represents both domestic and commercially-driven barbery through barber Secco, who initially enters '*with a Castingbottle, sprinckling his Hatte and Face, and a little lookeing glasse at his Girdle, setting his Countenance*' (s.d. A4v). These objects do not represent the barber shop, but tell the audience something about the vanity and naivety of the young barber who will not be without ablutionary materials for his *own* upkeep. Later, when Secco realizes how he has been duped by Spadone, he assembles his barber shop on stage as a location in which he can punish his meddling friend.[39] The theatrical realization of Secco's shop is a tangible sign that the barber is ready for business; before this he appears ungrounded in his occupation. I want to investigate how playwrights use inventory as a (linguistic) tool in their dramas. Peter Burke refers to popular culture 'in terms of inventories of a stock or repertoire of the forms and conventions' as well as being a

LXXV.

Tonſtrina.



The Barbers-ſhop.

The Barber 1.
in the Barbers ſhop 2.
cutteth off
the Hair and the Beard
with a pair of Sizzars 3.
or ſhaveth with
a Razor,
which he taketh out of
his Caſe 4.
and he waſheth
one over a Baſen, 5.
with Suds
running out of
a Laver, 6.
and alſo with Sope, 7.
and wipeth him
with a Towel, 8.
combeth him with
a Comb, 9.
and curleth him with
a Criſping-Iron 10.
Sometimes he cutteth a vein with
a Pen-knife 11.
where the blood
ſpirteth out. 12.
The Chirurgion
cureth Wounds.

Tonſor 1.
in *Tonſtrinâ* 2.
tondet
Crines & *Barbam*
Forpice 3.
vel radit
Novaculâ,
quam è *Thecâ* 4.
depromit;
& lavat
ſuper *Pelvim*, 5.
Lixivio
defluente
e *Gutturnio*, 6.
ut & *Sapone*, 7.
& tergit
Linteo, 8.
pectit
Pectine, 9.
criſpat
Calamiſtro 10.
Interdum
Venam ſecat
Scalpello 11.
ubi Sanguis
propullulat. 12.
Chirurgus,
curat *Vulnera*.

The

Equi-

Figure 1.1 *'Tonstrina'*, Johann Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1659), pp. 154–5

stock of genres. His analogy of the musical 'variation on a theme' is useful to my discussion, which explores the artistic impulses behind writers' use of inventory in scenarios on stage. Burke concludes, 'combining formulae and motifs and adapting them to new contexts is not a mechanical process' but a 'creative act'.[40] In the following three examples, the barber's shop is not an actualized factor on stage, but linguistically the barbery context evoked is creative in its emphatic materiality and is thematically embedded in each play. Setting up a barbery space in theatre involves more than a furnished stage to show what things were; it involves a furnished script as well. An inventory negotiates itself between physical and linguistic reference points.

Sham materiality in the subplot of Lyly's *Midas*

Lyly's main source for both stories in *Midas* is Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XII.85–193).[41] The first story is about Midas's golden touch, granted by Bacchus, and the second is how the King grows ass's ears as a punishment for erroneously judging a competition between Pan and Apollo.[42] A barber features at the end of Ovid's tale and although his role is restricted to a few lines, he is crucial to the original conception of the tale's circulation: through the barber, Ovid explains how the secret of the King's ass's ears surfaces. The few lines in Ovid are rearranged in Lyly's *Midas* as an entire subplot, centred on the barber (Motto), which parodies the greedy politics of the main Midas story by exploiting barbery's association with materiality and cozenage. Motto's role, one of the lengthiest characterizations of a barber of any surviving early modern play, is not to spread the news as in Ovid. Instead, Lyly fleshes out the barber's part, making it a double-act with Dello, his apprentice, and providing an additional context in which to exercise the themes and moral stance of the story as well as Lyly's linguistic predilections. When the characters of this subplot first appear, Motto has shaved Midas of his golden beard but has been cheated of it by Court servants, Petulus and Licio. The supposedly valuable item is the central cause of the rivals' attempts to outwit each other. In the end, Petulus and Lucio claim the beard, which is their bribe in return for not reporting Motto's treasonable slip of the tongue.

The main subject of the play's subplot is Midas's golden beard but, oddly, this item is not a prop or a prosthetic object in a production. Here, I differ from Mark Johnston's reading of the beard: he imagines that in early scenes the actor playing Midas must wear a golden beard, commenting that this prosthesis 'never appears again after Motto removes it from Midas's face'.[43] But the play never reveals when Midas touches his beard, or when Motto has the opportunity to shave it off. Its elusiveness in the play is entire and part of the point. When the audience first hears of the beard, they learn that it is at Petulus's pawnbroker. Towards the end of the play, Motto leads Petulus and Licio *offstage* in order to retrieve the beard from Motto's safe-keeping. The beard switches hands, but not before the audience's

eyes and dialogue updates the audience as to who has the item. Indeed, Petulus's desire for the golden beard is conflated with his desire to have a beard at all (a reference to the smooth-faced boy-actor of St Paul's playing his role): like the golden beard, Petulus's is 'concealed' (V.ii.7). Johnston argues that the beard is 'refetishized as a commodity' in the subplot having been removed from the courtly economics of the main plot, and points towards the 'artificial stability' of the beard in its various contexts.[44] But the golden beard hardly has a context in the main plot. Bacchus's reference to the hairs on Midas's head is not a reference to his beard and is made before the King's golden wish, and Mellecrites's mention of Aesclepius's honoured golden beard is a passing remark (see I.i.13; I.i.77–79). The beard is instantly appropriated in the subplot (unnoticed in its literal form before III.ii). Because it does not materialize, the suggestion is that the golden beard has faux worth. It is deceptive, and is emblematic of the false worth of Midas's golden touch which does not generate value and deprives Midas of gaining greater status at court.

Nevertheless the golden beard's physicality has the illusion of being existent during a performance of *Midas*: goldenness is characteristic not just of the beard's colour but also of its physical property. It is a weighty object, corresponding to currency and the materially-meaningful coin. Petulus speaks of the beard in terms of it being pawned: it supposedly produces economic results in cash value (see III.ii.22–4). Referred to as a 'hairbadge' (III.ii.28), the beard has an intensified material status: it is like a piece of jewellery or heraldic symbol that pronounces status. Moreover, the term 'hairbadge' puns on 'harbourage' and its implication of safe-keeping.[45] Characters refer to the beard in terms of possession, usually in terms of handling the object. In the end, the beard is the one item on Petulus's wish list: 'Remember now our inventory', he says to Motto, 'Item: we will not let thee go out of hands till we have the beard in our hands' (V.ii.193–5).

Petulus's reminder is couched in terms of formal list-making. Tomlinson explains that techniques such as '*anaphora*, *occupation*, and *deixis*, or the reliance on … the term "*item*"' are frequently used by list-makers to impose order.[46] Nevertheless, all of these seeming endorsements of the beard's material worth and investment are each undermined. The beard is never in safe-keeping (in 'harbourage') because it is the subject of cozenage in a world of trickery and its supposed to-and-fro trajectory and appropriation in the dramaturgy is offstage, switching hands without any witnesses. That the beard never materializes makes ridiculous the exertions of the subplot characters who are driven by their desire to keep a hold on it.[47] Writing on touch, Carla Mazzio explains that 'The cost of a touch that "grasps" in a non-reciprocal manner is embodied in the myth of Midas'; Lyly extends this idea of 'cost'.[48] The themes of the subplot centre on material possession, but more specifically, on the absence of the material reality of possessions which translates to a theatrical trick. Throughout *Midas*, Lyly entertains his

audience with things that are not there but which appear to have social value. Andrew Sofer writes:

> stage props become a concrete means for playwrights to animate stage action, interrogate theatrical practice, and revitalize dramatic form … A prop exists textually only in a state of suspended animation. It demands actual embodiment and motion on the stage in order to spring to imaginative life.[49]

And yet a prop, as I have described, can also exist *theatrically* in a state of suspended animation, and in *Midas* this is at the expense of the subplot characters who attempt to create something out of nothing. I now want to explore the interrelation between the play's absent beard and its barbery setting, in which inventories and the theatrical construction of a barber's workspace also play with audience expectations and enable Lyly to make a moral argument.

Nothing in the script of *Midas*, either in the limited stage directions or in the dialogue, suggests that any of the subplot scenes should take place in a barber's shop. An atmosphere of barbery and a context for the barber is established through language: Motto and Dello exercise 'Tully *de Oratore*, the very art of trimming' (III.ii.49–50), which is linguistic trimming, rather literal barbering (see Chapter 5). Motto's pulling of Petulus's tooth does not occur on stage; instead, a song about aching teeth yanks the scene to a halt. Items that audiences might usually associate with barbery are referred to but are projected onto other objects. Petulus's teeth are supposed to 'look like a comb', but can also act as 'scissors' (V.ii.99–100); a woman's tongue 'will prove a razor' (V.ii.103–4). Musical instruments that might have furnished a barber's shop are also displaced: Petulus's 'mouth' is 'the instrument' (III. ii.94–5) and his teeth 'virginal keys' (III.ii.97–8).[50] The similes accumulate.

In V.ii, Petulus carries a document on stage. It is supposed to be 'an inventory of all [Motto's] goods' (V.ii.4), which Petulus and Licio receive in exchange for the golden beard. Lyly's commentary about value systems and characters' inability to judge what things are worth again leans on what an audience knows about the barber. Barbery equipment was not deemed expensive and certainly was unlikely to be equivalent to a golden lump of beard. Even Vigurers's sizeable inventory of barbery gear listed earlier in this chapter was valued at only £3.10, the equivalent of approximately £300 today. In Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, Cocledemoy borrows the barber's boy's equipment asking 'what's thy furniture worth?' (II.i.188–9) and the boy replies, 'O Lord, sir, I know not' (II.i.90), exposing (in his unwitting juvenilia) that his instruments are hardly worth valuing.[51]

Nevertheless the document in Petulus's hand carries certain promises of material objects, both for Petulus and for the audience. But it is a sham. It does not conform to the legal requirements of an inventory and through

it, Lyly satirizes early modern consumerism and the developing property market. 'Of divers questions about the making of an inventarie', ecclesiastical lawyer Henry Swinburne states first that 'All goodes, c[h]attels, wares, merchandizes, moveable and immoveable, are to be put into [it]'.[52] But Swinburne's attempts to classify 'moveables' and 'stuff', argues Korda, are not straightforward; terms are slippery, causing the lawyer to clarify matters in his second edition of *Testaments and Last Willes* in 1611.[53] Terms in *Midas* are also prone to shift and resist definition and Lyly's satire works on the level of the household, while making broader comments about civic law and social interaction. Motto's inventory is categorized, comically, as a list of '*bads* and goods' [italics mine] (V.ii.23–4), 'bads' being 'a nonsense term … for comic antithesis'.[54] But it does not actually list any barber's 'goods' (V.ii.4) or 'household stuff'. Instead, it itemizes only the unwanted, and suggestively immoveable, contents of his house, including 'one foul wife and five small children' (V.ii.26), and lists his vicious debts.[55] 'Immoveable' and 'incorporall' items were officially part of inventorying, as were the listings of debts, but these alone would not constitute a legally sound document; the emphasis of an inventory was supposed to be primarily on materials – which barbers conventionally had in plenty.[56] There is nothing of material value for Petulus and Licio to possess; the 'goods' are without commercial, social, or civic worth. Along with the foul wife, Petulus discovers other undesirable items listed:

PETULUS 'Item: in the servants' chamber, two pair of curst queans' tongues'.
LICIO Tongs, thou wouldst say.
PETULUS Nay, they pinch worse than tongs. (V.ii.31–4)

Tongs were barbers' curling instruments, sometimes referred to as irons, but here playing to the graphemic and phonetic similarity of 'tongues'. Once again, the comedic effect relies on a process of transference with the material object as a reference point. What is first thought to be a physical item (the tongs) and of practical use, is actually something else, incorporeal and dysfunctional: the painful voices of slutty female servants.[57] We find time and time again that the language of barbery is an excuse for pun, double-meaning, homophone, and *double entendre*, which can stem from its well-known material objects. The 'tong' word play is also in William Rowley's *A Search for Money* (1609), when the barber is described as 'treble-tongu'd': 'hee has a reasonable Mother tongue, his Barber-surgions tongue, and a tongue betweene two of his fingers'[58] Interpretations shift between subject and object. While Lyly's *Midas* deals, in its main plot, with Phrygian legend, its subplot is satirical of contemporary material culture in a world that has become a 'hodgepodge' (Prologue, 22): common objects resist definition and value systems are rendered meaningless. Swinburne's revisions show that hitting on a system of classification and valuation is no small task. The barber

setting exemplifies this: audiences know what should be present at the barber's and are amused when it becomes an impossible task to pin things down.

Only later in *Midas* is there reference to a more familiar barber's inventory. In V.ii, Motto is distressed because he has been tricked into saying, expexegetically, 'Nay, I mean the King's are ass's ears' (V.ii.157). He hopes that Petulus will not relate his slip of the tongue to the authorities, and secures this by offering Petulus the golden beard:

> MOTTO I protest by scissors, brush and comb, basin, ball and apron, by razor, earpick, and rubbing clothes, and all the *tria sequuntur triaes* in our secret occupation … that [Petulus] shall have the beard (V.ii.177–80).

This list points to everything that has so far been laughably absent in the barbery subplot (and the not so secret occupation). Apparently these items are all that Motto has to swear upon. But Motto's pledge is made on things that are not there (it is the verbal equivalent of a sham document), and the audience is not led to think that Petulus has finally triumphed. Indeed, the golden beard is re-absorbed as an intangible on an unwritten inventory: 'Remember now our inventory. Item: we will not let thee go out of hands till we have the beard in our hands' (V.iii.193–5). Just as the opening squabbles over the golden beard begin midway through the action, so the conclusion of that plot is open-ended, reflecting the non-teleological aspect of touch which Mazzio explores, and highlighting the problematic nature of untouchable as well as touchable objects.

Lyly's play is an exploration of the relationship between a playwright's linguistic and material investment in his drama. Primarily a literary artist, Lyly underlines his moralizing and thematic concerns in the Midas story without neglecting the substance of theatre. (Stage directions in Lyly's works show that properties are not generally absent from his stage.) If, as Douglas Bruster argues, hand properties are a symbol of decorum on the early modern stage, then by not supplying the subplot with the properties on which it focuses, Lyly challenges theatrical convention, and, at the same time, the climate of his era that consumed the material.[59] Writing on the prologue in *Midas*, Bruster and Weimann discuss Lyly's consciousness in confronting representation's forms of authority and communication: 'What the prologue himself conveys is … the energizing interplay, in his own text and in the theatre, between the representing and the represented, but also, and simultaneously, between showing and writing'.[60] The subplot's material world in *Midas* is referential, not visual, and the subplot characters are dealing with things that are not there; that is, material things that are physically absent but which are concrete in the minds of an audience which fits the image of the playwright 'groping towards a new cultural stock-taking'.[61] 'For Midas', Mazzio explains, 'as for any theorist of touch, to get a "handle" on touch, to reify

it, may be to eclipse its power', the very effects on which Lyly plays.[62] The highly legible, material world of the barber that is culturally, civically, and commercially *available* in the period – and has only faux mystical 'power' – is a cogent setting for Lyly to challenge the expectations of touch and possession-taking, and ultimately represent a world of false economies.

Inventory as cataplexis in *Epicoene*

The barber is a prominent and coherent character in two of Ben Jonson's plays, *Epicoene* and *Staple of News* (both of which I examine in detail in this book), through whom Jonson shapes the meaning of his drama. In *Epicoene* Cutbeard is barber and confidant ('chief of … counsel (I.ii.39)) to Morose, for whom he supplies an unsuitable spouse.[63] Morose marries Epicoene not realizing that she is a he and that s/he can, contrary to Cutbeard's guarantee, talk (more on this in Chapter 4). At the end of the play, a disguised Cutbeard spawns confusion when Morose seeks a legal way out of his marriage. Jonson satirizes stereotypical representations of the blabbering barber by suggesting at the beginning of the play that Cutbeard is as silent as Epicoene, but later, Morose realizes that the 'impostor, Cutbeard' (III.iv.47) is indiscreet. In III.v's final sixty lines, Morose and Truewit wish calamity on Cutbeard: 'May he get the itch, and his shop so lousy as no man dare come at him' (III.v.70–71). They focus half of their cataplexis on Cutbeard's body, which they hope will develop blotches and gout, and the other half on the objects of his trade. In the midst of their invective they envisage the deterioration of Cutbeard's shop, the contents of which they hope will 'rust', 'mould', and be 'broken' (III.v.79, 80, 104). To be practising with faulty instruments was an offence. A clause in the Company Ordinances of 1606 seeks the 'Reformacon of abuses in disobedient M[asters] & Servants' in the trade who are classified by their use of 'uncleane naperye & combes and rusty Instruments'.[64] Morose and Truewit's attack is social as well as personal.

A fifteen-piece inventory of barbery items emerges from Truewit and Morose's exchange: 'curling-iron', 'balls', 'warming-pan', 'chairs', 'scissors', 'combs', 'cases', 'basin', 'sponge', 'lotium'[65], 'lute-string', 'linen', 'lint' (and reference to 'rag[s]'), 'pole', 'glass', 'razor' (III.v.69–110). Although scenes in *Epicoene* are never set in a barber's shop (in II.vi, characters are loitering either in or near Cutbeard's house), Morose and Truewit invite audiences to construct in their minds a comprehensive *mise-en-scene*. The characters hope that Cutbeard 'never set[s] up again' (III.v.96), but, ironically in this passage, their allusions assemble the play's most tangible sense of the barber's shop work space. The audience's enjoyment of the sequence relies on their ability to share in Jonson's resourceful construction of the characters' diatribe.

This barbery inventory, used as a mnemonic of the tradesman's status, is incorporated as a playful reminder that the practitioner should not get above his station.[66] Before III.v, Morose favours Cutbeard but hardly acknowledes

him as a barber; when Cutbeard is scorned, however, his occupational identity is underlined materially. Juana Green argues that Jonson uses household property to dramatize 'anxieties surrounding shared … property' and reflect 'cultural concerns'.[67] Morose and Truewit turn to the barber's material property to underline social order in the face of transgression. The effectiveness of the scene lies in this process of decontextualization within the play, and also relies on the audience's lack of surprise at the unreliability of the barber. In literature, if there is ever a question over a barber's honesty, it concludes only one way. Inventory here functions as a reality check.

Morose and Truewit imagine that Cutbeard will only be able to survive his degradation by consuming the items and materials in his shop. In part, the inventory they draw up is also a repulsive recipe. They think that Cutbeard should, with obvious pun intended, 'swallow all his balls' (III.v.73), 'eat his sponge for bread' (III.v.84) 'drink lotium' (III.v.85), 'Eat ear-wax' (III.v.87), and 'beat [old teeth] … to powder[68] and make bread of them' (III.v.89). Inventories' implied material site readily transposes to a bodily and corruptible one, and what is regarded as worth recording materially is re-identified as transient, waste-matter.[69] The materials of barbery are designed to improve, fix, tidy, sweeten, and clean the body, but as such they can also easily be reconfigured as a gross index of excremental matter. In plays that are concerned with the transposition or reinterpretation of the honour, quietness, chastity, and sex of female characters – in other words their attractiveness, usefulness, and value – reinterpretation of the barber's equipment from being associated with improving and enhancing the male image to perverting and dirtying it are an effective rhetorical parallel.

In the passage from *Epicoene*, inventory catalogues the collapse of things, specifically Cutbeard's good reputation, but also general order. Moreover, the inventory available in the scene is uncomfortable because it goes against what theatre wants to do: the actor wants to show and the audience wants to see. (On the subject of hands, Bruster notes that 'illustrators preferred that hands be used for gestures, or rest on something, or grasp an object, rather than remaining empty'.)[70] On a page, an inventory is static and flat; on stage it wants to be physical. Tomlinson asserts that 'listing is often, either implicitly or explicitly, figured as the product of a process of observation'.[71] Items listed in an inventory can at once be there and not there, catalogued (having been witnessed) but not necessarily in view, as can a theatrical prop. Theatre, therefore, uses inventory to play with the notion of the witness and potential for material embodiment. The effect of the inventory can be ideological rather than physical and in this passage the barber's inventory is a means of navigating figurations of substance and waste.

In my next example I investigate the effect a playwright achieves when he combines the formal structures of a barber's inventory in a character's lines with the presence of hand props on stage. This double effect in a scene from *Herod and Antipater* produces a bizarre sense of effictio. The objects'

relationship with bodies is different again. In *Midas*, tools are, as it were, projected on the body or re-configured as aspects of speech and Lyly explores questions of surface value. In *Epicoene*, barbery objects and waste products are depicted in relation to the less socially-acceptable body (a body that excretes and is edible). In *Herod and Antipater*, tools seem to be extensions of the body: they are prostheses with the potential to stimulate sexually and also to kill.

'strange idolatry' in *Herod* and *Antipater*

The overreaching illegitimate, Antipater, determined to possess the Crown in Jerusalem, propels the tragedy in Markham and Sampson's play. Antipater sets in motion fears of treachery in the King's court, causing Herod – out of terror – to authorize executions, including that of his own wife, Marriam. Antipater gains his Aunt Salumith (Herod's sister) for an accomplice by convincing her that her husband is unfaithful with Herod's wife, and that her 'state [at court] is slippery' (G1v). Salumith procures for Antipater a naive agent with whom Antipater can further stir trouble in the royal household: the king's barber, Tryphon, is infatuated with Salumith and obedient to her command. She asks Tryphon to give a false message to Herod, which he does:

> TRYPHON I must disclose
> A treason foule and odious: these your Sonnes,
> …
> By fearefull threats, and golden promises,
> Have labour'd me, that when I should be cald,
> To trim your Highnesse beard, or cut your hayre;
> I then should lay my Razor to your throat (G4r)

Because Tryphon confesses he knows a means of killing Herod, he is stabbed. The barber does not have a lengthy role in the drama, but he is more than a walk-on part. He utters over sixty lines and has three stage entrances; his longest spoken passage is, in effect, a soliloquy; he is a catalyst to double filicide; in his third appearance during the performance he enters '*like* [*a*] *Ghost*' (s.d. L1v) to remind Antipater of his unnatural deeds, and so his theatrical status shifts during a performance. The playwrights mark the barber's part in the play by equipping him with more than a message for Herod: the player of Tryphon must perform with a variety of props: 'Enter Tryphon the Barber, with a Case of Instruments' (s.d. G1v).

A female is the main subject of the barber in *Herod and Antipater*. Privileged women such as Salumith were unlikely to attend to their own coiffeuse, but their ablutionary routines were usually performed by other women.[72] Farah Karim-Cooper explains that ladies in upper social levels were 'expected

to have a working knowledge of the rituals and intimate secrets of the female dressing chamber'.[73] In Barnabe Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, Lucretia is attended by '*two Pages*' who enter '*with a Table, two looking glasses, a box with Combes and instruments, a rich bowle*'.[74] But it is Motticilla who 'smooth[es] [Lucretia's] browes'; and while Motticilla 'correct[s] these arches with this mullet', Lucretia warns her maid, 'Plucke me not to[o] hard' (H1r-v). For the most part we assume that women preened themselves.[75] Licio lists twenty-four 'purtenances' belonging to women for their upkeep, including 'curling irons', 'hair-laces', '[looking-]glasses', and 'combs' (*Midas*, I.ii.79–83).[76]

In literature, those women for whom ablutions and external upkeep are a public matter make a social statement about female mobility. Captain Otter suggests in *Epicoene* that his wife (in his terms, 'a scurvy clogdogdo' (IV.ii.68)) is groomed or reconstructed facially by a variety of practitioners (probably barbers) across town: 'All her teeth were made i' the Blackfriars, both her eyebrows i' the Strand, and her hair in Silver Street' (IV.ii.84–6), he says.[77] (This last location is adjacent to Monkwell Street, where resided Barber-Surgeon's Hall.) By inventorying his wife's body topographically Captain Otter makes excessive-seeming the performance in putting her together, and the blazon is so dispersed as to be distorted: the result is discoloured teeth, stringy brows, and grey locks. Truewit encourages women to 'practise any art to mend breath, cleanse teeth, repair eyebrows' (I.i.105–6) but upon Clerimont's interjection, 'How! publicly?' (I.i.107), he responds, 'The doing of it, not the manner: that must be private' (I.i.108). Truewit's satirical judgements correspond to the play's larger theme of the private, public, and contested performing spaces of women. Usually if a barber, whose practice is public male grooming, is related to a female, it renders her indiscrete and sexually available. When in *Fancies*, Secco the barber and his man Nitido explain that they 'light on some offices for Ladies, too, as occasion serves' (this, according to Nitido, might be to 'frizzle or pouder their haire, plane their eye-browes, set a napp on their cheekes, keepe secrets, and tell newes' (I4v)), Ford deliberately fuels the assumption that Octavo's nieces and wards, who are under Secco's wife's protection, are a harem.[78] In *Herod and Antipater*, the relationship between the male barber and Salumith instantly indicates her sexual ambivalence and – in this play, hazardous – mobility at court. That Tryphon is Salumith's prosthetic object, jabbing at the king so as to destabilize his authority, complicates the play's sexual politics.

Tryphon fantasizes about how his barbery instruments have touched and probed Salumith's body. He fetishizes each object, and his 'strange Idolatry' (G2r) suggests that he gains masturbatory pleasure from handling his tools.[79] Karim-Cooper examines what it means for women to be rendered 'prosthetic beings', but in this passage, the male simultaneously is constructed prosthetically.[80] Although he regards his 'Combe' as 'blessed' and 'spotless', a 'comb' refers to the crest of a cockerel and is allusive of

the penis. In *Hengist* Simon responds to a bawdy comment by the barber with 'Barber, be silent, I will cut thy comb else' (III.iii.235). In *Quiet Life*, material referencing points are sexualized in the barber shop: when Ralph asks, 'Do you see my yard, Barber?' (II.iv.40–41), the Barber assumes Ralph is referring to his penis rather than his measuring stick, and a similar misclassification occurs when Ralph mentions his 'ware'. Tryphon thinks of the comb unknotting the tangles ('felters') of Salumith's hair. But these tangles are 'curious'; an allusion to pubic hair and they arouse Tryphon. His 'Sizers' are 'sweete' because they 'once did cut the Locks of Salumith'. 'Cut' can mean to 'help oneself sexually', and as a noun was synonymous with 'vagina', while a 'lock' was allusive of chastity.[81] Tryphon mixes barbery tropes of snipping hair with sexual innuendo, fantasizing that he once took Salumith's virginity. The scissors are 'sharpe, but gentle ones'. Inventorying doubles as blazoning and here makes elusive and ridiculous Tryphon's desire to hold Salumith. Writing on Thomas Thomkis's allegorical play on the senses, *Lingua* (1607), Mazzio comments on its long list of 'touchable' items in bodily dressing: 'The heap of absent objects clearly displaces the representational problems of touch onto the female sex'.[82] But it is not only the absence of these objects, as my example from *Herod and Antipater* shows, but the abundance of objects that can problematize touch, which is multiply envisaged. Particularly for the tradesman, tools both obstruct and symbolize an intensified mode of contact.

Tryphon returns his instruments to the case, which transforms from a tradesman's equipment box to a lover's collection of tokens: a 'Shrine', as Tryphon calls it. Absurd numerical itemization parodies formal inventorying: 'Ile number all those Hayres my Sizers cut,/And dedicate those Numbers to her Shrine' (G2r). Whereas a barber entering a scene with instruments often denotes stage activity (see Chapter 2), the barber entering in *Herod and Antipater* demonstrates the reverse. The instruments are devotional relics rather than realistic appliances, underlining the inherent deficiency of prostheses. Lime and Handsaw in the play, by comparison, epitomize the practical labourer. The case and the untouched tools within it symbolize Tryphon's celibacy or failed erection. Of the comb he says, 'let no hand/(But mine henceforth) be ever so a[u]dacious,/Or daring as to touch thee' (G1v), and of the scissors, similarly, 'O, goe rest,/Rest in this peacefull Case; and let no hand/Of mortall race prophane you' (G1v-G2r). The case is an archive.[83] This action makes bitingly ironic the reason for Tryphon's death in the next scene. Herod, whose anxiety is misplaced, kills Tryphon because he believes the barber can 'cut [his] throat,/When [he] should trim or shave [him]' (G4r). But Tryphon's earlier scene has dramaturgically highlighted his non-functioning state and instruments have become records. Here we see this process on stage which structures a message, further embedding the play's reflection on legitimacy: the barber who forsakes his tools makes himself, and therefore his labour, vulnerable.

Finally, Tryphon's name (he is the only character of this name in plays from the period) is of interest and draws us to the playwright's sources. Fictional barbers easily gain comic names but 'Tryphon' is of a different type of onomastics from 'Cutbeard' or 'Sweetball' in being historically rather than generically constructed. The name Tryphon is associated a legendary ancient surgeon, named in several surgical works.[84] The mythical sea surgeon of Books III and IV of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590/6), is called Tryphon, who – albeit after six years – cures Marinell's bleeding wound.[85] The poet Michael Drayton refers to Spenser's Tryphon when alluding to surgeons in *Poly-Olbion* (1612), and in Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* (1633) Tryphon is referred to several times associated with the sea, salves, and healing strong infections.[86] Although Tryphon's part in *Herod and Antipater* is straightforwardly a barber's role, through his name, the dramatists encourage knowledgeable listeners and readers to note his connection with surgical men, both contemporaneously fictional and of ancient times.

Tryphon's name injects the double effect of the 'barber-surgeon' into the play. When Tryphon re-enters like a ghost (with Pheroas, Achitophel and Disease), Antipater says that the ghosts 'transfigur[e]' him, declaring, 'O, you doe breake my brest up, teare my Soule;/And burne Offence to an Anatomy' (L1v). If ghost-Tryphon still carries a case of instruments, Antipater reconfigures the prop: Tryphon, it appears to him, is now equipped to anatomize. Unlike earlier, in his re-emergence, Tryphon is silent about his equipment. If to Antipater Tryphon is now like an unlicensed practitioner, his implied tool-set is also suddenly unfamiliar. Barbery equipment that was once catalogued and held up for view is now hidden or unnamed. In this context, the '*case of instruments*', an unstable archive in this play, is reclassified to suit the practitioner of surgery, and pale Tryphon appears, in accordance with contemporaries' favoured depictions, like a gaunt medical man, reminding us that there was always the possibility that the barber could turn to surgery.

'cover'd over with surgeons instruments'

The rhetorically-drawn barbery context in the examples I give above highlight the visible, legible, material world of the tradesman. Moreover, the barber is prodigiously associated with a civically and culturally stable workspace – the barber's shop – that thrust itself visibly on the street with advertisements of pole and basins, window displays, and even strings of teeth. By comparison, the surgeon is envisaged working in a variety of workspaces, and not one of these particularly dominates in early modern reference: patients' houses, the battlefield or site of injury, the Hall where the very sick were transported for expert examination, hospitals, and sometimes the surgeons' homes (this also sometimes referred to as a 'shop' in Company records).[87] Today we imagine surgeons in the surgical theatre, almost

exclusively, but to the early modern imagination, surgeons were not allied with an equivalent, definite space to perform their daily works and this is significant to my interest in offstage surgery explored in the next chapter. Lisa Silverman notes of French surgical procedures in the seventeenth century that they 'took place in a mutually agreeable location. Phlebotomies, for example, were generally performed in the patient's home'.[88] Much of the time the surgeon is a mobile, transient figure who emerges, both literally and figuratively, at moments of crisis. So when the editor of the *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (1840) added 'A Room in the House of the Surgeon' to the stage directions of V.iii in *Love's Pilgrimage*, what might he have conceived a surgeon's furnished space to be?[89] And is it practical to think that the early modern stage would have reproduced this space? In the Folio edition of this play, no such direction is included.[90] The second part of this chapter examines how the absence of surgery's definitive workspace is supplemented by the absence of a definitive or manageable inventory of surgical equipment, making the conceptualization of the profession mostly intangible, and like Tryphon's reappearance as an anatomiser, potentially threatening.

Peter Lowe distinguishes between the two main types of equipment with which the surgeon is customarily furnished: 'instruments or remedies common be … of two sortes, for some be medicinals, & some be ferramentalls' (made of iron, specifically, or metal, more generally).[91] Receipts, or recipes, for diets and suchlike are commonly in the surgeon's making, and, as Peregrine Horden notes, the 'distinction between surgery and medicine is blurred'.[92] In his *Bulwarke*, William Bullein explains his alternative methods for opening sores without tools. Describing 'a potential cautery', he names a variety of substances that are distilled together to treat an apostumation. My interest is in his use of the word 'potential'. A cautery usually refers to a heated, metal instrument which is applied to seal a wound, commonly referred to as a cauterizing iron. Bullein distinguishes between a 'potential cautery' and an 'actual cautery' for severe ulcers: the actual cautery is 'a hoat iron'.[93] This iron is associated with causing irreversible damage because it burns flesh. In *Anything for a Quiet Life*, Ralph's penis is nearly dismembered (in error): one of two instruments needed for the operation is a 'cauterizer' (II.iv.3). A 'cauterizing iron, red hot' (II.iv.47). In IV.i of *King John* Hubert prepares 'hot irons' (IV.i.1, 39, 59) with which to gouge out Arthur's eyes. The 'actual' cautery – the instrument – embodies the threat and, because of its reputation, is appropriate to spectacle and is the dramaturgical commonplace in the period.[94]

Whatever the realities of surgery, which was systematically challenging medical hierarchies, and the falseness of the imposed medical dichotomy, the default materials associated with surgeons which shaped their *cultural* identity are the ferrementals, not the medicinal substances. That there was a strict divide between surgeons working on the outer body with tools and

physicians attending to the inner body with medicines was illusionary in practice, but in the popular imagination, the surgeon could be straightforwardly separated. In Robert Armin's *History of Two Maids of More-Clacke*, the tinker, Toures, sings of a maid who suffered from a stone: '*Docters came her pulse to feele,/And Surgions with their tooles of steele,/To dig, to delve*'.[95] Surgeons would never shake off their association with craftsmanship.[96] The French and Middle English word 'c[h]irurgien' is from the Greek word 'chiros', meaning hand.[97] Bullein writes, 'Because it taketh the name of a Greeke Nowne, cal-*Chir*, an hand in English … [it] should be rather hand craft, and not a Science': a 'hand mistery'.[98] In Horatius Morus's *Tables of Surgerie* (translated in 1585), distinctions are made between cures by physicians' means, which involve administering 'drinks' and 'diets', and cures 'by surgerie' which involve 'cut[ting]', using an 'instrument' and 'skilfull handling'.[99] In describing surgeons, Bullein highlights their fundamental analogy to tools: 'Nature in the tyme of *Soarenesse*, can no more be without [th]e *Chirurgian*, than the Smith can be without hys hammer, or the Tayler wythout his Sheeres'.[100] '*Chirurgian*' here is equivalent to 'hammer' and 'Sheeres' rather than to 'Smith' or 'Tayler' and Bullein suggests that surgery is metonymic of tools, rather than vice versa. Petronell summarizes the ideal surgical instrument in Chapman's *Eastward Ho!*: '… hee that wayes mens thoughts, has his handes full of nothing: A man in the course of this worlde should bee like a Surgeons instrument, worke in the woundes of others, and feele nothing himselfe. The sharper, and subtler, the better'.[101] The instrument, here personified but non-specific (similar to Toures's reference to 'tooles of steele'), is disconnected from the hand of the surgeon (who feels nothing), epitomiszing surgical procedure autonomously and distancing the problematic effects of touch that accompanied medical works on the body. Ultimately, the tool rather than the hand is an effective motif.

Surgical tracts which reference surgeons' tools are abundant.[102] In his treatise on lithotomy, French surgeon François Tolet lists over twenty-five objects for stone removal alone.[103] 'In Praise of the Author', in Lowe's *Course of Chirurgerie*, refers to 'instrume[n]ts to search ech joynt,/Ech skull or brused bone', implying that 'ech' part of the body demands a different instrument.[104] Lowe gives a general sense of the instruments: 'Some are to cut as rasures, some to burne as cauters actualls, some to drawe away, as tenells incisives, pincetts, tirballes, some are to sound'.[105] These are 'common' instruments to which the 'proper' instruments, specific to 'one part onley', are added.[106] But we cannot easily draw from the publications a manageable list of surgeon's essentials as we could for barbers: lists of instruments in the surgical tracts fill pages rather than a page. Because the task was so great the responsibility, according to a new clause of the Company's 1606 Ordinances, was on governors and masters to check that surgeons went to sea with their 'cheste, boxes and oth[er]lyke for that voyage … sufficiently furnished with wholesome and good medycynes & receipts and w[i]th

apte and fit Instruments': conducting inventorying of the surgeon's chest required a collective effort by specialists.[107] In many surgical tracts, the surgeon's tool sets are not given as an inclusive inventory; instead, authors' references to instruments are dispersed, in correspondence to the operation they describe. For the non-professional, the lists of surgeons' tools are alienating. Thomas Rütten refers to the 'enormous and sometimes untouched archival inventories of doctors' personal files' from the period: this hiddenness has endured.[108]

The unpublished work of the third and fourth books of Holme's *Armory*, published first by the Roxburghe Club (1905) from the ten volumes of Holme's manuscripts, includes five pages (folio) of sketches and short descriptions of surgical equipment required by a battlefield surgeon. Unlike the lengthy lists of surgical materials in Book III of Holme (1688), this section *attempts* to give a condensed list that suggests what is suitable for the surgeon to have to hand.[109] Some technical terms are used in the unpublished inventory: 'Directory' (a silver probe), 'Dilatory', 'Terrebellum' (a hook probe) and 'Lipidilum' (a spoon for stone removal), for example.[110] Holme seems to have been attempting to lift a manageable inventory from Ambroise Paré's vast works.[111] What is obvious from the manuscript is that he gives up and the section is left littered with elisions. Holme might have done better with Lowe, who lists the essentials that a 'Chururgian commonly [should] carrie with him', and provides a more manageable inventory for the ambulant practitioner: 'a paire of sheeres, a rasor, a lancet, a sound, a tirball, & a needle'.[112] In the left margin of this copy, one of Lowe's readers has written 'Instrumets' [*sic*] indicating that these are the crucial, most basic objects to recall for surgical activity: but the list needs highlighting because it is embedded in dialogue.[113] What we see in the incomplete manuscript is Holme confronting a surgeon's own difficulties in managing and naming the instruments of their profession.

Lists of surgical instruments are lengthy and technical, but they are also constantly under construction, and they can differ significantly between practitioners who developed their tool sets independently, not only to suit new operations but also to suit individuals' techniques. Of medical procedures, John Cotta notes that 'There can be no endeavour, meanes … or instrument of never so complete perfection or tried proofe … that receiveth not ordinarily impediment, opposition, and contradiction'.[114] John Banister refers in the title page of one of his surgical tracts to '*certaine* experiments of my owne *invention*, *truely tried*', and Helkiah Crooke refers to the instruments of 'the new Chyrurgeons inventions', which remain obscure.[115] Woodall advocates the German example of surgeons practising their toolmaking capabilities by fashioning the perfect lancet – a private, self-serving endeavour.[116] Thomas Gale abstrusely refers to 'certaine things which doe pertaine privatlie to a Chryurgion, as to the manual Artist', which seems to be a reference to surgeons' independent development of instruments as well as technique.[117] Paré suggests a resourceful approach for surgeons to get

equipped appropriately which sometimes results in the instrument not attaining a name for general circulation. There was little communal enterprise for surgeons to define their profession's material identity. Moreover choice and experimentation were available in the very nature of the materials: writing on the technological developments of the seventeenth century Rütten explains that 'advances in refining glass-grinding, metal processing, and the construction of measuring apparatuses have an immediate effect on … the construction of surgical instruments and the feasibility of physiological experiments'.[118] Barbers, by comparison, would have purchased their standard materials from 'comb-maker[s]' (see *Epicoene*, III.v.102), pewterers, and iron-mongers; they were not constructing the look, material value, or specialization of their practice from within the occupation.

In *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), Cloth-breeches entirely foregoes making any comment about surgery. He says, 'For you maister surgeon … alas, I seldome fall into your hands … I knowe you not … you shal have nothing to doe with my matter'.[119] Greene deals with the elision practically. In Act III of Fletcher's *Mad Lover*, the surgeon enters without his instruments. Memnon, who has summoned the practitioner, first enquires of him, 'Have you brought your Instruments', to which the surgeon responds, 'They are within Sir' (C2r [all subsequent quotations from *Mad Lover* in this paragraph are from this sig.]). Memnon later instructs the surgeon, 'fetch your tooles', indicating that they are offstage and providing the surgeon with his excuse to abandon Memnon's bedside and the impossible task he sets: Memnon wants the surgeon to extract his heart 'whole' from his body without damaging it 'i'th' cutting', calling on the surgeon's professed ability to 'incise/To a haires bredth without defacing'. He evokes the technical skills of the surgeon and his instruments to an impractical degree: the surgeon *cannot* perform. Moreover, the reference to a 'haires bredth' subtly connects this surgeon with the barber's task: 'Neat Barber *Trim*, I must commend thy care,/ Which doest all things exactly, to a haire'.[120] The dramaturgy of the sequence lies specifically in the surgeon not bringing instruments onto the stage.

In Thomas Lupton's utopian-envisioning dialogue, *Too Good To Be True* (1580), fourteen pages discuss surgeons and their practices. But Lupton's interlocutors, Sivqila and Omen (*nemo*), use few technical terms and hardly mention instruments during their exchange. Lupton was a miscellanist not a medical figure so that in depicting the profession, he avoids detailing the practice, focusing instead on the morality of the professional surgeon and money matters to characterize the state of his modern 'Erewhon'. Omen describes a patient's reaction following an operation: 'Then the pore wounded man saide, I knowe not howe [the surgeon] practised with me, but ever when he dressed me … I was in such extreme paines, and intollerable torments, for eight or nine houres after'.[121] The patient cannot fathom the process by which he is treated and is distracted from observing or interpreting surgical procedures; his pain conceals the technical detail. Elsewhere

Lupton's interest in surgery is piqued by a tale of German surgeons who discover a variety of instruments and materials, including 'fowre knyves of steele, partlye sharpe, and partlye nyckte lyke a sawe, and two sharpe instrumentes of yron', in a man's stomach when they dissect his dead body.[122] In today's medical world this story could be an analogy of the dangers of retained surgical instruments; for Lupton, it seems an amusing instance of turning things on their head so that it is the surgeons who are left baffled in their confrontation of a collection of objects which have wiggled their way into the body. When Francisco de Quevedo, a prolific Spanish writer, describes how surgeons are equipped he writes: 'Their pockets were filled with pincers, cauters, files, sawers, knives and lancets'.[123] The pocket is an ambiguous space and here unequivocally overburdened to be anything other than analogical in its housing of surgical instruments. The late-seventeenth-century French fictional work, *The Memoirs of the Count de Rochefort* (translated into English in 1696), describes events following the challenge to a duel by Madaillan to the Marquis de Rivarolles. Before the contest, the Marquis sends a messenger to Madaillan:

> The man, as soon as he was come in … laid down some things [on the Table] which he had under his Coat; *Madaillan* began to laugh at the fellow, and lifting himself up to look what it was he laid down, he was amaz'd to see all the Table cover'd over with surgeons Instruments … *No Sir*, says the man, *it is no mistake* … [*the Marquis*] *sent me to desire you to let me cut off one of your Legs*; *for having sent him a Challenge to fight to day, he supposes you are more of a Gentleman than to fight with an advantage* … [The man] was really a Surgeon.[124]

The surgical instruments have a marked impact on the beholder: they are abundant in that they are able to cover a table and they *seem* visible in the passage because the author describes Madaillan straining to view them. But in seeking to depict this spectacle (a spectacle that amazes Madaillan and is pre-punctuated by laughter), Sandras actually suggests to the reader the indefinite nature of the display. I began this chapter by citing Tomlinson's argument about the 'observing eye' that the compositors of an inventory invoke; here, however, nothing can be 'observed' because nothing is specifically evoked. The instruments are smuggled into the scene under garments and there are too many to name; consequently the surgeon's identity comes as a revelation.

The threatening effects of instruments are inherently manifest in their implied functionality and sheer facility. In an image from the seventeenth century of a surgeon operating on a patient's head, four lines of annotation characterize the practitioner's touch, ending with, 'Man 'tis hell it self to feel/instead of a Girl the Surgeons steel'; here, again, touch is problematically sexual and the writer's inability to name an instrument translates

into mock-prudishness. Surgeons were instructed to be pragmatic: Woodall writes, keep 'the sharpe Instruments … as neere as you can, ever hidden from the eyes of the Patient'; Bullein's 'potential cautery' is for someone who can not endure the sight of surgical instruments.[125] On the subject of cauterizing irons, Woodall confesses that despite their usefulness he 'make[s] no use of them … because of the feare they put the Patient unto': in early modernity, they embody historical crudity to the public mind.[126] The irons needed as props in *Quiet Life* and *King John* do not represent the surgeon's technical equipment: they are intended for barbaric abuse and throw scenes into high tension. Later in the seventeenth century, surgeons evidently addressed the look of and apparent irregularity in the materials of their profession. In *A Course of Chirurgical Operations* (1710), Pierre Dionis, a French surgeon, explains that 'we separate from [surgery] whatever is rough and *barbarous*, we retrench those burning irons and horrible instruments, which not only the patients, but the bystanders could not see without trembling' [italics mine].[127] The patient of surgery could not be a witness.

'all my/instruments are lost'

Like *Tempest*, Fletcher and Massinger's *Sea Voyage* begins with a storm at sea: a group of sailors narrowly escape being drowned as their vessel struggles and they are swept to an unknown shore. Unlike in Shakespeare's play, one of the crew in *Sea Voyage* is a sea surgeon, a standard member of sailing squads.[128] Surgeons evidently did not necessarily aspire to a position on a ship. It was a dangerous, cramped, and testing environment in which to work. Woodall notes a welcome increase in monthly wages for sea surgeons and surgeons' mates 'almost to a third penny' in 1628.[129] At the end of John Webster's *Devil's Law-Case*, Ariosto determines the punishment for the two surgeons who concealed Contarino's recovery: they 'Shall exercise their art at their own charge,/For a twelvemonth in the galleys' (V.v.88–9). This section will first examine how a surgical climate is effective in *Sea Voyage* (through plot, atmosphere and vocabulary), and then discuss the absence of surgery in the play's dramaturgy, specifically the absence of the surgeon's material properties. My analysis of *Sea Voyage* works alongside my earlier section on *Midas*, but concludes something different about the availability of objects. Whereas in *Midas* the persistent denial of barbery's material properties in the play makes a joke about unrealized but known inventories, in *Sea Voyage* the lack of materials to equip a surgeon underlines his lack of ability to perform surgically as well as theatrically.

Sea Voyage's use of anatomical imagery, endorsed by the embodied presence of 'Surgeon' and characters' interest in performing surgical acts, is noticeable throughout. Although in *Tempest* repeated cries of 'We split, we split!' (I.i.58) echo on stage, and Miranda refers to 'a brave vessel … /Dashed all to pieces' (I.ii.6–8), the 'direful spectacle of the wreck' (I.ii.26) in Shakespeare is less

visceral than in *Sea Voyage*. The authors of *Sea Voyage* invite their audience to envisage a ship of anatomical composition. Describing his 'split' vessel, the Master observes, 'We have sprung five leakes, and no little ones; … besides, her ribs are open' (Aaaaa1r). Gail Kern Paster discusses 'early modern English culture's complex articulation of gender': 'weaker vessel [is] leaky vessel', she summarizes.[130] Karim-Cooper explores the early modern comparison of women to ships with regard to their external upkeep.[131] But they are also analogous in their internal conception. In *Tempest*, the ship is 'as leaky as an unstanched wench' (I.i.45–6). The simile in Shakespeare is more overt than the comparison drawn in *Sea Voyage*; but in *Sea Voyage* the bark *is* – rather than is like – a leaky female. Moreover, *Sea Voyage*'s reference to the ship's open ribs intensifies the (gendered) somatic iconography available in the text. A reference to a leaky vessel need not necessarily suggest a damaged body because it feeds into common 'symptomatological discourse' on females.[132] But ribs can have a right and wrong place in (or out of) the body. Because, biblically, the rib illustrates how the first female body was created, descriptions of exposed female ribs suggestively symbolize 'un-creation' or dissection: we perceive a body turned inside out. The 'toss[ing]' ship is also metaphorically cast as pregnant female: 'Shees so deep laden, that sheele buldge' (Aaaaa1r).[133] The crew's disgorging of their vessel's goods ('It must all over boord' (Aaaaa1v)) is both a necessary step for the ship's labour (watching the events from the shore, Sebastian observes, 'She has wrought lustily for her deliverance' (Aaaaa1v)), and a precautionary disembowelling. The Master in *Sea Voyage* also refers to 'our Ships belly' (Aaaaa1r), sustaining the corporal focus. This 'belly' is not only full of water, but is also poisoned by 'sweet sin-breeder', Aminta, whose presence, the Master believes, burdens the ship with iniquity, the weight of which 'tumbl[es] like a potion' (Aaaaa1r). In turn, the Master's depiction of chaos, characterized by a female condition, makes the image of unruly and upset innards a metaphor for riotous waves. Later, Lamure reverses this metaphor, declaring in his hunger, 'Oh! what a tempest have I in my stomack?/How my empty guts cry out? my wounds ake' (Aaaaa4v). The fleshy, bulging, broken, leaking, carcass-like, exhausted bodily bark is, as Richard Sugg explains on the subject of anatomical references in early modern literature, particularly from 1600s onwards, part of the 'compulsive' anatomical rhetoric which 'sometimes lack[ed] an integral semantic motivation'.[134] The rhetoric in *Sea Voyage* is concocted from a mixed bag: cracked bones, upset tummies, and pregnancy pangs. But the bark sets a precedent: bodies in *Sea Voyage* are often under threat and how these bodies are addressed in the play is governed by a surgical response which is similarly without a fixed sense of practice. When the sailors decide to 'finde [the ship's] Leakes'(Aaaaa1v) and take remedial action by throwing over her goods, the surgeon has made his first appearance on stage.

The enforced spewing of the ship's contents challenges but ultimately defines the play's representation of surgery and informs the intrinsic list of

props necessary for its performance: the surgeon, like Lamure and Franville, loses all his goods. In *Sea Voyage*, 'Surgeon' on stage, therefore, is not distinguished by any equipment of his profession; only his attire probably differentiates him from the other sailors. Tibalt mocks the surgeon's misfortune by saying that he 'has lost his Fidlestick' (Aaaaa2r), he has lost a mere nothing.[135] But the derisive remark nevertheless encourages listeners to think of surgeon-plus-tool. At one level Tibalt's humour is phallic, but at another it satirizes the more sober (and reverential) image of a professional in possession of the apparatus of his occupation: the dissection knife in the hand of a surgeon, for example, hovering above a cadaver, as in Rembrandt's famous work of the anatomy lesson.[136] Without his equipment, the surgeon is incomplete and worthless as a professional presence, a fact endorsed by Tibalt's reference to his unhealthy state: 'Hee's damnable Sea-sick' (Aaaaa2r). Later, the surgeon enters with the words, 'I am expiring' (Aaaaa4v). These references simultaneously are a faux logical explanation for systematically portraying the surgical figure as haggard and pale, like ghostly Tryphon. More straightforwardly, the surgeon laments, 'My salves, and all my Instruments are lost' (Aaaaa3r).

When the surgeon enters part-way through the first scene of Act Three, the sailors and he are more specific about the losses from the surgeon's chest. Their references to surgical equipment provide the audience with a part-inventory of what was stocked on board ship. But most of the items listed are made from linen or towel (these materials are used in a variety of ways to cover up and clean or probe wounds), or are generic terms for medicinal substances: 'boxes' and 'lints', 'stupes' and 'tents', 'sweet helps of nature', 'cordial', 'potion', 'pills', 'searcloths' and 'poulties' (Aaaaa4v). It is clear from Holme's *Armory* that some of the terms for surgeons' gear used in *Sea Voyage* are fairly rudimentary, or at least are not the ones applied by 'the learned': when Holme mentions '*Lints*', in parentheses for the more technically-minded he notes, '(which are termed *Plagets*)'.[137] And when describing the probe used for searching wounds and ulcers, he explains that it 'hath severall denominations of some termed a *Mela*, others a *Specillum*, the vulgar call it *Tenta*, a Tent, from trying'.[138] He writes further:

> That in this square between them aforesaid, is called a *Tent,* it is made of old linnen cloth scraped … called *Lint;* which is rowlled gently up like a naile, and the end being dipt in Salve … It is thrust into a deep wound … Of the learned it is termed *Carpia, Tenta,* or *Turunda,* and *Turundula*.[139]

Holme highlights an implicit hierarchy in surgical terminology, signalled by repeated phrases such as 'the learned term it' or 'called by the learned'. Moreover, as Swinburne finds, it is hard to fix on a stable vocabulary with Latin and French words converging on the English lexicon. We do not find this kind of linguistic hierarchy in the inventories of barbery gear which, at most, has two names for the same item. The difference is, of course, not

surprising: I do not need to spell out the greater complexities of surgery compared to barbery. But the fact that there is a difference in how writers refer to the equipment of these particular professions affects how we interpret respective barbery and surgery signs (whether verbal or material). What 'degree' of technicality is being applied by writers, and to what effect?

While the surgeon's equipment is needed to heal bodies in *Sea Voyage*, the sailors begin their longing for the medical materials in earnest when they lack nourishment. In the same way that in *Epicoene* the inventory of the barber's shop is reconstructed as a repulsive recipe, so here the surgeon's equipment is grotesquely imagined as a food source, and the strange pharmacopoeial allusions prompt cannibalistic appetites. Sugg terms this 'famine cannibalism', which he differentiates, in line with anthropologists, from 'ritual cannibalism', which I examine in my third chapter.[140] The surgeon laments, 'What dainty dishes could I make of 'em' (Aaaaa4v [all quotations in this paragraph are taken from this sig.]). This equipment (''em') is more legible to the players and their audience in a culinary context than in a surgical one. Latching onto this idea, the sailors begin hungrily naming materials they can envisage eating, including 'Potion', 'Pils', and 'Searcloths', listed above. 'We care not to what it hath bin ministred', Franville admits, but the surgeon responds, 'Sure I have none of these dainties', transposing his earlier reference to 'dainty dishes' to a different context: surgical materials are envisaged as food, rather than as a utensil. Because the sailors do not evoke tools for their technical use, the scene underlines the ambiguity of the surgeon's lost equipment in the play and the uncertain relationship between the early modern body and surgical equipment. A popular challenge emerges at a time when going to the surgeon was a last resort: what are all these tools good for? It was harder then than it is now for someone to comprehend a surgical tool's implicit serviceability.

Franville has another idea. Addressing the surgeon, he asks, 'Wher's the great Wen/Thou cutst from *Hugh* the saylers shoulder?/That would serve now for a most Princely banquet' (Aaaaa4v).[141] Surgical waste materials are not simply textile but are also somatic; both are deemed edible here. It is uncommon to find that the surgical advice given is to cut out a wen; herbal remedies are preferred and, by implication, a ferremental tool should not be used. Indeed, William Clowes prefaces his manual with a tale about Johannes Petrus who:

> would needes take upon him to cut of a great Wenne … [and] with his flattring speeches … [he] brought … [the] patient to agree to have his wenne taken away … And to shewe the worthines of his handy worke, presently did cut off the top … of the Wenne, which done … he tyed it round about the roote with a strong ligature, to cause it beare out, & to shew the more ugglie unto the beholders: Then he trayned his patient into the Market place … for the market folkes to beholde. But God knowes, within fewe daies his poore patient, by his beastly usage, dyed:

> for which lewd abuse … an Atorney … upon an honest zeale … banished this abuser out of the Countrey.[142]

Clowes concludes his admonition by calling the surgeon of the tale a monster. Two of Clowes's cautionary points are of particular interest: first, the warning against surgical action, especially with ferramentals, for any type of display or performance; second, the warning against unnecessary surgical action on the body. 'Performing' surgery is a 'lewd abuse' which, in Clowes's tale, results in negligence. Good surgery is no longer worthy of its reputation if contextualized theatrically, for spectacle or for swanking, something I return to in the next chapter. The sailors' knowledge of the surgeon's removal of Hugh's 'great Wen' indicates the publicity of the event. The second trait of poor surgery is characterized by Clowes as 'handy work', and although he does not specifically name a surgical instrument (the context of storytelling normalizes the eliding of the technical detail), he implies that the work of the hand in this case is the management of a cutting implement. Although we cannot tell whether an audience would know that cutting off a wen was an ill-advised procedure, early modernists' general understanding was that any kind of surgical interference with the body was done as a last resort. Unfortunately for Franville and the other starving sailors, the surgeon has failed to retain the wen delicacy, declaring that he 'flung it over-board, slave that [he] was' (Aaaaa4v). In *Mad Lover*, Memnon highlights the kind of surgical activity that befits comedy: he 'will not have [his surgeon] smile … As though [he] cut a Ladies corne' (C2r). There is little surgical discipline around the conception of Hugh's wen: it is ill-advisedly extracted, edible, expensive, and enormous.

The surgeon's instrument is evoked in *Sea Voyage* when his activities are distinctly unprofessional: for cutting the wen and for feeding the sailors. Tibalt's early promise that 'the Surgeon will supply [them] presently' (Aaaaa3r) is never realized, but the surgeon gets very close when Morillat instructs him to get meat from the (living) body of Aminta: 'Wake her *Surgeon*, and cut her throate,/And then divide her, every man his share' (Bbbbb1r), threatening to actualize the play's image of a seeping female wreck. Here, Morillat assumes that the surgeon is suddenly furnished, or, alternatively, he provides the surgeon with a knife. How the instrument emerges is unclear but the scene requires a prop. Like Shylock's knife, this instrument creates tension and awaits a Portia-like interruption, 'Tarry a little' (IV.i.302). The surgeon's 'Come come', in *Sea Voyage*, indicates the imminence of the cut for which his instrument is a stimulant. Now, he '*may* perform', but the context of this performance is obscene. The surgeon's instrument is made miraculously manifest from an absent tool set: it is a single instrument without its corresponding objects or materially-standardized place on a surgical inventory. The surgeon is not equipped when he needs to heal the sailors, but he is furnished when theatre needs

a spectacle. Like Shylock, again, *Sea Voyage*'s surgeon is interrupted and will not 'perform' (in *Merchant* the surgical context is underlined by Portia's appeal to Shylock to have by some surgeon). In *Sea Voyage* the prop simultaneously signals the awakening and the shutting down of the surgeon's representation on the stage. Not only is he without a speaking part for the rest of the play but it is unclear whether he remains a stage presence at all: none of the island's women select the surgeon as their new mate. The prop the surgeon eventually discloses manifests, paradoxically, only his potential, and on stage, the surgeon embodies failed medical performance: surgery is absent without its technical detail and equipment, and it is irregular when couched in performance terms. The medical object can be a scene's shock factor, primarily because it resists definition and has the potential to do anything.

Two rare props

In only a couple of plays, rarely specified props which evoke a surgical context are named in stage directions. Throughout this book I examine surgery's absence on the early modern stage, but I am equally interested in the few moments when it is more materially conceived. The most unusual example is one from Barnabe Barnes's *Devil's Charter*:

> *after more thunder and fearefull fire, ascend in robes pontificall …: a dev[i]ll him ensuing in blackerobes like a pronotary, a cornerd Cappe*[143] *on his head, a* ***box of Lancets*** *at his girdle …, who beeing brought unto Alexander, hee willingly receiveth him; … presentl[y] the Pronotary strippeth up Alexanders sleeve and letteth his arme bloud in a* ***saucer*** *[bold mine] (s.d A2v)*

Francesco Guicchiardine's accompanying narration tells us that the pronotary figure is 'Sathan transfigur'd'. While the activity of lancing was theologically adopted as a sign of Christian commitment – Patricia Parker comments on 'the redemptive lancing or bloodletting of Christ' which is evoked in doctrine[144] – here, Barnes reverses this symbolism. (The other object of note, because of its association with surgical activities, in the passage is the 'saucer' (see Chapter 3).) In his edition of *Devil's Charter* Ronald McKerrow calls the 'signature in blood' a 'commonplace', but the specificity of the instruments is unusual.[145] This episode is different from the blood contract in *Doctor Faustus*: Mephostophilis instructs Faustus to 'stab [his own] arm' (V.49) and write directly with the blood that 'trickles' (V.57) from it. Nothing in the text indicates that this blood is collected directly or that a medical instrument is used for the incision.[146]

Parker's article is comprehensive in its references to a number of early modern medical tracts, including Gyer, Woodall, Guillemeau, and Lowe, which illustrate, name or discuss lancets, the instruments which are most

commonly associated with the surgeon: Rabelais, Parker notes, refers to '*le lancelet qu'utilisent les chirurgiens*', and the lancet is one of the six instruments Lowe names as essential in a surgeon's portable case.[147] One of the objects held in the special reserve of the Mary Rose Trust is categorized as a 'Fleam Wallet' (fleam was another term for a lancet), measuring 20cm, which was found in the Barber-Surgeon's cabin.[148] We cannot tell from where the King's Men would have obtained this specialist's set of lancets which, unlike razors, basins and aprons, were not common household ware. We might wonder whether there was anything distinctive about the box which might have provided an additional sign (a depiction of lancets, perhaps) for the audience. *Devil's Charter* was first performed by the King's Men at Court for James I, and therefore was originally staged for a fairly intimate audience: the object was probably visible if it were life-sized. The emergence of the lancets and saucer in the supernatural dumb show corresponds to the ethereal nature of Tryphon's ghostly second (muted) entrance in *Herod and Antipater* which reclassifies the barber as a dangerous surgeon. The contexts underline the unfamiliarity and threatening effect of surgical contexts which are made manifest with instruments on stage but which are without linguistic classification for the audience.

One instrument which would ordinarily be associated with surgery makes a stage appearance because of a barber-surgery context. In *Burning Pestle*, another play first performed in an intimate indoor playing space, at Blackfriars, one of the giant mythological barber-surgeon's patients enters (as if from the barber-surgeon's lair) with a 'slender quill' (III.453), described in the stage directions as '*a syringe*' (s.d. III.452), a typical piece of equipment listed in surgical manuals but never catalogued in barbery ones. In Elisha Coles's late-seventeenth dictionary the 'Siringe' is rather evocatively named 'a Chirurgeons Squirt'.[149] The syringe is not part of the mainstream barbery furnishings set up by the players (see Chapter 2), but emerges from an undefined, offstage space, a space that represents obscure surgery: in other words, it is not part of an inventory. Indeed, stage directions in *Burning Pestle*, '*Pulls out a syringe*' (referring to the knight), suggest that the instrument is brought on stage hidden in the knight's garments (similar to the smuggling in of surgical instruments in the example from Sandras's *Count de Rochefort*). The object refigures Barbaroso's barbery space materially. These surgical props appear as abstractions: they are dislocated from larger collections of tools and are characterized by ambiguous referencing. Moreover the handler of these objects is not a straightforward surgeon figure: one is a devil and the other is a knight.

Performance

2
'Lend me thy basin, apron and razor': Disguise, (Mis)Appropriation, and Play

The themes of presence and absence that I investigated in the previous chapter in relation to the legible materiality of the practices are also an ideological concern about play-making and a means of exercising (self-) reflexivity. Early modern writers employed disguise motifs in representing barbers and surgeons in the theatre. But this produced a binary effect: while barbery often functioned *as* a disguise for something else – and as such was disclosed referentially on the stage – surgery is frequently a covered-up process in dramatic action, often remaining an offstage phenomenon. Both, however, reveal something inherent about constructions of performance and modes of representation, as well as stylistic features of drama. If, as Gary Taylor argues, 'meta-theatricality relieves the audience of any burden of belief', then the barber in particular is at the very heart of routines that expose pretence and sham for what they are.[1]

Today we refer to the surgical *theatre*, surgeons *performing* operations, and the past *entertainment* of *staging public* anatomisations, readily using the language of theatre in association with surgery and assuming, perhaps swayed by the ubiquity of hospital and pathology dramas, their crisis cultures and racy, technical dialogues, that the profession has always translated seamlessly to the stage or to the popular imagination. But although the language of architecture provided correspondences between surgery and theatre in early modern times, the idea of their performing spaces and the milieu of these were demonstrably separate.[2] Despite appearances, the early modern anatomy theatres were not straightforwardly parallel to theatrical worlds in the way Hilary Nunn suggests in *Staging Anatomies*, and it does not seem that they were particularly public venues: for most they were imaginatively rather than physically accessible.[3] Moreover spectacle can operate differently from theatre. In the case of the anatomy theatre versus the commercial theatre the former makes actual events into a heightened state of reality while the latter creates a temporary reality: the anatomists' dissected cadaver exists while in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, Annabella is an unhurt boy actor and her ripped out heart is probably a pig's organ. The rhetoric around each display

and the enactment of invasion on the body in these contexts are radically different. Moreover, the notion of 'Making shew of a cure' ('New Trimming', stanza 7, line 3) is emphatically and literally associated with barbery and irregular forms of medical treatment in the period. In theatrical works we find that the idea of the effectual surgeon or surgical activity is associated rather with elision, junctures, or rifts, particularly when characters needed piecing back together. Surgery that was otherwise successful on stage was often the result of a non-surgeon's – sometimes a woman's – good fortune. The representation of surgery in theatrical play was a means of expressing a very real social and medical concern about charlatanism: 'playing the surgeon' or 'performing surgery' had a fraught status on the wooden boards.

Representations of barbers and surgeons on the early modern stage invite audiences to engage with questions of the appropriateness of performance and part playing, and with the transformative effects of theatre. The material I examine in this chapter also tells us about some of the legacies and repetitiveness of theatre: the influence of mumming plays, and their miracle cures, and comedic intervals of medieval dramas, which were absorbed by early modern plays. Barbery scenes often functioned as a form of interlude in sub-text where a witty equivalence of the subject matter could be enacted. And I find further evidence of the literal 'play-fullness' in the barber sequences that were popular dramatic material of the interregnum, a period which was obsessively conscious and critical about forms of theatre. By comparison, surgery (the *practice*, as opposed to the more tokenistic language of and gestures towards anatomy that peppered early modern writing) was evoked in an undisclosed space – it barely played out. This chapter reviews the effects of barbery and surgery in a number of plays, revealing commonplaces of early modern theatre-making, and enabling us to see how plays were 'patched' to reflect the social concerns about forms of deception in the medical world.

Discussions of attire and disguise on the early modern stage have encouraged scholars to examine a wide range of social and gender issues.[4] But criticism in this field has done more than raise our awareness of the sumptuary concerns prompted by dressing, dressing-up, cross-dressing, and undressing in the period: it has also increased our dramaturgical attentiveness to the duplicity and self-reflexivity of performing and representing in early modern theatre and the mechanics of play. Peter Hyland emphasizes that disguise was primarily a fun, liberating theatrical activity but finds that the intense playing of disguises in the period 'registered a fissure in early modern culture, an anxiety about the identity and stability of the self'.[5] Of disguise conventions, Jeremy Lopez concludes that they are 'sites for admiring the act of representation itself'.[6] He asserts that the 'disguise, for characters and audience, creates a space where there is a vast amount of things to see and a space from which to see them', arguing that disguise is often compelling to watch because it increases levels of perception.[7] The

'vast amount to see' transpires from an increased and self-promoting materiality on stage, required in assembling disguises. These discussions prompt practical questions about the contextual (economic, social, and theatrical) influences surrounding text, production, costumes, materials, and character or self-making.[8] This chapter asks, for example, from where certain properties, including beards and skeletons, for theatre were sourced. The variety of questions in this field invites us to consider the duplicitous nature of 'values' (a social consideration) and 'value' (an economic one), and to historicize them accordingly; here I also question what constitutes theatrical value and how the lens of barbery and surgery can provide content and structure to play-making.

In *Shakespeare's Opposites* (2009), Andrew Gurr explores the economies offstage and customs onstage of theatrical practice in the Admiral's Company, theorizing that the culture of stardom, engendered by Marlovian plays and motivated by the fame of actors such as Edward Alleyn, prompted the Admiral's Company to build a repertoire which incorporated multiple and more sophisticated disguise plots, an argument also posed by Victor Freeburg at the beginning of last century.[9] This enabled star figures to appear in a variety of habits and was a means of showcasing their celebrity status and adaptability as actors.[10] Although Gurr has been criticized for some of his analyses of disguise tricks, his pragmatic attempts to find explanations for the practice not only by examining plot devices, but also by studying a wider historicized context, is persuasive. Moreover, his argument based on 'showcasing' is relevant: here I investigate an equivalent effect whereby forms of disguise which accompany the representation of a specific character (a barber or surgeon), as opposed to a specific actor, showcase production itself, and makes those characters discernable theatrical constructs, on or off the stage. In the previous chapter I explored how material properties signalled the context of a practitioner. In this chapter, following Douglas Bruster's argument, I find that they also make the character: 'Sometimes this link between character and prop is so strong that certain objects can gesture towards a drama, character, and scene'.[11] Barber disguises fit into this mould, but surgeon ones do not, and I question how disguise functions figuratively as well as visually. My use of the term disguise, therefore, is fairly fluid in conceptualizing theatrical identity shifts. As well as examining instances when characters straightforwardly dissemble, I investigate scenes in which characters assume the role of a barber or a surgeon, dissimulating their theatrical persona as they become engrossed in their representation of another.

'By a mere barber, and no magic else'

The barber is associated with the world of fashion and outward appearances, and it is no great surprise that in *Hengist* the barber is in the company of the tailor, fellmonger, and buttonmaker. The extension of barbery's role in

a world that was consumed by the relationship between seeming and being is that the barber was endowed with the ability both to expose and to conceal or reconstruct a client's social standing and/or very nature. When Samuel Rowlands introduces his book of epigrams, he appropriates a barbery context to reflect that the barber's glass is a mirror to society:

> As many antique faces passe,
> From Barbers chaire unto his glasse,
> There to behold their kinde of trim,
> And how they are reform'd by him.[12]

The kind of 'trim' is a reference to how characters are dealt with in an epigram: being 'reform'd' is a physical and moral enterprise.

In the ballad 'The Rimers New Trimming' the barber sends the rhymer from his shop having altered his appearance by smearing coal dust (from the barber's heating pan) all over his face to reflect his 'awdacious and base' behaviour.[13] Indeed the rhymer gains a 'vizard for a face' when he is blackened, which plays to the etymological association of 'barber' with 'barbe', meaning a mask or visard, according to seventeenth-century dictionaries by Edward Phillips and Elisha Coles.[14] In Spanish dictionaries of the period, a barber, *Afeytadór*, is defined as the 'trimmer, dresser, painter of faces, maker of folke faire', and to barber someone may be to 'die them with colours' as well as to make them 'fine and brave'.[15] Blackening or whitening skin colour, shaping a beard, and shaving a head were opportunities for disclosures about people's morality, cleanness, or decency. However, the danger of reinventing yourself with the help of the barber is that you may not even recognize yourself, as the miscreant of Richard Head's *The English Rogue* suggests when he assumes a disguise:

> I sent for a *Barber* to Shave my Hair off, buying a Periwig contrary to the colour of my own Hair, in order that if I met any one that was of my Acquaintance … they might not know me: the truth o'nt is, in this Disguise I knew not my self; for when my Landlady where I lodg'd, call'd me by the new Name I gave my self, I either star'd upon her, or look't another way.[16]

Indeed, the barber's role in identity-shaping or fixing could, to either a comic or profound degree, be associated with establishing forms of selfhood, so that through a figure's acknowledgement that 'I am not what I am' or 'not that I play' truths about character emerge. Douglas Biow writes of the barbershop in Renaissance Italy that it 'is the place where the male self is not only crafted in bodily form. The barbershop is also the place where the identity of a man is potentially revealed in the very moment that a beard is stylishly refined'.[17]

The barber is also associated with the cosmetic climate, the culture of appearances, and of the entertainment world where he is perceived as an early modern make-up artist. The epilogue to Jonson's *A Masque of the*

Metamorphosed Gypsies (1621) tells the audience that barbers control theatrical transformations:

> To see a gipsy, as an Aethiop, white,
> Know, that what dy'd our faces was an ointment
> By a mere barber, and no magic else,
> It was fetch'd off with water and a ball,
> Who doth disguise his habit and his face,
> And takes on a false person by his place,
> The power of poetry can never fail her,
> Assisted by a barber and a tailor.[18]

Here Jonson posits the barber as both the orchestrator of false appearances and part-playing, as well as a device through which revelation of true identity is channelled. Because of these dual associations, the embodiment of barbery or the barber on stage therefore automatically throws into question characters' true identities, while reminding an audience that they are encountering a demonstrably invented world where truths and illusions are intermixed.

The barber's work also corresponds to theatrical decisions about the suitability of a beard to denote a character, which Bottom readily identifies in *Midsummer Night's Dream* as he prepares for his role as Pyramus.[19] It is not clear, however, whether barbers supplied theatre houses with prosthetic beards. Will Fisher examines the circulation of beards in boy companies, asserting that its culture of prosthetic beardedness added to the stage effects of malleable gender, and citing the Revels Office as housing one of the main collections of beard stocks.[20] Despite the lack of evidence associating the manufacture of prosthetic beards with the barbers' trade, the business of beards inherently affiliates the two. Moreover, the actor on stage may be the subject, as Patricia Parker asserts, of depilation at the barber's hands in order to be smooth faced. But when a barber is conceived on stage through disguise, the focus is not only on shaping a client's identity but also his own – like barber Secco in *Fancies Chaste and Noble* explored in the previous chapter. For a character to become a barber on stage is for him to make a full, public theatrical commitment to a part. In these instances the actors do far more than simply don an apron, the typical, tradesman's habit and a sartorial signifier of the occupation.[21] In scenes when characters disguise themselves as barbers the result is a detailed exposition of the barbery context they evoke. The staging of the barber becomes a metaphor for the staging of theatre itself and what it means to be ready to play.

'To be come now fine and trimme Barbers'

Characters offstage and on play the role of the barber in Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias*. This play is the earliest one I examine in this book – its

first performance (for Elizabeth I) by the Children of the Chapel Royal has been dated to 1564–1565, as the 1571 title page indicates – and its theatrical reputation no doubt influenced later sixteenth-century works such as John Lyly's *Midas* and George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*.[22] In the play, King Dionisius's daughters barber their father offstage because he 'trusteth none, to come nere him' since he is terrorized by a (unfounded) threat of foreign invasion.[23] We learn that in adopting the role of barber, the daughters improvise new methods of barbery to suit their client: they tidy his beard 'Not with Knife or Rasour, for all edge tooles he feares,/But with hote burning Nutshales, they senge of his heares' (Eiiiiv): like the surgeon's nervous patient, the King fears the instrument and is given 'potential' rather than 'actual' treatment. The unconventionality of the daughters' task is matched by the unconventionality of their parts as 'fine and trimme Barbers' (Fiiiv). Young, unmarried females were not eligible to enter the trade, but widows of barbers sometimes adopted their husband's apprentices and continued to oversee the shop. Their involvement, however, was not always welcomed, and they were never, 'of course' (according to Sidney Young), admitted to the livery of the Company.[24] Edwards shows that when a practice is appropriated by the wrong hands the conception of that practice shifts. An audience senses the gap between the realistic forms of practice and the misappropriated ones, between occupation and play.

Grimme the collier happens upon Will and Jack (servants of the eponymous friends) in the midst of a 'fallinge out' (Fir). But the lackeys unite against the collier when they decide, irritated by his smugness about his 'heavy pouch', to get him drunk on 'filling ale' and humiliate him (see Fiir-Fiiir). They bring on stage a number of barbery props, trim Grimme's beard, sing 'The song at the shaving of the Colier', and steal his pouch of money. Once he discovers that he has been duped, Grimme resolves to find Will and Jack, but after the trimming scene, none of these characters speak or is scripted to enter on stage again, and the play concludes its tale of tested friendship. While the parodic barbery scene mirrors some of the themes of humiliation, (false)-collusion and victimization of the main plot, the scene occupies a different performance register from the rest of the play, functioning as an interlude. Set 'at the Court gate' (Fir), the scene is akin to the *platea* of medieval theatre – a space in which performance boundaries are challenged, 'a space in which', Janette Dillon explains, 'performance can be recognised as performance rather than as the fiction it intermittently seeks to represent', and a space where humour often thrives.[25] And while the physical site and dramaturgy of this sequence suggest a threshold (in performance terms), the conceptual space (a *locus*, in the sense that it is specifically defined) of the collier's 'pouche' (Fir) in the scene is also a site of unease. The pouch is supposed to represent a closed, private space, and yet Grimme's brag about its weightiness and the lackeys' pick-pocketing antics

(they are 'quick carvers' (Giv)) suggestively opens up this contained realm so that it too becomes a space for performance activity. The barbery sequence, therefore, stages systems of exposure and necessarily ridicules the man who attempts to play the part of monarch.

In *Damon and Pithias* the barbery setting is, according to stage directions, made manifest part way through the courtiers' interaction with the collier: '*Here Wyll fetcheth a Barbers bason, a pot with water, a Raysour, and Clothes and a payre of Spectacles*' (s.d. Fiiir). But this stage direction and the ensuing dialogue leave many questions unanswered about how the boy actors would have performed this scene, and how an audience could enter into their revelry. It is not clear, for example, whether the '*Clothes*' are meant only to 'dresse' Grimme, or whether they double up as protective clothing for the would-be barber (Jack) and his boy (Will). This leads us to question whether Jack and Will change their attire in order to play barbers: neither stage directions nor dialogue mention aprons. The greatest difficulty with the passage is how to interpret Grimme's reaction to Will and Jack in their adopted roles: does the fact that Grimme is drunk mean that the representation of a barbery illusion is shaped by alcohol and that any gaps in the barbery setting are filled in by the effects of drink, not (necessarily) shared by an audience? Or, does drunk Grimme become not so much fooled by illusions produced by drunkenness as creative through intoxication, and receptive to improvization and a collection of props? Ultimately, when Will and Jack 'are barbers' is this guise or disguise?[26] Michael Hattaway argues that 'if Renaissance playwrights treated of illusion they were concerned to treat of the effects of illusion upon characters rather than creating chimeras for the audience'.[27] The scene is a parody of barbery, but there are options as to how that parody is organized and how audiences read the illusions characters are under. In addition, Grimme keeps in mind another barbery performance while he is initiated into his own: Dionisius's daughters and their appropriated barbery role (which are 'true' appropriations, if irregular ones). It is even possible that Will and Jack make 'Clothes' into womanly garments as they enter into barbery 'even after the same fashion as the kings daughters doo' (Fiiiv). If Will and Jack are these daughters, does Grimme assume the role of mock king? A few lines in *Damon and Pithias* suggest the complicated layers of a scenario's representational order. Of course, Grimme, Will, and Jack need not be united in their interpretation of the barbery performance they undertake and they could repeatedly shift their roles. So, like Grimme, it can 'seeme [our] head[s] … swimme' (Fiiiir) when confronted with the scene, particularly in text.

There are options too for the characters' conception of barbery gear in the scene. Will and Jack have props, but illusions surround the items' manifestation. For example, Grimme finds himself 'a trimme chayre' (Fiiiir), a piece of furniture not stipulated in the main list of 'gear' and likely to

be unspecified on stage until Grimme re-imagines its function – perhaps it is not even a chair. The descriptions are at odds with stage directions. Apparently wholesome and sweet smelling 'trimme water' is 'vengeaunce sower' and a razor is 'a chopping knife' (Fiiiir-v). But the '*pot of water*' is not suggested to be a filthy piss-pot and the '*raysour*' is straightforwardly listed. Mikhail Bakhtin examines the 'debasement, uncrowning, and destruction' of objects in the list of Gargantua's swabs in Rabelais, which asks for a re-evaluation of objects in the 'dense atmosphere of the material bodily lower stratum', and encourages laughter, challenging the pitiful seriousness of medieval man.[28] So what do we see on stage in *Damon and Pithias*? Will and Jack handle standard appurtenances (as listed in stage directions) and in his drunken state Grimme mis-reads/identifies them; Will and Jack handle standard appurtenances and Grimme re-imagines them, self-consciously playing to cultural jokes about hazardous barbery as he exuberantly enters his role; unable to provide authentic barbery equipment, Will and Jack have an assortment of objects that appear irregular (visually/materially parodic of barbery gear) and are in keeping with Grimme's descriptions, and therefore are at odds with stage directions. The addition of spectacles in the lackeys' barbery gear (an item absent from other lists of barbery props) embodies the scene's theme: we are asked to look and relook at objects and stage action through more than one lens. In practice, barbery deals in bodily transformations, but as a theatrical context it more generally invites interpretation of transformation that underlines the choices in performance. Later playwrights 're-dress' the barbery motifs available in *Damon and Pithias*, which contributes to the idea of 'patching'.

Presumably Will and Jack manage to transform the appearance of the 'blacke collier' (a 'Devell' in looks). So goes their song: 'Your face like an Incorne, now shineth so gay'.[29] In scouring him, Will and Jack remove the collier's superimposed blackness: he is exposed as not dangerous and dark, but as a ripe, easy subject for ridicule. He is the parody of a villain. Having bragged about his earnings (mild forms of avarice and hubris), fantasized about kissing princesses (trivial lust), and assumed the king's habit (faux treason/usurpation) Grimme is unmasked as the victim of pranking, his pretend villainies are made into nonsense and he is a revealed as a construction of entertainment. The trick by Will and Jack is a parody of moral reform.[30]

Thomas Randolph's short drama, *Aristippus*, includes a sequence in which the drunk eponym is attended to in a chair by a barber-surgeon who declares, 'I pray Sir bring [Aristippus] out in his Chaire, and if the house can furnish you with Barbers provision, let all bee in readinesse', suggesting that things can happen theatrically if barbery gear is on standby.[31] Similarly, Young Cressingham's 'Is the barber prepared?' (*Quiet Life*, II.ii.74) is a pertinent question for Young Franklin (who has informed the barber about his forthcoming role), but also a pertinent question theatrically in anticipation of Sweetball and his shop's immanent manifestation; Young Franklin later reiterates, 'will you see if my cousin Sweetball … be furnished' (II.ii.177–8), meaning with

money, but the double implication of being materially furnished for theatre is tempting. Young Cressingham returns with the news that the barber is 'half angry that [they] should think him unfurnished or not furnished' (II. ii.221–3). Early modern barbery underscores the theatre's preparation to play.

'Lend me thy basin, razor, and apron'

In *Dutch Courtesan*, city wit, foul-mouth, and prankster Cocledemoy is engrossed in feats of knavery. His chief concern is to cozen Mulligrub, a vintner, and he adopts a number of disguises to trick his rival: Cocledemoy is a wares-selling French pedlar, a fish-supplying cook's man, a cloaked vintner, a bellman, and a sergeant. In his first and most developed disguise he is a barber.[32] Marston draws attention to Cocledemoy's barber disguise in a way that is unlike the attention he gives Cocledemoy's other disguises. No one visibly provides Cocledemoy with his pedlar's merchandise, 'jowl of fresh salmon' (III.iii.33), cloak, bellman gear, or sergeant's uniform. But fifty lines are dedicated to Cocledemoy's acquisition of his barber's disguise in advance of his trick on Mulligrub; and a further 115 lines – the entirety of III.iii – are focused on the mock barbery setting Cocledemoy establishes to fool Mulligrub and trim him of his purse (rather than his beard). Moreover, Cocledemoy interacts with the tradesman he mimics so that the barbery context is not simply thrown on but passed between characters: often disguises are assembled on stage without the logic to demonstrate from where a costume is purchased, stolen, or borrowed.

Cocledemoy requests of the apprentice barber, Holifernes Reinscure, 'Lend me thy basin, razor, and apron' (II.i.186), discovering that Holifernes is en route 'to trim Master Mulligrub the vintner' (II.i.180).[33] Although stage directions in quarto (1605) and Folio (1633) do not specify the handover of these items, the end of the scene in both editions stipulates that Cocledeomy exits '*in his Barbars furniture*'.[34] The props must be brought on stage. When Cocledemoy asks Holifernes what his furniture is worth, a question Holifernes cannot answer, the transaction takes shape. Cocledemoy gives Holifernes a token, 'Hold this pawn' (II.i.191) he says, in return for the gear, and later offers a bribe ('Drink that' (I.ii.198)). We cannot tell the nature of the pledge, but Marston probably intended a visual joke at this moment in which Cocledemoy (amused to find that the apprentice knows very little about his trade) offers Holifernes something trifling in exchange for the equipment. Cocledemoy's acquisition of a disguise results in a mock-economic exchange, a loan. Here, Marston parodies the pawning activities that enabled theatre practitioners to assemble costumes, wardrobes, and props, perhaps even suggesting the role of the barber in supplying props for the theatre.[35] Cocledemoy's 'lend me' is reminiscent of the numerous entries beginning 'lent upon' that are characteristic of *Henslowe's Diary*.[36]

The barber's appurtenances equip Cocledemoy with what he needs for a disguise. As named properties, however, they also are incorporated into the

dialogue of the scene wherein they are given additional semantic contexts. This is typical of the language associated with barbery, which I discuss throughout this book and which usually has multilayers of meaning. The razor is re-envisaged in Holifernes's reference to 'the sign of the Three Razors' (II.i.193), the place where he dwells, which is noteworthy enough to merit a second mention in the scene (II.i.201).[37] This sign is not a casual denotation of a barber dwelling, but is an allusion to the site of the Company: *the* place of Holifernes's profession, although here it is functioning comically. The Company's coat of arms was a triad of fleams, of which Sidney Young writes, 'from their shape they have sometimes been thought to represent razors'.[38] In the scene the deliberate conversion from fleams to razors (really from surgeons to barbers) both underscores the act of switching and/or doubling-up identities and the shift into 'legitimate' forms of play. The prop razor on stage, meanwhile, remains a visual point of reference and the audience might imagine the razor as a geographical, civic, and pictorial site. Cocledemoy, who regards the 'Three Razors' as 'A sign of good shaving' (II.i.194), asserts its signification: it is a sign of authentic barbery (i.e. where the real barber's boy lives or where the Company meets, and where the razor and the rest of the equipment will be returned); it is also a symbol of perfect trickery (i.e. the razor used in a disguise for fleecing Mulligrub) which plays on the duplicitous nature of certain signifiers. The prop razor interacts with imagined performing spaces and metonymic signs of barbery.

Once Holifernes exits, Cocledemoy exclaims, 'and if I shave not Master Mulligrub, my wit has no edge, and I may go cack in my pewter' (II.i.203–4), attributing an additional, metaphorical significance to the image of the razor: it should be sharp like his wit. In London, for a non-barber to engage in sharpening razors for use within the barbery trade was irregular, and liable to be punished by the Company officials. On 17th April 1599, barber Henry Needham, a member of the London Company, was warned for continuing to let 'forren brother' William Webbe 'grinde … rasares' (which is to polish and make razors sharp using a hone or whetstone).[39] Cocledeomy's razor is as much rhetorical and emblematic as physical in constructing his disguise. The razor's extra-theatrical history highlights Cocledemoy's blatant misappropriation of the object. And with his newly-acquired basin in hand, Cocledemoy's determination to 'shit in [his] cup' (David Crane's paraphrase) should his task fail has an unpleasant literal semantic.[40] Cocledemoy's 'pewter' is his basin: in an inventory taken of a seventeenth-century barber's shop, 'three peuter basons' are listed.[41] The basin Cocledemoy acquires from Holifernes, therefore, embodies a paradox. The audience is invited to view it as a bolster to Cocledemoy's trick in disguise; at the same time it proleptically represents failed trickery/disguise. Cocledemoy doubly abuses its standard function as a washing bowl: it is no longer a legitimate object of the trade because it is in the wrong hands, and its function in hygiene routines is turned on its head as Cocledemoy's execratory humour implies that he can fill it with filth.

In his final observation, Cocledemoy declares, 'All cards have white backs, and all knaves would seem to have white breasts. So, proceed now, worshipful Cocledemoy' (II.i.209–11). Cocledemoy makes the apron metonymic of the context in which he wears it, rather than the context in which Holifernes's apparently less threatening barbery activities take place and it has an universalizing effect. He appropriates cultural stereotypes (as well as standard physical items) in assembling his disguise. Indeed, to a contemporary audience Cocledemoy embodies the 'false' barber role in a way that makes him, ironically, more authentic in terms of theatrical and satiric convention. By comparison, Holifernes, supposedly the 'true' barber figure in the play, does not live up to such expectations.

As I have suggested, the objects alone that Cocledemoy receives are not enough to complete his barber disguise. He mutters, 'must dissemble, must disguise' (II.i.205–6) after Holifernes has left him. Typical disguises on the early modern stage rely on a character putting on a prosthetic beard (sometimes this is their only form of cover).[42] Cocledemoy indeed gains a beard but from where he obtains it is not clear. Moreover, he does not risk playing a London barber. He thinks that his 'scurvy tongue will discover [him]' (II.i.205) deciding instead to play 'a Northern barber!' (II.i.207) and naming himself 'Andrew Shark' (II.iii.15).[43] But this is ironic: when Cocledemoy chooses to be northern, he effectively gives himself free license to keep his 'scurvy tongue'. Jonathan Hope tells us that early modernists' understanding of the term 'accent' related to 'verbal content rather than phonetic form', which carried a general sense of performance.[44] A northern barber (one of the many northern suitors of 'a Country Lass') appears renowned for vulgarity in a ballad:

> A Barber-Surgeon came to me,
> whom I did take in great disdain,
> He said his art I soon should see,
> for he would prick my master-Vein.
>
> But I repell'd his rude address.[45]

Cocledemoy does not don and then discard his barber's habit; his disguise, not an elaborate covering-up so much as an early disclosing of the role he adopts for the length of the drama, actually makes sense of his character, and, moreover, of the interplay between sub and main plots: he straddles a seedy underworld. Throughout the play, Cocledemoy is like a cozening, mouthy barber, absorbed in the world of foolery, purse-pinching, prostitution, venereal diseases, and foul bodies; his barber(-surgeon) disguise is actually a revelation. Early in the play one of his bawdy mottos is 'keep your syringe straight and your lotium unspilt!' (I.ii.74–5), and he addresses Mary Faux: 'What, my right precious pandress, supportress of barber-surgeons and

enhanceress of … diet-drink!' (I.ii.23–5). From the start he associates himself, as does Andrew Lethe in *Michaelmas Term*, with the 'bawdy house[s]' (II.i.169), paralleling the prostitutes' world of the main plot. A barber's shop was synonymous with a brothel in which 'a barber's chair fits all buttocks'; the conceit could run in both directions and thus a woman could be 'As common as a barber's chair'.[46] The Company's Court Minutes reveal the sensitivity of the association: on 4th December 1599 Robert Morrey complained of William Foster 'for callinge him Pandor and Bawde and for sayeing he was … keepinge a bawdye house'.[47] The association was long-dated: at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Richard le Barbour was charged to 'make scrutiny throughout the whole of his trade, and if he shall find any among them keeping brothels, or acting unseemly in any other way … he was to distrain upon them, and cause the distress to be taken into the Chamber'[48] Of the barber's boy, Cocledemoy asks, 'To what bawdy house doth your master belong?' (II.i.169–70). Later in *Dutch Courtesan*, Mistress Mulligrub seems available to Cocledemoy – who bids for her – upon Mulligrub's imminent execution.[49] Effectively, Mistress Mulligrub's 'sell[s] the pleasure of a wanton bed' (I.i.129): her 'featherbed' (V.iii.93) can be appropriated by Cocledemoy and she becomes, effectively, one of the 'supportress[es] of barber-surgeons'. By exploiting the barbery contexts, Cocledemoy plays with the notion of sexual trading. Engrossed in a dissolute civic world, he navigates himself accordingly and re-imagines the guilds' precedence by calling a bawd the 'most worshipful of all the twelve companies' (I.ii.31).

Many of Cocledemoy's later disguises are as a corollary with the first. Cocledemoy's protracted joke is how well and how many times he can 'trim' or 'shave' Mulligrub: after he has disguised himself like a French pedlar, Cocledemoy remarks, 'I'll shave ye smoother yet!' (III.ii.29–30); when Cocledemoy tricks Mistress Mulligrub with the salmon, the token he gives her as assurance – as if from Mulligrub – is 'that he was dry-shaven this morning' (III.iii.39–40).[50] Disguised as a pedlar, Cocledemoy is selling very particular wares:

COCLEDEMOY	Monsieur, please you to buy a fine delicate ball, sweet ball, a camphor ball?
COCLEDEMOY	One-a ball to scour, a scouring ball, a ball to be shaved?
MULLIGRUB	For the love of God, talk not of shaving! (III.ii.22–6)

In an attack on 'cunning cutbeards' (2013) in *Owl's Almanac*, Middleton makes the ball metonymic of the barber's shop, referring to men who 'goe to the Barbers ball oftener than to church' (2051–2052); the 'love of God' was judged in terms of barbery.[51] Mention of Master Suds the barber in *Puritan Widow* prompts Simon to comment, 'a good man, he washes the sins of the beard clean' (III.i.13–14) aligning the barber and his soap with religious transformative rituals. Cocledemoy instructs Mulligrub at the time

of his trimming, 'Shut your eyes close; wink! Sure, sir, this ball will make you smart' (II.iii.67–8); the trick with the ball (which causes Mulligrub to be blind to Cocledemoy's purse-pinching) is crucial to the scene. If Cocledemoy supplies his own soap balls for the trick of II.iii this reinforces my point that we should regard Cocledemoy as most successfully defined in the role as barber in the play: he packs out this part. The balls Cocledemoy tries to sell as a pedlar are an unwelcome reminder to Mulligrub: 'they materialize memory'.[52] Moreover, Cocledemoy modifies balls with 'scouring', again reminding audiences of the earlier barbery scene when Mulligrub observed that barbers 'scour all!' (II.iii.58–9).

Another reference completes the depiction of Cocledemoy's habitual barber-surgeon association. Overhearing his rival and believing he is about to get the better of him, Mulligrub exclaims, 'It was his voice; 'tis he! He sups with his cupping-glasses … He shall be hanged in lousy linen' (IV.v.9–12). Cupping-glasses were used in phlebotomy – an unlicensed barbery procedure. Mulligrub imagines that Cocledemoy socializes with 'his fellow "drawers of blood"'.[53] 'Lousy linen' is common to parodies of barbery: one of the 'lousy' items that Truewit and Morose imagine in Cutbeard's shop is 'linen' (*Epicoene*, III.v.71, 94). In *Fancies*, the barber Secco gives his surety 'as [he] love[s] new cloathe[s]' (B1r) – a joke. Thomas Freeman refers to barbery as the 'lowsy science'.[54] Nashe comments on barbers' 'lousy naprie they put a-bout me[n]s neckes while they are trim[m]ing'.[55] The lousy linen trope (repeated at V.iii.125) suggests that Mulligrub means to assault Cocledemoy by exploiting the milieu of his own low methods.

Lloyd Davis claims that guise points in two directions: to the 'consistent self-hood' and 'usual manner' of a character, and to disguise, which is a matter of 'changeable external appearance[s] that might be purposefully falsified and manipulated'.[56] Simon Palfrey asserts that 'disguise [can] make it difficult to judge exactly where a particular character begins and ends'.[57] A medley of disguises, such as Cocledemoy's, could initially suggest the ways in which a playwright stages a fragmented, 'false' character.[58] Nonetheless, as the Lord of Misrule, Cocledemoy ironically is also context-centric: barber-surgery (a mixture of props and contexts) is his touchstone and tricking Mulligrub is his persistent motivation, which gives his character its infrastructure.[59] His disguise is not a matter of shifting his theatrical identity, but about locating it through commonplace, in the sense that he adopts the entire rhetoric implied by his role. Palfrey questions, 'Is the disguise an expression of the person behind the mask? Or does the disguise develop its own distinct identity?'[60] For Cocledemoy in *Dutch Courtesan* the answer is not 'either or', but 'both'. The audience never sees Cocledemoy fulfil his promise and 'return [the] things presently' (II.i.196) to Holifernes at the sign of the Three Razors: instead, he fully appropriates the barber's role.

The subplot of *Dutch Courtesan* forms one of the longest drolls in the second volume of *The Wits* (1673), collected in its first volume by Henry

Marsh in 1662, and later reprinted in 1672 by his collaborator Francis Kirkman (who also compiled the 1673 volume).[61] These drolls, the preface to *Wits* explains, were performed throughout the interregnum (1642–1660) 'when the publique Theatres were shut up' and many actors continued their trade clandestinely. Intended for light entertainment 'because', according to Kirkman, 'the Actors [were] forbidden to present us with any of their Tragedies', the drolls were also selected for practical purposes from a variety of authors' works which had 'been of great fame in this last Age'. That they were vignettes, which had 'little cost in Cloaths' ('it was hazardous to Act any thing that required any good Cloaths' which soldiers might seize), did not mean that they were prop-free; much of the entertainment they provided was physical.[62] The two volumes of *Wits* include extracts from *Hamlet*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Custom of the Country*, and *Philaster*, and various Falstaff routines. Significantly, three of the playlets are barber scenarios. 'The Cheater Cheated' is the title given to the Mulligrub and Cocledemoy antics from *Dutch Courtesan* (numbering twenty-two pages in a volume in which most of the drolls number fewer than ten pages, and only 'The Humours of Bottom the Weaver' is a lengthier passage). In *Wits* (1662/72), 'The Humour of John Swabber' (about a sailor who is tricked by Cutbeard) is taken from Robert Cox's *Acteon and Diana … Followed by Several Conceited Humours* (1656) (the conceits section accounting for the Swabber droll).[63] Swabber appears like a barber (equipped), a role he initially adopts to maim and possibly kill Cutbeard by haphazard tooth-removal and unskilled bloodletting in retaliation for cuckolding him, whereas the actual barber (Cutbeard) is '*within*', to emerge later and challenge Swabber to a fight. The droll oscillates between representing Swabber's appropriation of the role of barber and Cutbeard's enactment of it.[64] The third barber extract (also in the first volume of *Wits*) is from *Burning Pestle*, named 'The Encounter', and is the sequence when Rafe challenges the giant barber, Barbaroso, to a duel, discussed in the next section of this chapter.[65] *Burning Pestle* as a full-length play was not particularly successful in the eyes of its first audience in 1607, but evidently one part of it was deemed worth revisiting and accrued its own popularity independently from its whole.[66] At a time when theatre players, in the absence of their architectural bases, entertained audiences in make-shift venues or temporarily appropriated spaces (at fairs or in taverns or in the country, for example), barbery scenarios helped to perpetuate the process of creating and constructing theatrical performance – the *ad hoc* practice that had once characterized most early English theatre.[67] This light-hearted playing was part of a bigger picture of shifting theatre practice during the Interregnum, which Susan Wiseman explores: a change in drama rather than mere 'empty years'.[68] Amid her discussions of 'political playing', Wiseman draws attention to 'less formal street theatre', some playing at the Red Bull, a revival of the 'codes of comedy found in civic comedies',

'satirical puppetry at Bartholomew Fair', and 'improvisation[s]': a mixture.[69] She cites the period's 'acute self-consciousness about playing' which related to political re-enactments, but also related to the favoured forms of playing which re-enacted theatre.[70] Barbery playlets contributed to this. All of the scenarios in *Wits* involving barbers take up the theme of disguise which, in turn, corresponds to the period when theatre was often itself 'covered up'.

'Go to Nick the barber, and bid him prepare himself'

Of all extant early modern plays, one of the most self-reflexive of the different kinds of representation it explores is *Burning Pestle*. With its multiple theatrical framing devices, which seemingly dissolve into improvisation, double effects, diverse dramatic conventions, unique demands upon the audience, layers of illusion, and hybrid generic influences, the revelry unleashed by this play has captured the scholarly imagination. As 'knight errant' (I.282), one of Rafe's adventures, configured by the players of *London Merchant*, involves challenging a giant barber (Barbaroso) and rescuing several knights from his dwelling.[71] Setting up the sequence, the Host instructs Tapster, 'go to Nick the barber, and bid him prepare himself as I told you before' (III.213–4): a barber (Nick) in the play will take the role of barber (Barbaroso) in the knightly romance. Nick means to snip either skin or hair, as in 'His man with scissors nicks him like a fool' (5.I.176, *Comedy of Errors*), so even the background barber is ambiguous in his regularity. Ronald Miller highlights the difficulty we face in trying to place Nick within either the performing realms of *Burning Pestle*, *London Merchant*, or the Citizens; by unravelling the logic of the Host's interactions with Rafe (and his troupe) and the Citizens, Miller concludes that where the barber 'might have come from, is far, far beyond our dizzied ken' – the *platea* effect again.[72] But we also must see Nick within another intertextual frame: Don Quixote's barber was called Master Nicholas (also referenced in 'John Swabber').[73] The player, possibly playing an actor in *London Merchant* performing within *Burning Pestle*, playing the part of a regular barber, parodying the barber of Cervantes's story, becomes disguised as a giant barber. The character Nick does not feature in *Burning Pestle* before he is required to play the part of the aberrant barber in Rafe's adventure. Moreover, the characters merge onomastically in speech prefixes and stage directions (Nick and Barbaroso are named simply 'Barber') giving a textual effect of part-doubling, and effectively making the role generic – an ironic flattening of the barber in the text given the pained exposition of his part. The barbery setting is, at once, mythical, historical, and contemporary, bizarre and unextraordinary. Barbaroso is folklorishly large (and associated with folk-tale figures such as Gargantua), but he is also historically active: he is likened to Frederick I of Germany (who was renowned for his red beard, his *Barba-rosso*) and to

an Ottoman Admiral of the mid-sixteenth century. 'On one level of reality', explains Miller, the giant is simply 'a barber and his victims his poxy patients', making laughable the idea that the knights are embodiments of chivalry.[74] But Barbaroso is also the archetypal, contemporary irregular practitioner, the barber-surgeon, who attempts more in his practice on the body than trimming and tooth-pulling, and whose crude activities can be demonized in the mind of the early modern imagination: he is not simply 'medieval', as Todd Pettigrew suggests.[75] Reflecting on Cervantes and the influence of the Barbary Coast, Patricia Parker explores the association of Barbarossa as pirate, renegade Christian, and violent shaver, concluding that the barber in *Burning Pestle* is proactively inserted among the infidels of the play.[76] Moreover, if Barbaroso is associated, surgeon-like, with 'nicking' bodies, he does not conform with Paracelsus's notion of the decent surgeon who 'must not have a red beard'.[77] The performance of a barber and barbery in *Burning Pestle* is bound within a complex theatrical, literary, and semantic nexus, and mixed social conception.

Common barbery names, terms, and objects are redefined as mysterious and primeval by the Host, Rafe, and the Knights (matching Rafe's misinterpretation of the Inn as a castle in the previous scene). Barbaroso's dwelling is 'a lowly house/Ruggedly built' (III.230–1), 'a cave' (III.231, 392, 399, 442), a 'dismal cave' (III.255), a 'loathsome place' (III.264), a 'mansion' (III.309), a 'cell' (III.324), 'a sable cave' (III.359), 'a dreadful cave' (III.361), a 'loathsome den' (III.374), a 'sad cave' (III.433), and an 'ugly giant's snare' (III.449): anything but a barber's shop. The point of the scene is that the character of the barbery setting is creative, not merely reflective – the setting cannot possibly *be* on stage all that it claims to be. Glenn Steinberg asserts, 'although the Citizens' improvisations seem at first creative and fresh, they are, upon reflection … conventional, disruptive, and troubling', while Dillon more precisely argues that 'Space, the play emphasizes, is occupied by minds as well as bodies, and the treatment of physical boundaries may call into question conceptual ones'.[78] Grantley examines the specific geographical terms of the play commenting on its sharp satire of London and its setting 'not in any remote or semi-mythical land, but in the prosaically familiar locality of Waltham Forest'.[79] But Barbaroso's indistinct location, which is potentially meant to be envisaged outside of the Company's jurisdiction, renders Rafe's confrontation of irregular practice idealized and problematic.

Throughout the setting-up section (which, like the sequence in *Damon and Pithias* has multiple options and draws attention to the processes by which a customary setting requires an imaginative response on stage in order to differentiate it theatrically) the Host's reference to barbery tools is like another inventory, but the objects are redefined as an armoury. Barbaroso's fleam is 'a naked lance of purest steel' (III.234), his barber's pole is 'a prickant spear' (III.239), his chair is 'enchanted' (III.243), his comb is 'an engine … / With forty teeth' with which to 'claw … courtly crown[s]' (III.244–5), his

basin is 'a brazen pece of mighty bord'[80] (III.247), balls of soap are 'bullets' (III.248), and his scissors are 'an instrument/ … which … snaps … hair off' (III.249–50).[81] The *Spanish* influence is significant here: '*Lancéta'* is a surgeon's instrument but holds the double meaning of being a javelin or small dart.[82] Instruments (including the '*pole*', a '*basin*', and a '*syringe*' (s.d. 333, 366, 452)) are stipulated for later stage business, suggesting a material investment in the scene: script and stage are furnished. In describing the barbery objects, the Host may well direct the players to bring on props or be responding to their setting up of Barbaroso's house (and the players have an interlude of about forty lines to finish their preparations). Either the Host's inflated descriptions of barber furnishings are given whilst regular barber's gear is brought on stage, or the scene relies on a doubly hyperbolic effect whereby standard instruments and their names are made fantastical in reference and in appearance, and the players bring out distorted barbery objects.[83] The inventories from Henslowe's Diary do not suggest the size of stage properties, yet, a question of objects' scale is pertinent.[84] In *Burning Pestle*, the Host and Barbaroso refer to 'that string on which hangs many a tooth' (III. 311, 335). In a medieval depiction of tooth extraction the practitioner has 'Slung from his shoulder … a rope of enormous teeth advertising his profession', the essence of the cartoon.[85] Perhaps the same effect applies to staged representation. After all, size already adds to the comedy of the scene because a boy actor takes the part of a giant.

The barbery space on stage is easily transposed into a wondrous setting because of the detail Beaumont can give in re-setting and distorting familiar objects. The Host provides a barber's inventory not by naming items, but, perversely, by un-naming them. The barbery items' faux-displacement as 'other objects' underlines their meta-theatricality.[86] Two of the barbery props in Act III of *Burning Pestle* are used for non-visual special effects. Rafe instructs Tim, 'Knock, squire, upon the basin till it break/With the shrill strokes, or till the giant speak' (III.320–1). The resounding basin is an acoustic initiation to the sequence – discussed further in Chapter 4 – and a barber's performing space. When Rafe challenges Barbaroso, the giant '*takes down his pole*' (s.d. III.333) with which he '*fight*[s]' (s.d. III.338)). The Host's earlier references to barbery tools as weaponry now have tangibility. The erection of a barber's pole on stage in *Burning Pestle* is unique in extant early modern plays' stage directions. But a barber's pole would not be out of place in a production of *Quiet Life*, *Fancies*, and *Knave in Grain*; we cannot tell whether this prop was a familiar sight on stage or not. Poles were commonly associated with weapons and punishment: '*Enter two with the Lord Saye's head and Sir James Cromer's upon two poles*' (*2 Henry VI*, s.d. IV.vii.147). When Macduff re-enters with Macbeth's head, can it, as Macduff describes, 'stand' (V.ix.20) because it has been mounted on a pole, as in Holinshed? Barbaroso's pole could be a metatheatrical prop: a weapon pole which 'plays' a barber's pole that transforms into a weapon pole (a layering comparable to

the construction of the barber in the scene). In the Globe's 2014 production of *Burning Pestle* in the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, Barbaroso was carnivalesque, trussed up as a stripy bloody pole on stilts.[87] He did not have a red beard, but redness was all over his splattered long garments, utterly subverting the image of the straightforward tonsorial practitioner. Basin and pole are more than a material manifestation on stage: they have auditory, kinetic, and spatial effects and are hyper-theatrical. Additionally, these properties signify a performance threshold. Rafe encounters the barber at the doorway of his house and his success in defeating the giant is accentuated because his trial incorporates a rite of passage. The spatial configuration of the scene gives the impression that the released knights emerge from a disguised space: 'In the urban setting, consulting a practitioner in private was closely associated with suspicion of venereal disease'.[88] Barbaroso's backroom practices include 'cut[ting] the gristle of … nose[s]' (III.401) of the appropriately named Sir Pockhole.[89] Particularly relevant here is Grantley's observation that the play heralds a 'more hard-headed form of urban self-consciousness in the drama'.[90]

The examples given in the first half of this chapter each highlight something different. Will and Jack play the cheats in *Damon and Pithias* and therefore assume barber and apprentice roles; in *Dutch Courtesan* Cocledemoy *is* a body-obsessed cheat and therefore redefined as a barber; the barber in 'The Humour of John Swabber' in *Wits* finds his disguise embedded within his own occupation; and in *Burning Pestle*, Nick dons a theatrically and culturally fashioned disguise so that he can be identified simultaneously as familiar and other in the audience's and characters' imaginations. Because these plays represent how to represent and appropriate barbery, barbery itself becomes intrinsic to showing how theatre itself 'puts on' its false reality. And because the staged barber brings with him a richly performative association, he is akin to staged actor characters: like Hamlet's troupe of actors and the mechanicals in *Midsummer Night's Dream,* through whom Shakespeare invites his audience to see how performances – however terrible – are pieced together, the dramaturgies surrounding these barber characters draw attention to double guises and processes of theatricality, and they confront audiences with the demands of the playwright and players.[91]

'Under y^{e} name of Chirurgi'

In Webster's *Devil's Law-Case*, surgery and surgeons are disguised. Romelio inadvertently performs a successful surgical act (disguised as a physician) which the actual surgeons of the play failed to carry out. And the two surgeons of the play adopt disguises. The barbery examples showed how barber disguises resulted in the textually and theatrically vibrant exposition of the barbery context; the case is not the same in the disguise motifs which evoke a surgical context. The surgeon figure is concealed in performance

in a number of ways: he can perform irregularly masked by barbery; enact an accidental procedure, missing regulation, or expertise; perform as non-specialist who successfully 'plays', or offers to play, the surgeon without actually appropriating the tools or the look of the profession; cover-up his theatrical identity; and he is often an offstage phenomenon disguised by the theatre itself. The pattern is simple: (mis)appropriated, irregular and lewd surgery occurs in a variety of capacities on stage, whereas regular surgery is an event offstage. Surgery in the commercial theatre forms an opposing episteme to the practice itself which is engaged in opening things up. Managing the theatricality of surgery is comparable to managing the publicity of altering the body; like the woman who puts her make-up on in private and then shows her face, surgery is effective and closed to criticism when offstage, but like the woman who attends to her image performatively, on-stage surgery is reconceived as the frivolous and often unwise attempts of the barber. In his anatomy of English manners, Richard Whitlock isolates his criticism of those who usurp the 'title' of medical men with a motif drawn from theatre and the barber ('*barbe*'): they wear 'Visards'.[92] Noticeably too in *Ars Chirurgica* William Salmon writes of 'impudent cheat[s]' that under 'under the Titles of Doctors of Physick' men 'strut up and down' like the 'strutting player' (I.3.153, *Troilus and Cressida*) or the 'poor player/That struts and frets' (V.5.23–24, *Macbeth*) that Ulysses and Macbeth recall.[93] The non-surgeon is not simply like the actor taking a part that is not his, he is like the bad actor posturing on stage who fails in his conceit.

Phillip Stubbes highlights in *Display of Corruptions* (1583) the prevalence of misappropriated surgical activities:

> For every man though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his science, y^e^ lineaments, dimensions, or compositions of mans body … will yet notwithstanding take upon him the habite, the title, y^e^ name, and profession of a … surgean. This we see verified in a sort of vagarants … By which kind of theft, (for this coosoning shift is no better) they rake in great somes of mony … And thus be … surgerie utterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.[94]

Stubbes first refers to misappropriated activity as being an adopted 'habite' of the professional which 'delude[s]' the patient-to-be: the nonprofessional initially works on a visual level as he assumes or imitates the look of the surgeon. A character walking on stage as a surgeon (as in Fletcher and Massinger's *Sea Voyage*) was probably easily distinguishable from other characters as being a medical figure simply by his robes. The coif, a piece of headwear visible on every head in Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII and the Barber-Surgeons, is also associated with the working surgeon; it was probably more a status symbol than a hygiene precaution. Two coifs

astonishingly survive from the Barber-Surgeon's cabin on the Mary Rose. Made respectively of good quality silk velvet and pure silk, the coifs are unique examples of Tudor headgear. Archaeologists of the Mary Rose deduce that 'stretch and ware [*sic*] in the crown area show that [the one of silk velvet] had been worn a great deal', confirming that at least one of them was customary attire.[95] Stubbes terms the misappropriated surgery a 'theft' or a 'coosoning'. Whereas by misappropriating barbery, characters often enact thefts, the misappropriation itself for surgery is characterized as serious lawbreaking which had an uncomfortable reality: 'under y^e^ name of *Chirurgi'*, writes William Bullein, 'many yong men, lyve in the Saintuarie of Idlenes, forsaking their owne handy craft … to buy some grosse stuffe, with a boxe of Salve, and cases of tooles, to sette forth their slender market with all'.[96] These are inadequate surgeons in terms of training and in terms of the tool set from which they work. We know from the last chapter that a surgeon's collection of tools cannot be 'slender'. Bullein's reference to a 'market' reinforces the sense that in these situations there is monetary as well as medical abuse.[97] Outside the theatre, the notion of counterfeit surgeon-playing is a social and medical anxiety.

'Pray give me leave/To play the Surgeon'

Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas* is riddled with medical satire. The transgressive *tour de force* eponym in the play ridicules the common alarm calls for a surgeon on stage. He fakes a moment of high crisis by pretending that his leg is 'broken in twenty places':

THOMAS	O I am lam'd for ever: O my leg, … oh, a Surgeon, A Surgeon, or I dye:
LAUNCELOT	Be patient sir, be patient: let me binde it.
THOMAS	Oh doe not touch it, rogue.[98]

For Launcelot, Thomas will be neither patient nor the patient.[99] While the audience knows that Thomas's refusal to be treated by Launcelot is because he is not damaged, his quick response – 'do not touch it, rogue' – also parodies the alarm caused when a non-specialist offers to assist in medical procedure: it is an instructive reaction, even within the parody. This section investigates what happens when the offer to help in a surgical context, 'Let me …', is taken up by a character on stage. An impression of surgical expertise on stage need not necessarily be harmful, depending on how it is constructed.

Some female characters adopt surgical roles in early modern drama. This should not surprise us. Females have long been associated with healing, medical as well as magical, and, as Deborah Harkness argues, women play

the universal but often under-acknowledged role of chief medical practitioner in the domestic household, a role that readily extended into the streets, churches, and hospitals of the period.[100] A ballad on the plight of married women describes a husband who, 'now and then, to his wonderfull peril,/he meetes with knocks and disgraces;/And then his poore wife his Surgeon must bee,/To cure his infirmities ready is shee;/Yet for her endeavour ingratefull is hee'.[101] The ballad's heedless husband characterizes a wider social norm. Harkness shows how limited the official medical tracts of the time are in highlighting women's responsibilities in medicine; the male and his writing desk upheld an 'official' urban view of medical practice. M. A. Katritzky approaches the matter from a theatrical viewpoint by investigating the growing prevalence of female actors, which she links to women's understated medical performing arena: their presence in both performing spaces has been marginalized but is significant, she argues. Writing on the subject 'of women that meddle in … Surgery' in the seventeenth century, James Primerose asserts that 'women ought not so rashly and adventurously to intermeddle with' treating tumours, ulcers, wounds, putrefactions and fistulas, which require much 'art'.[102] And an early sixteenth century act on medical practice in the realm identifies the 'common artificers' of surgery as 'smythes, weavers and women'.[103] However, although women were not permitted to wear the livery of the Company, apprenticeship, marriage, and patrimony secured their presence in the practice, and, as Harkness argues, this guild tolerated females' roles more readily than the College of Physicians.[104] In addition, edicts which were rarely acted upon suggest that the legal stance taken was to encourage female's practice to be covered-up rather than abolished and punished: 'some wise women worked incognito, behind veils and slatted screens'.[105] The one acknowledged role that women played in surgical activities was the midwife's duty in cutting a baby's umbilical cord, but midwives were, too, subject to criticism and surgeons encroached upon their domain.[106]

In Chapter 1, I examined the role of the surgeon in *Sea Voyage* and showed that despite the presence of a surgeon character, surgery is less concrete in the play due to the absence of surgical instruments and the surgeon's deficiencies. But other characters in the play fill this gap. These characters are female, who are, because of the surgeon's failings, readily framed as the legitimate, or at least the successful, surgical practitioners in the drama. Aminta finds her lover, Albert, in a poor state after he has fought with Lamure and Franville. The surgeon is on stage at the time, and yet Tibalt ushers Aminta into caring for Albert: 'Help him off Lady;/And wrap him warme in your Armes,/Here's something that's comfortable' (Aaaaa3r). The surgeon is himself hurt, lying 'in the same pickle too' (Aaaaa3r) and he has, of course, lost all his instruments. His double failing – represented by his bodily handicap and his lack of tools – leaves a void for Aminta to fill. Albert is quick to redefine Aminta's gender in her new role: 'sure we have chang'd Sexes;/You bear

calamity with a fortitude/Would become a man; I like a weake girle suffer'. Not only a male, but a male medical practitioner:

> AMINTA your wounds,
> How fearfully they gape? …
> pray give me leave
> To play the Surgeon, and bind em up;
> The raw ayre rankles 'em (Aaaaa3r)

Acknowledging that she is taking on a role, Aminta binds Albert's wound using her own hair, which begs the question whether her 'surgical' technique is representative of ad hoc but possibly authentic medical procedure, or whether her action is simply symptomatic of her new-found affection for Albert. Albert observes that there are no surgical 'meanes' available to them, to which Aminta's response is 'Love can supply all wants' (Aaaaa3r) – suggesting the latter reading of Aminta's hair-binding. Aminta's coil of hair about the body reminds us of lines from John Donne's 'The Relic' which describes 'A bracelet of bright hair about the bone' symbolizing a bond of eternal love: a remnant from each lover's corporeal selves symbolizes union.[107] Aminta's action realizes a metaphysical impulse. But we cannot only understand the passage in terms of its amorous implications. Hair *was* used in medical procedures to treat wounds. The surgeon Peter Lowe notes, 'Seton … is … a little cord which in old time was made of haire, or thread, and now of silk or cloth' which is drawn through the skin with a needle.[108] Is it possible that Aminta is equipped with a needle for the purposes of this action?[109] Binding a wound is, of course, not the same as sewing it: the former usually refers to a motion of encircling and the latter to piercing. Later Clarinda observes, 'Some soft hand/Bound up these wounds; a womans haire' (Aaaaa4r). Although she is pricked with jealousy over Albert, Clarinda recognizes some skill in the manual operation and is, as a fellow surgeon, admiring another's inventiveness. Aminta's surgical talents are deliberately under-defined but it is also the under-theatricality of this event that adds credence to her surgical performance.

Aminta is not the only female to adopt a surgical role in the play. The women of the island also treat Albert's body which becomes a contested site of female agency: a sexual as well as surgical site. To Crocale's timid response, 'Nor durst we be Surgeons' to wounded Albert, Clarinda revokes, 'rub his temples;/Nay, that shall be my Office: how the red/Steales into his pale lips! run and fetch the simples/With which my mother heald my arme/When last I was wounded by the Bore' (Aaaaa4r), and in doing so revokes the official response to the 'surgeoness'. Clarinda's surgical role is the appropriation, more specifically, of her mother's surgical function, suggesting a genealogy of practice which points towards training. Hippolita exits on Clarinda's commands and reappears some lines later, presumably

with the 'simples': there is an offstage supply. The hive of female surgical activity in the play nestles between scenes in which the actual surgeon on stage is functionless and unequipped, and the females' works and materials, and Albert's body, are visible. The 'Surgeon' is female in *Sea Voyage*.

A similar pattern occurs in Thomas Heywood's *Edward IV, Part II*. After Shore is hurt in a fight (disguised as Flood), his bleeding arm requires attention: Brackenbury instructs, 'Go, Flood; get thee some surgeon to look to thy wound' (16:47) and then immediately questions, 'Hast no acquaintance with some skilful surgeon?' (16:48).[110] Brackenbury's remark neatly eclipses the competent surgeon from the action: surgical assistance is needed, but the licensed practitioner does not materialize. Mistress Blage reinforces the role she and Jane Shore undertake a scene later when Shore arrives at their house: 'the surgeon was a knave,/That looked no better to him at the first' (18:17–18). Offstage, Jane assembles a 'precious balm' (18:4) and Blage's servant exits to retrieve some 'rosa-solis' (18:7), but both reappear to bathe Shore's wound, administer their medicine, and help him to exercise. The medical response is a performance by women of domestic routines which do not make use of shock-factor ferrementals. But specifically this response fills a void left by absent surgery. The male surgeon is not wholly bypassed: he is evoked to be deemed incompetent or to be denied physical representation. By comparison, the female surgeon in the theatre challenges city convention and represents how many people regarded the female practitioner: she performs effectively and visibly (and modestly), whereas usually she must do so secretively and suffer derision.

'Note a strange accident'

In *Devil's Law-Case*, one character's misappropriation of a medical role proves to be the successful appropriation of a surgical role. After a duel between rival suitors Contarino and Ercole (battling for the hand of Romelio's sister, Jolenta), the men lie in critical conditions having both suffered injuries. Contarino is attended by two surgeons who have failed to restore him, and who predict that he will not live two hours longer:

> FIRST SURGEON we do find his wound
> So fester'd near the vitals, all our art
> By warm drinks, cannot clear th'imposthumation;
> And he's so weak, to make [incision]
> By the orifix were present death to him (III.ii.23–7)

The surgeons are figures of failure in thinking Contarino to be 'past all cure' (III.ii.22), and are eventually figures of deceit in *Law-Case*. Stubbes warns of the danger of blaming the science when the treatment of the sick miscarries; 'in truth', he asserts, 'the whole blame consisteth in the ignorance of the

practicioner himself'.[111] The scenario in *Law-Case* is similar to the beginning of *All's Well That Ends Well* when Lafew explains that the King of France, suffering from a fistula, has 'abandon'd his physicians … under whose practices he hath persecuted time with hope' (I.i.12–13). Both Shakespeare and Webster make the official medical schools of learning, illustrated by more than one practitioner, seem deficient so that another character can usurp the professionals' role. The result is not simply medical satire, although inevitably there is an element of this, but effective theatre in that the scene unlocks a performing space and invites another level of appropriation in the drama – an actor plays a part who, in turn, plays or fulfils a part that is wanting in the drama, as in *Burning Pestle*. Like Helena, Romelio offers an alternative service to the patient from the one suggested by the professional:

> ROMELIO I can by an extraction which I have,
> …
> restore to him
> For half an hour's space, the use of sense,
> And perhaps a little speech (III.ii.51–5)

Romelio actually wants to kill Contarino and asks for time alone with the patient. He is disguised as a Jewish Physician (a ghost, perhaps, of Elizabeth I's Dr. Roderigo Lopez), and in the scene Webster includes a typical early modern smattering of anti-Semitic taunts and Barabas-esque boasts.[112] Left alone with Contarino (who is '*in a bed*', according to stage directions), Romelio brandishes a weapon he has thus far concealed and stabs the patient, only to be discovered by the surgeons whom he must blackmail to keep silent. To a contemporary audience, the surgeons appear foolish in that they let a suspicious Jewish Physician attend on their patient. The First Surgeon declares, 'There's some trick in't. I'll be near you, Jew' (IIII.ii.74) and yet stage directions indicate that both surgeons exit immediately after this line; they reappear too late to have prevented Romelio from stabbing Contarino.

After Romelio leaves, the surgeons find that Contarino is saved by Romelio's violent incision:

> FIRST SURGEON Ha! Come hither, note a strange accident:
> His steel has lighted in the former wound,
> And made free passage for the congealed blood.
> Observe in what abundance it delivers
> The putrefaction. (III.ii.147–51)

Lee Bliss concludes that 'chance has made Romelio a physician instead of a murderer'.[113] But despite his disguise as Physician, chance has made Romelio a *surgeon* instead of a murderer. Romelio achieves what the surgeons, believing Contarino to be too weak, have feared to try, even though the art of

incision-making officially falls within their professional capacities. He has made '[incision]/By the orifix': 'His steel has lighted in the former wound'. Soarenes pertinently asks Chirurgi in *Bulwarke*, 'Now I pray you tel me how you make an Incision?'[114] In *2 Return from Parnassus* Ingenioso observes that the satiric healer is 'So surgeon-like that dost with cutting heale/Where nought but lancing can the wound avayle' (I.i.93–4).[115] And the Surgeon in Middleton's *Fair Quarrel* boasts to the Captain, 'And if your worship at any time stand in need of incision, if it be your fortune to light into my hands, I'll give you the best' (V.i.406–8). If Romelio had fulfilled his misappropriation of the role of Physician – 'All my study has been physic' (III.ii.46) – his attempted murder of Contarino would have been based on 'an extraction', which could have been a poison rather than something curative. Indeed, Romelio even uses the term 'incision' (III.ii.98) when contemplating how small the hole will be – made by his weapon – that will Contarino's 'soul let forth' (III.ii.97). Romelio refers to 'an absolute cure' (III.ii.108), echoing the language of, while simultaneously debunking, the surgeons' conclusion that Contarino was 'past all cure' (III.ii.22).

We are reminded of Stubbes:

> There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies everie man tagge, and ragge, of what insufficiencie soever, is suffered to exercise the misterie of phisick, and surgerie … But if they chance at any time to doe any good … it is by meere chance, and not by any knowledge of theirs.[116]

John Cotta similarly writes of unlearned surgeons who 'being ever ready to give bold adventure, may hap luckily to oversute the danger' after the more learned's sound attempts to deliver the patient have failed.[117] Cotta also relates a story of a man suffering from a head-ache and giddiness who '*By chance* … met with an angry Surgeon, who being by him in some words provoked … with a staffe unto the utmost peril of life soundly brake his head … [but] thereby delivered him of his diseases' [italics mine].[118] Surgical success is characterized by randomness. Romelio is Webster's satiric embodiment of what Stubbes and Cotta describe: 'meere chance' dictates events and Contarino's successful recovery. Moreover, in the same way that, as Jonathan Gil Harris argues, the Jew is used 'both as a whipping-boy *and* as a weapon with which to scourge Christian behavior', so here Romelio as a Jewish surgeon is both demonized and characterized as the superior medical man.[119] Later, Romelio boasts to Leonora that he killed Contarino 'in the absence of his surgeon' (III.iii.215), marking his territory through the satire (i.e. he does not need surgical training to kill Romelio). By making surgery accidental in the scene, that is by disguising the surgeon as something else (a physician, but also a murderer) – Harris characterizes Romelio's performance as 'the imitation of an imitation' – Webster stages a rare moment of a successful, if unorthodox, surgical performance.[120]

'If there live ere a surgeon that dare say/He could doe better'

Richard Sugg examines the early-seventeenth century 'crowd pleaser' *Hoffman*, probably written in the wake of *Hamlet*'s (and also *Jew of Malta*'s and *Spanish Tragedy*'s) success, by Henry Chettle in 1602.[121] Sugg suggests that Chettle not only capitalized on *Hamlet*, but also on the appetites of the Tyburn crowds and their fascination for the 'new' anatomy of the period – the culture of dissection, which Jonathan Sawday explores.[122] The play has a high body count, but is also highly contemplative of the deaths it catalogues, these 'image[s] of bare death, joyne[d] side, to side' (C2v). Characters' gruesome somatic language and the drama's visual attention to (dead) bodies ensure that innards, bones, and flesh are all on display. Sugg questions what the ubiquitous term 'anatomy' actually refers to in the period, asserting that it was, in fact, 'up for grabs'.[123] The early moderns' unsteady relationship to anatomy is material for Chettle, but he contextualizes his most striking body scenes within a frame of barber-surgery which shapes the imagery and traces the afterlife of a Tyburn body.

Within six lines of the play's opening, Clois Hoffman, '*strikes ope a curtaine where appeares a body*' (s.d. B1r). This body is the remains of his father who was killed publicly by the Duke of Luningberg for turning pirate. Hoffman, we are told, 'stole downe his fathers Anotamy [*sic*][124] from the gallowes' (B2v). For a Tyburn crowd, this might suggest (despite the anachronism) that Hoffman had anticipated a Barber-Surgeon representative in claiming the body; it is commonly known that each year the Company was permitted four corpses to dissect. Originally, according to the Company's Minutes in 1577, the bodies were 'alwaies fetched from the place of execucon by the M[aster] and Stewards' – high-profile surgical figures.[125] Certainly Hoffman suggests that his acquisition of the body was a feat, which corresponds to contemporary depictions of the tussles in the crowds after executions.[126] Sweetball in *Quiet Life* hopes that he will successfully 'beg' Young Franklin's 'body … of the sheriffs' after he has been hanged 'for at the next lecture [he is] likely to be the master of [his] anatomy' (III.ii.27–9).

The son determines to assassinate all of those persons who were associated with his father's execution, and for the most part he is assisted by his collaborator, Lorrique. Their first victim is the Duke of Luningberg's son, Otho, whom they murder in the same way that Hoffman senior was killed: by placing a burning crown on his head.[127] When Hoffman returns on stage a scene later with Otho's body, it is not as we saw it last – Hoffman has appropriated a role:

HOFFMAN If there live ere a surgeon that dare say
He could doe better: ile play Mercury,
And like fond Marsias flea[128] the Quacksalver,
There were a sort of filthy Mountebankes,

> Expert in nothing but in idle words,
> Made a daies worke, with their incision knives
> On my opprest poore father: silly man,
> Thrusting there dastard fingers in his flesh (C2v)

Sugg asserts that 'anatomists become, in Chettle's mind, a peculiar composite of Surgeons and Physicians'. This is true to some extent, but in the passage 'surgeon' resonates, and 'physician' does not. 'Mountebanke' is a generic, abusive name for a medical man and the passage's reference to Mercury, renowned for his volatility in mythology, symbolizes general indiscretion. Sugg defines Hoffmann's description of men 'Expert in nothing but in idle words' as a description of physicians only, whose 'Latinate and classical medicine', he says, 'was deficient because it was theoretically top heavy, and had little or no foundation in empirical anatomy'.[129] But, as I discuss in the Chapter 5 of this book, surgeons were also satirized for their inaccessible language: in Middleton's *Fair Quarrel*, the Colonel's Sister is 'ne'er the better for [the surgeon's] answer' (IV.ii.13) because he will not speak in 'plain terms' (IV.ii.25). Moreover, Sugg's assumption that Chettle is satirizing physicians' distance from 'empirical anatomy' seems a leap in this passage: the division between surgeons and physicians in terms of their anatomical understanding was not clear cut, and indeed public anatomies were often undertaken in Barber-Surgeon's Hall by physicians such as John Caius, who studied anatomy in Padua for several years and shared lodgings with Andreas Vesalius. Caius eventually had a seventeen-year tenure (1546–1563) with the Company as their lecturer while holding presidency of the College of Physicians from 1555–1560 and in 1562, 1563, and 1571.[130] While Sugg is right to point out the 'peculiar' composite effect of the passage, the combination of 'surgeon', 'flea [flay]', 'incision knives', and the line, 'Thrusting their dastard fingers in his flesh' seem to point more evidently to one side of the medical profession: the surgical side. Offstage, Hoffman has appropriated a surgeon's role in anatomization and, ultimately, skeleton-making.

We know what Hoffman has appropriated, but what does the theatre appropriate? Sugg asks what the objects were on stage that represented the remains of Hoffman senior and Otho, and he raises important questions about theatrical convention in the period: did authentic skeletons appear on stage and from where would they have been sourced? Could the skeletons have been replicas? Would an audience be satisfied with a pictorial representation of a skeleton? 'Was the Renaissance *State* … necessarily set against such displays?' Sugg's discussion of Chettle's visceral language, which supplements the 'dry bones' on stage (the language pertains to the 'nerves and arteries of an écorché') suggests that stage skeletons (or bones) could be 'effectively reclothed' to give an effect of soggy, disintegrating bodies, something that would appeal to the contemporary audience, he argues.[131] Although stage directions do not stipulate that Otho's remains are brought

out or are disclosed on stage so that they are visible during Hoffman's soliloquy, it makes little sense for the dramaturgy to be otherwise: Hoffman directly addresses his father whose body has dangled before an audience before and earlier he has referred to the remains of Otho and Hoffman senior 'side, to side' (C2v). The soliloquy represents the practitioner and his work. If skeletons in the early modern productions of *Hoffman* were sourced from the Company, then the theatrical and extra-theatrical reputation of the item work against each other in performance: the skeleton is the product of misappropriated surgical activity offstage (but in the theatre), but it is also (possibly) the product of authentic surgery offstage (i.e. outside the theatre).

It seems unlikely that the skeleton was a prop simulacrum. Skeletons might be made by the Company following an anatomization, although they required careful authorization. In 1566, the 'Rules' note that 'all private Anathomyes shall reverently from henceforth be buryed as publick Anatomyes as for the worshippe of the said mystery. Any skelliton to be made onelye excepted uppon payne of forfeture of ten poundes'.[132] Not abiding by the licensing rules incurs a hefty forfeit – a skeleton, we may assume, was not made recreationally. In 1606, the ordinance clause reads that all anatomies from the Company's Hall should be given a Christian burial 'except such as at any tyme hereafter it shall please the M[aster] or Governors to make or lycence to be made any skelliton of'.[133] Perhaps there could have been some kind of circulation from which theatre owners could benefit – in its basest manifestation, a black market. Dekker gives a Shelley-like description of a Usurer in *A Knight's Conjuring*: it seemed as if 'the Barber Surgions had beg'd the body of a man at a Sessions, to make an Anatomie, and that Anatomy this wretched creature begged of them to make him a body'.[134] The Barber-Surgeons appear open to negotiation. A skeleton is a fragile object and is unlikely to make any impact if, having been weathered down after hanging on the gallows or crumpled-up in a grave, it is purloined for the stage. If the stage object were sourced illegally (i.e. without the permission of an authority in the Company), the implication of Hoffman's activities produces a double dramaturgical effect of misappropriation. Either way, a skeleton reified the body precluded from Christian burial which exerted unease on stage and off.[135]

In Christopher Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* one body (the Admiral's) hangs from a tree for the space of eight lines only (xi:491–9) suggesting that the effect of raised remains in the theatre was worth the effort.[136] The two bodies side by side in *Hoffman* are visually arresting. They remind us of cabinets of curiosities and, more particularly, they are like the display items in Barber-Surgeon's Hall which have a particular mix of art and instruction, both medical and moral. At the end of the more controversial second edition of the pamphlet of the early seventeenth century, *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry*, Henry Goodcole writes of the executed body of a murderer, Elizabeth Evans: 'her dryed Carkase or Sceletin of Bones and Gristles is reserv'd, in proportion

to be seene in *Barber Surgeons Hall*.[137] In 1568, the Company's Court Minutes take note of a new display arrangement (during a general refurbishment in which seating was added to the Hall for the 'good prospect' of the anatomizations) for a skeleton: 'there shalbe [in the Hall] a case of weynscot made w[i]th paynters work … as seemly as maye be don For the skellyton to stand in'.[138] In Barber-Surgeon's Hall, a skeleton was not only made, but also prepared for display: a double skill set is required.

In later years, several skeletons (not just human ones) evidently adorned the Company's Hall. An inventory taken c.1710 lists the objects in the Theatre:

> Four fixt skeletons. One of them in a Frame. One new skelton pendent from the Center of the Roofe. Two humane skins upon figures of wood. One figure of Anatomy in a Frame … A skeleton of an Ostrich the gift of Mr Hobbs. A skeleton in a frame the gift of Mr Knowles.[139]

When the Company discusses the need for a new dissection theatre in the mid-seventeenth century, it notes on 11th February 1636 the 'want of a publique Theater for Anatomycall exercises & Sceletons and a lesser roome for private discections [sic]': skeletons were central focal points in the new Anatomy Theatre.[140] In 1728, the Company's inventory records 'A skeleton frame with black curtains around it, a pulley & cord' in the Long Gallery.[141] In this display, a skeleton has a stage space, marked by a curtain. While the activities of anatomists and surgeons usually occurred in private, 'lesser room[s]', the product of this work (the skeleton) reaches a platform. Paradoxically, however, this product, in its stripped down form, disguises the intricate work which would have constituted its manufacture: it is more external and superficial than investigative in its representation. In the picture showing John Banister's lecture, the skeleton is a point of reference, but the body under dissection in the centre of the image is the active, industrious site of the surgeon's skill around which instruments are strewn. This brings us back to Sugg's speculation about how skeletal the *Hoffman* skeletons appeared: could one of these bodily remains be skeletal and the other more like an écorché, mirroring the anatomy lecture scene?

In the middle of his soliloquy, Hoffman announces, 'So shut our stage up, there is one act done' (C2v). He is referring to the ending of the first part of the play: Gurr explains that 'the 1631 text despite being composed at a time and for a playhouse using continuous staging was printed showing five act breaks … this must indicate later revision to fit it for an indoor play'.[142] But the line also implies something else. The space in which Hoffman performs or has displayed his gross surgical activities (the 'act') is briefly disclosed in the soliloquy. 'Act' has double resonance. It is possible that shutting up 'this' stage is also Hoffman's reference to a discovery space on set or a frame akin to the one in the Barber-Surgeons' Long Gallery. The appropriation of

the skeleton in *Hoffman* is underlined by the fact that it is displayed on the wrong stage: the commercial one, rather than in the surgical theatre.

In the scene immediately after Hoffman's surgery soliloquy, Jerome, the would-be heir of Luningberg, and Stilt discuss barbers and barbery objects. If we understand Hoffman's soliloquy as surgery-orientated Chettle's semantic leap to barbery is not surprising. Jerome announces that for almost ten years he has been writing a new poem 'in prayse of picke-toothes' (C3v). Pick tooths, or tooth picks, could function as a sign of frivolity and artificial gallantry. John Earle's description of the Gallant (one who was 'born and shapt for his cloathes') mocks this figure's use of his 'Pick tooth … in his discourse'.[143] But toothpicks are especially linked with barbery: 'The crocodile … hath a worm breeds i'th' teeth of't … a little bird … is barber-surgeon to this crocodile; flies into the jaws of't; picks out the worm; and brings present remedy' (Webster, *White Devil*, IV.ii.220–5).[144] Stilt remarks, 'the barbers will buy those poems abominably' and Jerome believes that he can patent the item so 'that no man shall sell tooth pickes without [Stilt's] seale' (C3v).

Although the surgery context of Hoffman's role may not at first seem clear cut, the context drawn by Chettle after the soliloquy marks characteristic barber-surgery territory: Hoffman dabbles in surgery, Stilt and Jerome play with barbery. Usually this context is evoked by first establishing a barbery context and then introducing illegitimate surgery. But here Chettle allows us to sense disreputable surgical activity which is then given a bathetic twist by descending into daft barbery. The play is full of disguise stratagems, some very dubious, argues Gurr.[145] Characters take on the habits of a hermit, Grecians, the dead (Hoffman as Otho), and a French Doctor. But, as I have shown, characters do not have to be disguised to appropriate a role or a particular context in which they can manoeuvre on stage. The difference in this instance between a character's appropriation of a surgical role and characters' appropriation of a barbery context is simple: to play a surgeon is a diabolical act; to play with barbery is harmless foolery.

'How far *off* dwells the house-surgeon'?

In *Quiet Life* a performing space for barbery disguises performance space for surgery, thereby cushioning the effect of a diabolical act. Sweetball refers to the 'more private chamber' (II.iii.16) in his shop into which he ushers the unknowing Ralph to be dismembered.[146] The implied privacy is as much to do with keeping clandestine the surgical activities of an unlicensed practitioner who could be fined for abusive, unregulated practice, as it was to do with maintaining privacy for the patient. The dialogue in II.ii between Sweetball (within the chamber) and his apprentice boy (still on stage in, as it were, the main part of the shop) generates the sense of divided workspace and acoustically divulges space beyond the stage. Alternately, within and

without could be realized simultaneously on stage; an implicit 'entering in', therefore, results when Sweetball takes Ralph into his private chamber, comparable to the unusual stage direction '*Enter out*', explored by Michela Calore.[147] In modern editions the shift from the shop to the 'private' space merits a shift in scene (from II.iii to II.iv), making explicit the re-entry of characters ('*Enter Sweetball the barber, Ralph, Boy*' (s.d. II.iv.0)) after Young Franklin's exit from the shop. The comic factor of the scene is that Ralph does not understand the implication of being taken into the barber's private room – something which the audience would have understood and the playwright's dramaturgy exploits. Because Ralph does not recognize the shift in performance space, the disguised surgery space temporarily fools him. Like Grimme the collier, he is complicit in the initial performance.

Ultimately, Ralph is able to reject the offer of surgery because he is not endangered. But on many occasions in early modern drama a character does require the attention of a skilled surgeon: an injury often marks a crisis point in a play and at these moments a surgeon is usually called for, fetched, or is the figure to whom the injured party is directed. But rarely in these instances does a surgeon materialize. In *Michaelmas Term*, for example, when Easy of Essex is struck in the shoulder upon being arrested by Shortyard, the boy finds his excuse to exit: 'Alas, a surgeon!', he cries, 'He's hurt i'th'shoulder' (III.iii.31). The injury evidently does not require surgical attention, but the conventional placing of the surgeon offstage gives the boy his (dramaturgical) excuse to flee. The offstage surgeon is his cover. An exception to the unrealized summoning of a surgeon is in *Massacre at Paris*. At the end of the play, a surgeon enters, following Navarre's instruction ('Go call a surgeon hither straight' (xxii:1179)), to 'search [Henry's] wound' (xxii:1191). (While the surgeon searches, an English Agent enters to whom Henry assigns a duty, shifting the scene's focus away from the bodily examination.) Determining that Henry's injury, made by a poisoned knife, means he 'cannot live' (xxii:1223), the surgeon does not attempt to restore the King. In this way he does not have to perform and nothing in the text suggests that he should administer a salve or place a tent on the wound, and the King dies twenty lines later. Usually, however, surgeons perform (i.e. do something more than 'search') in 'extrascenic space' (envisioned by William Gruber): early modern theatre 'off-stages' them.[148]

In Kyd's *Tragedy of Solyman and Perseda*, Basilisco is injured in the shin. He instructs his page, Piston, 'run, bid the surgion bring his incision./Yet stay ile ride along with thee my selfe'.[149] The initial idea that the surgeon can be physically summoned onto the stage is superseded by Basilisco's altered determination. When he returns to the stage some scenes later, Basilisco's injury is not mentioned and the audience assumes his treatment by the surgeon is successful. In V.i. *Othello*, Iago's trick in setting Roderigo against Cassio results in Cassio being mangled (his leg presumed 'cut in two' (V.i.71)). Cassio is transported to 'the general's surgeon' (V.ii.99) and he

reappears, treated, some 300 lines later to witness Othello's and Iago's downfall, and to shed light on Iago's gross actions. Edward IV instructs Howard, in part two of Heywood's history plays, to convey Lord Scales (who is seen '*struck down*' on stage '*with great-shot from the* [French] *town*' (s.d. 4:46)) 'to [his] pavilion,/And let [his] surgeons use all diligence' (4:64–5), commenting, 'They can devise for safeguard of his life' (4:66). Scales never re-enters but by evoking the competence of Edward's surgeons Heywood signals some strength in Edward's battlefield presence despite, as Richard Rowland terms it, the 'slightly embarrassing non-event' of the King's French expedition.[150] Expert, licensed surgical works take place in an equivalent space of time to the dialogue onstage but 'offstage' appropriates the activities.

The appalling crimes of Walter Calverley (who attacked his wife, maid, and three children, killing two of the young ones) in 1605 provoked a number of literary responses at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Two of these were plays: *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* by George Wilkins and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* entered in the Stationers' Register and printed on the first quarto's title page as written by Shakespeare, but now believed to be the work of Middleton.[151] Both plays refer to a surgeon who attends injured parties, but this reference is absent from the narration of events in the first publication about the crime, an anonymous pamphlet of 1605 on which the plays are thought to have been based.[152] In *Enforced Marriage*, the butler enters '*bleeding*', explaining that he is on his way 'to the Surgeons to seeke salve' after his volatile, jealous-riddled master has attacked him.[153] He exits reminding his company and the audience that he will 'first to the surgeons' (F1r); in his next entry (from F2r), the butler appears to show no sign of his recent hurt – he lurks in trees – and it seems the surgeon has done his bit. In *Yorkshire Tragedy*, a short work, some 700 lines long, but with – as Wells argues – 'a fuller history of production than many Jacobean dramas', the events represented have a closer affiliation with the pamphlet (in *Enforced Marriage* only a suicide accounts for a death in the action).[154] On stage in *Yorkshire Tragedy*, the master of the College finds the wife in a critical condition following her husband's assault upon his family and household: the stage is a bloodbath. The Master exclaims, 'Surgeons, surgeons! She recovers life' (5:61) and some lines later a servant enters appealing to her, 'Please you leave this most accursèd place./A surgeon waits within' (5:85–6). The servant invites the audience to conceptualize space beyond the stage, but still within the theatre and the household; his reference to '*this* most accursèd place' [italics mine] highlights movement between designated spatial realms. Catherine Richardson suggestively writes, 'the house in *Yorkshire Tragedy* exists entirely "on the stage". "Within" in this play means "off-stage", rather than further into the more private domestic spaces of the house', which highlights the nearness of the surgeon's activities and a different politics of secret action in the household. Freevill's question in *Dutch Courtesan* is apt: just 'How far *off* dwells the house-surgeon …?' [italics mine] (II.ii.69) If the domestic

house space in *Yorkshire Tragedy* is – following Richardson's argument – not conventionally private because in the play rumour has been 'swift and effective' and the playwright has flouted the conventional dramaturgies of closet drama and domestic tragedies, then the unseen scene with the surgeon is also distinctive, offering discretion, which has hitherto been lacking. After the husband has been apprehended and his wife is brought before him she, as the Gentleman observes, is 'of herself' (8:5), illustrating the success of the unseen surgeon's practices *within*. Both offstage surgeons' (unseen) works are necessary to characters' re-appearances, contrary to Richardson's general observation of *Yorkshire Tragedy* that its 'offstage activity … [seldom] bears upon what the audience see'.[155] Gurr and Ichikawa emphasize that 'speeches around entrances and exits are more often than not highly theatrical, and that they therefore rarely lend themselves to a literal-minded or "realistic" interpretation'.[156] However, in the examples discussed in this section, when a character determines he will go to the surgeon's the audience *is* invited to be literal-minded. Whereas in the pamphlet, *Two Bloody Murthers*, the reader does not need the detail of the surgeon for the purposes of narration, in theatre, where bodies are seen before and after events, the surgeon's dramaturgical presence makes sense of bodies' transitions.

Unlike many other instances of offstage action, discussed by Gruber – who begins his study of 'offstage space' by examining responses to the unstaged reunion of Perdita with Leontes in *Winter's Tale* – the activities involving surgeons are not represented in hindsight through diegesis on stage.[157] Gruber is interested in 'retrospective narrative' as a 'secondary kind of representation, a verbal construction that is commonly taken to be feeble and second-rate in comparison with the immediate perception of direct scenic enactment', which he re-evaluates.[158] But representing surgeons offstage is a matter of elided narrative as well as spectacle. In this way it corresponds to Celia Daileader's reading of offstage rape and sex sequences: although on the early modern stage sexual intercourse presents itself 'largely through verbal testimony', it is 'designed, in some cases, to titillate more than narrate, and, in some cases, narrat[es] little at all'. Daileader rightly asserts that 'technically nothing "happens" offstage', but nevertheless theorizes the gap through which absence comes to signify.[159] Her focus on offstage activities which occur 'out there or "*within*", in the space between "*exeunt*" and "*enter*"' feeds feminist analysis of the voyeur and Derridean theory of absence that cradles infinitely diverse signifying powers, allowing her to conclude that 'the world offstage looms largest'.[160]

As well as being interested in offstage surgical activities, I am also implicitly interested in offstage 'characters' – the figures that are unnamed in *dramatis personae* but whose actions (so we witness) have an impact on other characters and are part of the stylistic fabric. Palfrey argues, in an aptly titled chapter for this discussion, 'Where is a character?', that 'the basic substance of any character before us is always being augmented or adjusted

by memories or expectations of neighbouring scenes'. But for these offstage surgeons, their 'characters' are a matter only of 'absent stimuli'.[161] Perhaps the successful referencing to these surgeons lies in, what Daileader also cites as, the '*proximity*' of their offstage performances, which are always an encounter.[162] In his discussion of divine absences, Gary Taylor clarifies that he has been describing 'moments *of proximity to presence*' arguing that 'presence itself is muli-dimensional [which] can be approached along multiple axes'.[163] Usually surgical activities are forecast on stage and, therefore, in the audience's imagination take place concurrent to continuing stage action, endowing activities with an impression of duration and the character with a sense of purpose: representation relies on a 'consciousness of absence'.[164] Licensed surgeons seem close by and 'in action', and on stage we witness their handiwork as an 'afterwards': characters never re-appear with botch-jobs (only in *Edward IV*, Blage and Jane reproach the surgeon who took no action) having been treated at the surgeon's offstage.

The convention of the offstage surgeon whose activities repair injured characters equips playwrights with opportunities to play with and break convention to embed in jokes that draw attention to the structures of scene-making. After his fight with Moll in Middleton and Dekker's *Roaring Girl*, Laxton laments, 'I would the coach were here now to carry me to the surgeon's' (5:130–1). His aside enables him to bemoan that the playwrights have not included instruction for a trip offstage to a surgeon where his wounds could be fixed – he feels his character is neglected. Lady Ager's three frantic calls for a surgeon to tend on her Captain in IV.iii *Fair Quarrel* are premature: Captain Ager has come off, as he explains, 'untouched' (IV.iii.28) in his fight. Middleton's scene withdraws from representing the surgeon as soon as he is evoked and Lady Ager's cries seem ridiculous: someone offstage is, perversely, not needed. In *A Woman is a Weather-Cock*, Nathaniel Field repeatedly delays the injured Captain's transport to a surgeon. Both the method of carrying – the Captain is on Strange's back – and the fact that we never know if they get to the surgeon makes comic the surgeon as a destination point, referred to three times, in the play.[165] At the end of *Twelfth Night*, Andrew appeals, 'For the love of God a surgeon – send one presently to Sir Toby' (V.i.170–1). When Toby appears some lines later, he asks for 'Dick Surgeon' (V.i.195). Andrew and Toby exit together with Andrew's resolution that they will be 'dressed together' (V.i.202); their final logical narrative (being treated at the surgeon's) is not only offstage, it is also out of the range of the play and, because Dick Surgeon is apparently unavailable (according to Feste's quip about his drunkenness), begs questions about the surgeon's authority and identity. The surgeon's expected performance is mocked in advance and his work is unfinished.

Various factors might contribute to this convention of offstaging surgeons. It could be a matter of decency in representation, equivalent to offstage sexual encounters: physically representing surgeons at work felt,

quite literally, too close to the bone. The period's general unease about surgical works is captured by Flamineo in *White Devil* who sees the surgeon's house as a place where the body disintegrates: 'Would I had rotted in some surgeon's house at Venice' (III.iii.8). In mockery, Flamineo, who does not trust surgery, says he will send a surgeon to Marcello (whom he has just stabbed) (see V.ii.10–17) viewing the surgeon as a figure of certain death. Perhaps surgeons' absence from the stage is the upshot, as I discussed in the previous chapter, of playwrights' lack of technical knowledge of surgical activities – an ambiguity which translated to the stage. Surgeons themselves, who numbered few in London, often assisted on the battlefield or at sea. Historically and socially, therefore, they were quite literally off set, unlike female medical aid, which was domestic and (at least in theory) omnipresent. Ultimately, by not fashioning the licensed, legal, skilful surgical practitioner into material representation, theatre covers up its own dangers of misrepresentation, which are availed offstage. As Jean Howard argues in relation to women and racialized and working subjects (drawing on arguments by Dympna Callaghan), 'it is not always a good thing to be thrust to the representational foreground as if being in the center of the picture means that one's interests are adequately advanced'.[166] The theatrical world of counterfeiting inevitably implicates staging a performance (of a surgical nature): it can automatically seem deceptive and undermine any sense of the upright practitioner. Hence surgery's irregular conception under the banner of barbery. Tanya Pollard argues that medicine on stage is often a code for charlatanism and parody: sham medicine and medicine's ability to conceal poisons produces a two-way threat.[167] Pollard reads early modernity's theatrical interest in medical dangers as a response also to plays themselves, which have been widely likened to drugs: 'dangerous medicines offer a compelling vocabulary for examining the workings of seductive deceptions, with a special emphasis on the deception of the theater'.[168] This correlates with Taylor's observation that 'God is truth, the theatre is falsehood, falsehood cannot represent truth, the theatre therefore cannot represent God … It is no violation of decorum for a false god to be represented by lies and disguises'.[169] Surgeons are, of course, not deities, but the early modern theatre treats them with similar caution, which perhaps derives from a corresponding belief system that 'out there' someone can supply our needs, however unfathomable the cure.

Sign

3
Semiotics of Barber-Surgery in Shakespeare: Chair and Basin

On 27th November 1599, Robert Thompson, a practising, foreign surgeon, was hauled before the Company's officials and warned for 'useinge surgerie *without a signe*' [italics mine].[1] The masters and governors determined that Thompson should be examined, but it was not until 17th July 1600 that he was 'approved', following assessment, 'admitted & sworne'.[2] I am interested in the Company officials' concern that surgery could be carried out without the formal proof that the practitioner was trained and regular. The 'signe' of the practitioner's practice was important and was something people could see, comparable to a degree certificate: a physical, legible indication of the authorized surgeon, which spelt out his professionalism.

By investigating the physical signs on stage of barbery and surgery in situations when the practice is not explicitly marked in the text, I suggest how the practices are conceived of as irregular by the very nature of the sign-system they evoke: this sign-system abstractly equates to barber-surgery. These material signs on stage are not obscure. Rather, as I demonstrate, they are very readable and part of cultural as well as practical currency in the period; but, as in Thompson's case, in the scenes I explore they are missing the label which confirms regularity. I am focusing on two of Shakespeare's works (*King Lear* and *Titus Andronicus*) and my discussion falls into two case studies. The semiotics I examine in these plays are, in part, surface-level, visible, tangible, and simple; at the same time they are linguistically complex, and thematically composite. The barbery and surgery signs have contextual referent points that in modern production or analysis can be lost or misinterpreted. By uncovering these contexts (historical, theatrical, and literary) we appreciate the richness of the barber-surgery allusion and its dramaturgical effect, the symbolic use of particular props on the early modern stage, and the linguistic intelligence of two famous literary passages. The semiotics of irregular barber-surgery that Shakespeare writes into *King Lear* and *Titus Andronicus* enable him to expose and stage uncivilizing processes of past eras that resonate through contemporary unease: this is Shakespeare's lurking civic and medical satire.

In my explorations of offstage surgeons I drew from Gary Taylor's analysis of absent gods. His understanding of the theatrical signs of Catholic or episcopal ceremony is that although they might metonymically be associated with religious ritual (as signifiers), they are, primarily, 'a theatrical and experiential effect rather than allegory'.[3] Here I slightly depart from Taylor insisting, instead, that while theatrical and experiential effect is the upshot of certain signifiers, their efficacy often relies on the signifiers' extra-theatrical 'cultural biographies', the term used by Igor Kopytoff, from which they are (consciously or unconsciously) conceived, and, importantly, condensed, and on which they lean, making stage business at once familiar and extraordinary.[4] Andrew Sofer provides a lucid overview of the critical theory of stage signs from the mid-1900s, illustrating the complexity of theatre's 'sign language' as multiply abstracted and representative.[5] Behind the moment's 'theatrical effect', stage signs are in correspondence with both the play's design (and, as Taylor argues, the moment of enactment) and with dimensions beyond the stage. Looking primarily at textual signs in Shakespeare, Alessandro Serpieri underlines the importance of orienting 'structures towards a semiotic co-operation with non-verbal systems, those specific to the theatrical performance *for which* the drama is written: all the semiotic systems work', he writes, 'in a given culture'.[6] The 'given culture' here is the theatre itself. Taylor's view is that 'between 1576 and 1642 the London theatres institutionalized "the first larger-scale, capitalized, routinized commodification of affect in human history" [Taylor quoting himself]. That commodified affect is 'portable', carried out of the theatre into the world, but also carried into the theatre from the world'.[7] I rely on the premise that audiences like to recognize signs in the theatre and playwrights are opportunistic in this regard, as Jean Howard summarizes: 'In the theatre, the audience responds, not just to the syntax or images of dramatic speech, but to all the sights, sounds, and rhythms of a three-dimensional stage event'.[8] This chapter draws on these theorists' sense of the compactness of stage signs and unravels their make-up with regard to the semiotics of barber-surgery. These props are, to take Simon Palfrey's term of *Shakespeare's Possible Worlds*, literal 'nodes of substance' that theatre could exploit.[9] The analyses made here have ramifications for the way in which a modern director might conceive of the scenes and also help to revivify early modern perceptions; they also highlight a Shakespearean model hitherto unregistered by critics and clarify terminologies. In the opening chapters of this book I explored passages when the context of barbery or surgery was unambiguous. In this chapter I examine scenarios in which the playwright does not name the practitioners but nevertheless employs the language and objects of the occupations, endowing scenes and the plays at large with another, intergraded layer of meaning and cultural richness.

Shakespeare does not include a barber or a surgeon in any of his *dramatis personae*. He does, however, reference these figures several times throughout

his canon. Significantly, he refers to them in a manner consistent with official onomastics of the period, which reflects division of practice, and never makes direct reference to the 'barber-surgeon'. Whenever Shakespeare names a barber, he always contextualizes it by mention of beards, hair, or teeth; on surgeons, he only once (with Dick Surgeon in *Twelfth Night*) makes his reference to the profession satirically, and avoids representing the professional as irregular or ineffectual. Bottom 'must to the barber's' (IV.i.23) in *Midsummer Night's Dream* finding himself 'marvellous hairy about the face' (IV.i.24–5). Claudio remarks about economic-efficient work in the barber's trade when he envisages the 'old ornament of [Benedick's] cheek' as having 'already stuffed tennis balls' (*Much Ado About Nothing*, III.ii.42–3). Hamlet threatens that the First Player's speech 'shall to th' barber's with [Polonius's] beard' (Folio (1623), II.ii.495). Falstaff remarks on Hal's lack of a beard saying that 'a barber shall never earn sixpence out of [his chin]' (*2 Henry IV*, I.ii.25). In *Measure for Measure*, analogy of the corrupt systems in authority is made in barbery terms: the Duke explains that Viennese statutes have been 'As much in mock as mark' as 'the forfeits in a barber's shop' (V.i.319, 318).[10] Portia suggests that Shylock charitably 'Have by some Surgeon … To stop his [Antonio's] wounds, lest he do bleed to death' (IV.i.254–5). Her rhetorical bluff exposes Shylock as the untrained dissector (or vivisectionist) whose failure even to summon a surgeon is substance for further criticism against the Jew in *Merchant of Venice*. On the imagined battlefield in *Henry V*, Williams describes soldiers with 'legs and arms … chopped off … crying for a surgeon' (IV.i.134–7): offstage in an imaginary narrative, the surgeon is doubly out of sight. In *Othello*, characters know to call on a surgeon to attend stabbed Cassio, Duncan sends his bleeding Captain to surgeons in *Macbeth*, First Servingman says 'I'll to the surgeon's' (III.i.149) after civil dissent breaks out in *1 Henry VI*, and Mercutio acknowledges he needs a surgeon for his 'scratch' (*Romeo and Juliet*, III.i.93). Referenced barbers and surgeons in Shakespeare's canon are separate.

Shakespeare's works are distinct from his contemporaries in this respect. Beaumont, Dekker, Fletcher, Jonson, Marston, Middleton, and Rowley, by comparison, either name or play on the naming of the barber-surgeon, or portray barbery practice as irregular and necessarily understood as barber-surgery. Transparent barber-surgeon controversies fit a particular genre: the city comedy, which Shakespeare appears to avoid. However, a consciousness of irregular barber-surgery practice is not absent in Shakespeare's works. He gives impressions of dangerous, conjoined practice and audacious, untrained practitioners without naming professions. In *King Lear* and *Titus Andronicus* scenes pull together barbery and surgery objects, language and activities to communicate hazard in the form of irregular barber-surgery at instances of trauma in the drama. John Staines's comment, on the subject of revenge, that *King Lear* 'Push[es] parody to its limits', is appropriate to both plays as Shakespeare contextualizes the climate of the city comedy in a deeply

aggressive setting, making these scenes some of the most sharply conceived and profoundly evocative.[11] I want to make sense of the nature of the mixed genres to pin down what it is Staines and other critics sense but cannot always explain. The linchpin of each case study is a prop, respectively a chair and a basin, which, in the contexts I investigate, are objects steeped in cultural symbolism. Some of today's equivalents might be the dentist's chair (and its embedded culture of terror) and the blood transfusion bag (an unremarkable but distinct receptacle in bloodletting and transfusions). Because Shakespeare is not drawing on barber-surgery contexts within comic city genres, the basin and chair are aligned with a list of statement, single, freighted objects we associate with Shakespeare's tragedies that are fundamental to and absorb the depiction of destruction: Desdemona's handkerchief and her curtained bed, Macbeth's dagger, the Apothecary's vial, and Hamlet's skull for example. In Sasha Roberts's examination of the bed in Shakespearean tragedy she refers to this prop's 'rich source of image-making' which derives from audiences' sensitivity to specific objects' complicity in, marking of, or manipulation for characters' downfall.[12] The prop itself 'must give us pause'. This is different from the clutter-effect of material goods in city comedies (some examined in the past two chapters), particularly in a play like Middleton and Dekker's *Roaring Girl* which stages '*three shops open in a rank: the first a pothecary's shop, the next a feather shop, the third a sempster's shop*' (s.d. III.0). William West draws on definitions that describe comedy as the 'display of every aspect of existence, in terms that recall those used of encyclopaedic texts – distance from risk, compression, visuality'.[13] Moreover, the commercial, commodity-rich world of such comedies (*Bartholomew Fair*, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, *Shoemakers' Holiday*) places more under scrutiny properties' economic than emotional value, or at least the joke is that items' personal value is undermined by their marketplace one.[14]

By removing barbery from the comic context with which it is usually associated (with its prop-rich setting), Shakespeare makes sinister that which other playwrights habitually make humorous. The barber-surgery contexts discussed rely on a single, anomalous subject (as patient/client/victim) and on this subject's restriction, on the sway of a master figure and his/her assistants, on notions of procedure and operation, on some kind of interference with the body (eyes and throats in these examples), and on a specific prop that enables the operation. Central to the performances I investigate is visceral rawness. By not naming the context, but by relying on semiotics, Shakespeare makes alarmingly murky yet highly recognizable the system of abuse he stages and places the burden of conception in the imagination of the audience.

Gloucester's blinding in *King Lear*

Beards and hair removal, a chair, physical restraint, practitioners and apprentice figures, and double enucleation (two eye extractions) confront

the audience of III.vii, *King Lear* in the space of 106/97 lines (quarto (1608)/ Folio (1623)).[15] The dramaturgy of III.vii intensifies Gloucester's isolation on stage and amplifies the horror of the scene. Gloucester is victim of ruthless characters, but also of dangerously compounded and unchecked barbery and surgery procedures, the literal and symbolic implications of which conflate on stage. Unlike a reading of sacrificial violence, which David Anderson has advocated, this section examines the ritual effects, to which Anderson is drawn, of III.vii – and their interaction with the play at large – as perverted urban processes, shifting the context from the sphere of martyrdom. Torture is evoked through Edmund's vile trick, a parody of the scenes explored in the previous chapter when the prankster sets up a hoax under the cover of barbery. The scene's savagery is notorious and, as R. A. Foakes points out, was cut from most Victorian productions or was carried out offstage, contributing to the argument of my previous chapter that surgical events are not routinely stomached as visible activities.[16] III.vii *King Lear* and much of the substance of the subplot was influenced by the narration in Book 2, Chapter 10 of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) when the once Prince of Paphlagonia explains how his bastard son, Plexirhus, blinded him before usurping the kingdom.[17] Shakespeare, never a playwright who would blithely follow a single (so-called) 'source', not only stages the narrated event, but gives it a context visible to early moderns: something that, because of its induced intimacy and underlying familiarity, could rub against the common bone.[18]

The main events of III.vii begin with hair-plucking and degenerate to eye-plucking. References to 'pluck', either in accord with eyes or beards, occur three times in the scene (lines 5, 36, 56), while modern editions commonly include the stage direction '[*Regan plucks his beard*]' (s.d. III.vii.34), which is taken from Samuel Johnson. Practitioners are at work: Regan, the barber figure, pulls at Gloucester's beard, and Cornwall, the diabolical surgeon (a dangerous oculist), amputates healthy organs. Barbery and surgery contexts double up in production: Regan and Cornwall are collusory, the chair is a location for both barber and surgeon subjects, and the scene's focus on Gloucester's eyes draw together the barbery and surgery threads. This simultaneity of signs is III.vii's theatrical strength, but also its complexity, and demands detailed investigation.

III.vii's early dynamics, interfaces, and conversations have repercussions in the ensuing action.[19] The scene begins without Gloucester, although he is not entirely absent: he is discussed by characters on stage, and named twice when Cornwall commands servants to find him (III.vii.3, III.vii.23). Gloucester is firmly the subject matter in the scene, the candidate for its operation. Cornwall and Regan establish a workspace in which they will interrogate and perform horrific acts – as in the barber sequences I examined in Chapter 2, there is preparation to play. They allude to hanging and plucking and, most ominously, to exploits that are unnamed: Cornwall's 'Leave him to my displeasure' (III.vii.6) is threateningly ambiguous. Goneril

plants the idea, 'Pluck out his eyes' (III.vii.5) in the beginning of the scene. Cornwall takes up the theme of repressed sight, warning, 'the revenges [they] are bound to take … are not fit for [Edmund's] beholding' (III.vii.7–9). Gloucester enters as a stranger to the space (like characters in the plays I discussed in the last chapter who do not understand the context in which they are placed) which has been configured as an abusive arena in his absence. Moreover, Cornwall's repeated orders anticipate the scene's thorny interactions between masters and assistants, or practitioners and apprentices: the scene dramatizes a battle of instructions.[20] If instructions are followed, servants 'Bind fast [Gloucester's] corky arms' (III.vii.29) and depictions of binding in the scene shift: Cornwall's metaphoric reference to actions they are 'bound to take' (echoed in 'we are bound to the like' (III.vii.10)), transposes to the physical reality of an inhibited body.

Customers often found themselves restrained in a barber's shop if they needed a tooth pulled. III.vii is not without reference to dangerous teeth that would be better extracted: Regan's 'boarish fangs' (III.vii.57). More generally, early moderns were familiar with scenarios in which a sense of threat is engendered by a barber who restrains his subject. One of George Peele's stories in *Merrie Conceited Jests* (1627) relates Peele's punishment by a Gentleman he tried to dupe: the Gentleman's men 'binde *George* hand and foot in a Chayre', where, against his will, a barber shaves him. Peele acknowledges how familiar this image of chastisement in a barbery setting is to him and his reader: 'a folly it was for [Peele] to aske what they meant by it', referring both to his understanding of the action and of the reason for it.[21] In *Fancies Chaste and Noble* John Ford parodies the theme of a barber's authority in a shop and customers' restriction. The barber Secco means to punish Spandone for insinuating that his new wife has cuckolded him with Nitido. In the chair, Spadone gradually feels himself becoming trapped: 'set me at liberty as soone as thou canst', he demands.[22]

Gloucester's restrained position on stage also suggests a surgical context. To modern audiences who are familiar with images of sedated patients, physical restraint appears distinctly non-medical; but to a contemporary audience, tying down a subject, even 'hard hard' (III.vii.32), as Regan instructs, was a course of practical action which controlled a candidate for operation. There is no anaesthetic here.[23] Early modern medical tracts explain procedures. François Tolet illustrates his methodology in lithotomy (one of the most unpleasant and dangerous operations of the period) which shows the necessary preparations of a surgeon and his assistants to ensure that a patient could not lash out. Tolet concludes: 'this posture is somewhat terrible to the Patient'.[24]

Surgical processes were simpler if patients were tied into or supported by a piece of furniture. Tolet explains that ideally a patient 'is set upon the Chair' for an operation.[25] John Evelyn refers to a 'high Chaire' into which surgeons

'bound' patients' 'armes & thighs' for stone removal.[26] For resetting fractured bones, Florentine Horatius Morus parenthetically notes, 'the patient being set in a chaire'.[27] In the inventories taken of several surgeons of the later seventeenth century, furniture listed for the practitioners' workspace regularly includes a chair.[28] Chairs were essential equipment for any surgical work on or near eyes. Ambroise Paré, instructs that a candidate for cataract removal 'shall be placed in a strait chaire'.[29] Dutch surgeon Paul Barbette similarly stipulates, 'set the Patient in a Chair' for cataract treatment.[30] Jacques Guillemeau directs, 'For the better perfecting of this woorke [on a weeping eye], let the diseased partie be set … in a chaire'.[31] Guillemeau also suggests a slightly different positioning of surgeon and patient for tumour removal near the eye: 'The patient shall bee so placed, that he may laye his heade uppon the Chirurgians knees sitting in a chayre'.[32] The horrific episode in III.vii, where eyes are the target, occurs in a chair. No stage direction specifies a chair, but unless lines are cut, the scene does not make sense without one. Cornwall demands, 'To this chair bind [Gloucester]' (III.vii.34) (the demonstrative pronoun indicates the physical reality of the chair) and later instructs, 'Fellows, hold the chair' (III.vii.66). The chair is vital. Like any individual, Gloucester (as victim-patient) needs to be stabilized so that the practitioner (Regan pulling hairs and Cornwall plucking eyes) can perform. In this way, Alan Dessen's reading of the dichotomy between fictional and theatrical signs is clarifying.[33] Editors, including Foakes, frequently note that Gloucester's 'I am tied to the stake' (III.vii.53) evokes bearbaiting scenes.[34] The stake is a fictional 'extra'; the chair (and therefore its accompanying surgical context) is theatrical.

Sofer discusses the Prague School of Thought, which underlines the self-consciousness of any object on stage, explaining, 'Simply by being placed on stage, a chair acquires an invisible set of quotation marks and becomes the sign "chair" … Any stage chair is thus doubly abstracted from a real chair: first, as representative of the class of chairs' (here, the type belonging to a barber or surgeon) 'and second, as a sign of the material chair's abstract connotations', as a place which denotes rest, confinement, sleep, power etc (here symbolizing restriction).[35] In *Arcadia* the old man explains how Plexirhus 'threw [him] out of [his] seat, and put out [his] eies'.[36] Shakespeare inverts the image, making the metonymic 'seat' of the Prince of Paphlagonia a physical object: not a throne but a site of powerlessness. The chair in *King Lear* does not have to be physically differentiated from other chairs for its representativeness to be apparent, although this is possible. It is, however, certainly distinct from a bench.[37] Foakes is dismissive of props in *King Lear*, skipping over the chair as a 'commonplace' property and failing to register that theatre commonly makes theatrically-rich its 'common' objects.[38] But the very commonness of the prop (a wardrobe staple) underlines the effect which I am exploring by which ordinary, familiar objects (or contexts) are

endowed with nightmarish qualities by just a little tweaking. On stage the chair is never necessarily a humble or standardized piece of background furniture. In *Devil's Charter*, an extraordinary chair, referred to as a 'curious snare … never yet devis'd', is used by Lucretia on her husband.[39] Ronald McKerrow views the 'authorship of [Lucretia's] murder of Gismond' as the 'invention of the author of the play' and not from other sources, which fits with this chapter's interest in the theatrical possibility for the chair.[40] Restrained in this chair, which has the capacity to 'graspe [a subject's] armes' (C1v) – ultimately, Lucretia has to '*unbindeth*' (s.d. C3r) her victim – Gismond is forced to sign a paper which clears his wife's name and then Lucretia stabs him to death. Although the chair has a stage history its specific role in a performance of *King Lear*, as in other plays, is particular.

In production, this chair is either brought on or is already present in the discovery-space. Andrew Gurr explains that 'The relative frequency with which properties were discovered for display rather than brought on is hard to tell, because the stage directions are ambiguous'; he adds that chairs and tables 'were revealed in the discovery-space … but were equally often carried on'.[41] In *Devil's Charter*, Lucretia enters '*bringing in a chaire, which she planteth upon the Stage*' (s.d. C1r) and, at the end of the scene, '*con*[v]*aieth away the chaire*' (s.d. C3r). If, on the other hand, the actors make use of a discovery space at this moment in *King Lear*, then Cornwall's actions would replicate a practitioners' relocation to a 'more private chamber' (II.iii.16) such as we found in *Burning Pestle* and the subplot in *Quiet Life*: rough surgical practice is conducted in an obscure workspace. 'Shakespeare's open platform stage has no technical means to distinguish between vast outdoor spaces and crammed interiors, but that does not mean the play is not able to suggest this crucial opposition', argues Andreas Höfele (although he somewhat contradicts his reading of Gloucester's punishment, which, he underlines, is an indoor incident), 'profit[ing] from the raw savagery of baiting', which is an open event.[42] If the chair is disclosed, it makes sense of Cornwall's elusive comments in the scene's opening, which suggest he has a course of action in mind and equipment set up: the chair is in readiness.

Several stage directions in early modern drama mention a chair which authorizes a medical context. Alan Dessen and Leslie Thomson note that 'the portable *chair* carried by the arms or on poles is the most widely used signal that a figure is sick/wounded/dying', creating a sub-category of 'chair': 'sick' chair.[43] (Lear's entry in a sick chair in IV.vii (Folio only) is discussed later in this section.) Benivemus calls for 'A chaire' for Strozza who has an arrow in his side in George Chapman's *Gentleman Usher*; Strozza worries that the Doctor will perform on him a live anatomization in this chair.[44] In IV.iii of Philip Massinger's *Emperor of the East* 'Paulinus [is] *brought in a chaire*' with 'Chirurgian'. This surgeon has already practised his 'art' on Paulinus 'to stoppe/The violent course of [his] fit'.[45] Maimed Cassio, re-enters '*in a chair*' (*Othello*, s.d. V.ii.279). Earlier in *Othello*, when Cassio is first injured, Iago

calls four times for a/the 'chair' (V.i.82, 96, 97) which will transport Cassio to 'the general's surgeon' (V.i.99).[46] Wife enters in Middleton's *A Yorkshire Tragedy* '*brought in a chair*' (s.d. 8:4) having been attended to by a surgeon after her husband's violent assault. In a Cambridge entertainment the title character, Aristippus, is treated by Medico.[47] Medico instructs Simplicius, 'bring [Aristippus] out in his Chaire' so that he can treat him; and later in stage directions '*three Schollers*' enter '*bringing fourth Aristippus in his Chayre*'.[48] Early moderns recognized a chair as a method of transport to the surgeon (their stretcher equivalent), a location for treatment itself, and also a seat for recovery.[49] Gloucester's situation in a chair cues, to contemporary audiences, particular associative contexts.

The chair is also a definitive sign of barbery: authors reference the barber's chair abundantly in early modern literature. Unlike a chair that is associated with surgery, a 'barber's chair' is an exclusively modified noun. (Sometimes it is called 'a trimme chayre', as in Richard Edwards, *Damon and Pithias* (1571), Fiiiir.) This chair is quintessential to the barber's trade and is emblematic of barbers' shops. Johann Comenius's annotated barber's shop focalizes the client in his chair (see *Figure 1.1*), as does sixteenth-century Swiss artist Jost Amman's woodcut of The Barber (undated), and in seventeenth-century paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists who took up the barber-shop subject the barber's chair is ubiquitous; more recently, Norman Rockwell's 'Shuffleton's Barbershop' (1950) and the cover photograph for *Barbershops* (2005) show frayed, but imposing barbers' chairs.[50] In one of the epigrams Ben Jonson records in *A Description of Love*, the barber (*Tonsorlus*) is mocked 'For he must stand to Beggers while they sit'.[51] Charles Whyte, a barber in the sixteenth century, and also Warden to the Company, lists in his will 'three barbours chayres'.[52] Morose hopes that the customers' 'chairs' will 'be always empty' (III.v.79) for Cutbeard in *Epicoene*.[53] 'The Rimers New Trimming' makes three references to the chair in the barber's shop, around which the ballad's tale of pranks occur.[54] As I discussed in Chapter 2, the chair was also the butt of bawdy jokes: in *All's Well That Ends Well*, the clown refers to the 'Barbers chaire that fits all buttocks' (II.ii.16). The author establishes a metaphorical barbery context for his satirical pamphlet, *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1597), specifically referring to 'The Barbers Chaire' which, in the figurative context of the pamphlet, is a verbal and later textual site where he imagines he will trim back Nashe's verbosities.[55] In the opening dialogue of the pamphlet, Richard Lichfield pretends to welcome Nashe into his shop: 'Come, sit downe', he writes, 'Ile trim you my selfe. How now? what makes you sit downe so tenderly?', implying that sitting in the barber's chair is not the same as sitting in any ordinary chair.[56] In *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596) – to which Lichfield is responding – Nashe characterizes the barber's chair with these inflated remarks about clients: 'they are … elevated & erected … on thy barbed steed, *alias*, thy triumphant barbers Chaire', reminding us of the hobbyhorse in *Hoffman*.[57] In

Knight of the Burning Pestle, the Host's description of the fierce giant barber, Barbaroso, includes a reference to his 'enchanted chair' (III.243), entertaining the folkloric potential of the barber's chair.[58] The barber in *Quiet Life* refers simply to his 'chair of maintenance' (V.ii.338–9).

On stage, a chair is an essential prop for barber characters. One of the Barbers sent to poison Bernardo and Philippo in *Devil's Charter* invites, 'Wilt please your Lordship sit on this low chaire' (I2v). John Day pillages material from *Quiet Life* for a scenario in *Knave in Grain* in which the Barber thinks that the Mercer's Man needs treatment for a delicate problem (the Mercer's Man actually attends on financial business): inviting the Mercer's Man into his 'withdrawing Room', the Barber instructs, 'pray rest you in that chaire'.[59] A barber's chair is called for in *Fancies*: 'A Chaire, a Chaire, quick, quick', commands Secco, while his boy, Nitido, confirms, 'Here's a chaire, a chaire politique' (I4r). Secco's frantic call for a chair parodies alarm calls in emergency situations when a person needs a chair and surgical attention, as in *Othello*. The situation of the subject in a chair was instantly recognizable on stage, in the context of theatre semiotics, as a sign of barbery.

That Gloucester is tied up in a chair for questioning suggests that Shakespeare avoids common theatrical reification of trial scenes, a context we might be tempted to link with III.vii. Dessen explains:

> Certainly, the staging of court and trial scenes may have varied somewhat from theatre to theatre …, but the basic configuration probably remained roughly the same: a bar; a table; some distinctive seats and a placement for the judges; and … distinctive costumes.[60]

According to the evidence (the scene's language and limited stage directions) only one piece of furniture is needed in III.vii, and moreover, this is the wrong one for the character on trial, who usually stood at the bar surrounded by seated judges. Even in the mock trial of the preceding scene in quarto, which, as Höfele argues, 'proves remarkably resilient' as a trial scene, delusional judge Lear orchestrates the court-like configuration that Dessen observes is typical: 'Come, sit thou here, most learned justice;/Thou sapient sir, sit here' (III.vi.21–2, quarto only), 'thou, his yoke-fellow of equity,/ Bench by his side. You are o'the commission;/Sit you too' (III.vi.37–9, quarto only).[61] At the beginning of III.vii Cornwall suggests that we should expect another trial with the words, 'the traitor Gloucester' (III.vii.22), 'bring him before us' (III.vii.23) and 'the form of justice' (III.vii.25), but that 'form' never takes shape. In being removed from a court-like context – which III.vii is directly set against in quarto – the scenario of Gloucester's interrogation and blinding forces us to think of it in terms of another.[62] Another context worth exploring in conjunction with my reading of Gloucester's blinding, and later Lear's recovery, is exorcism, and its malpractice. Critics have long

regarded Samuel Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1604) as a source for *King Lear*.[63] The chair features heavily in Harsnett's text: indeed the process of exorcism is referred to as 'chaire-work', the chair is characterized as an 'Engine', into it persons are bound or tied 'with towells', and pins or needles are sometimes thrust into the exorcism subject's shoulders or legs while they are seated.[64] The subjects of exorcism, however, tend to be female in *Impostures*, and while the victims suffer trauma, they are rarely permanently maimed.

The activities on the body in the chair give the context. Once he is seated, Gloucester's beard is plucked. Again, we infer deeds from the dialogue; later editions tend to highlight this in supplementary stage direction. Barbers not only shaved and trimmed hair with razors and scissors, they also plucked hair with pincers or tweezers: '*Tweesers*', '*Twitchers*', and '*Mullets*' were all standard barbery equipment (see Chapter 1).[65] Randle Holme explains that barbers 'take away stragling hairs' when they tidy up a customer's beard.[66] In John Jones's *Adrasta*, the '*Devill Barber'* enters '*pulling forth Damasippus by the Beard*'.[67] Shakespeare ensures that beard plucking is significant because it interrupts Cornwall's sentence: 'Villain, thou shalt find –' (III.vii.34). Contrary to editors' stage directions, Cornwall could also pluck Gloucester's beard, causing aposiopesis by his own action: Gloucester's rebuke, ''tis most ignobly done/To pluck me by the beard' (III.vii.35–6) does not name a subject. Regan, who must pluck Gloucester's hairs before he calls her a 'Naughty lady' (III.vii.37), could simply follow suit. If so, it suggests a master-apprentice relationship between Cornwall and Regan. Regan sustains the focus on the beard by commenting on the hairs' colour: 'So white, and such a traitor?' (III.vii.37). Like a barber, Regan conducts her actions and maintains her focus 'exactly to a Hayre'.[68] Höfele dismisses her action as 'childish cruelty', 'hardly an appropriate penalty' and mere 'silliness', although he does acknowledge its suggestion of 'domestic violence'.[69] But Shakespeare makes beards and hair a focal point of III.vii; they are integrated into a system of chastisement whereby the barber's association with the 'reformation' of appearances transposes to his ability to reform conduct and morality. In an epigram by Samuel Rowlands the themes of castigation and hair removal are aligned: 'nittie Locks must suffer reformation'.[70] Greene/Lodge refer to barbers' encountering 'rebellious haires'.[71] Although these descriptions seem merely humorous, methods of control in early modernity were enacted through beard regulations (see Chapter 5). The servant channels his notion of retribution through the beard trope, threatening Regan, 'If you did wear a beard upon your chin,/I'd shake it on this quarrel' (III.vii.75–6): *his* impassioned threat cannot be read as 'silliness'. And earlier, Kent disputes with Oswald, 'Spare me my grey beard, you wagtail?' (II.ii.65), aligning manners of attack with the beard rather than any other part of the body. Before that, Kent calls Oswald a 'cullionly barber-monger' (II.ii.32). In *Comedy of Errors* Shakespeare parodies the barbery context for a depiction of punishment.

A Messenger describes how Antipholus and Dromio of Ephesus have attacked Dr Pinch; the Messenger says that they have:

> bound the doctor
> Whose beard they have singed off with brands of fire,
> And ever, as it blazed, they threw on him
> Great pails of puddled mire to quench the hair:
> My master preaches patience to him and the while
> His man with scissors nicks him like a fool (V.i.171–6)

(The muddy waste reminds us of Grimme's barbery experience in *Damon and Pithias*.)

Referring to Regan's beard plucking, Thomas Berger explains, 'With that act the scene grows small and personal'.[72] Berger does not investigate the semiotic potential of the action, but invites his readers to see that Regan's attention to Gloucester permits levels of acute intimacy. In 'New Trimming', the barber declares to his client, 'I must be familiar' (stanza 14, line 4). Similarly in Dekker's *Gull's Horn-Book*: 'let the drawers be as familiar with you as your Barber'.[73] But Gloucester finds Regan's actions too familiar and dangerously exposing; he deems her a 'Naughty lady' (III.vii.37) conjecturing that hairs have been 'ravish[ed] from [his] chin' (III.vii.38), and drawing on the lascivious association of the barber's chair. The barbery act is more threatening than a tidy-up of whiskers. Shakespeare construes as irregular and rough Regan's hair-plucking practice (we assume she pulls on Gloucester's beard with bare hands and not with tools). Moreover, Gloucester's allusion to 'ruffle' (III.vii.41) makes the beard metonymic of Gloucester's whole body, which is entirely shaken by this stage. His defence relies on a homophonic pun: 'These hairs … /Will quicken and accuse thee' (III.vii.38–9). Early moderns regarded beards as signs of the masculine generative faculty.[74] In John Lyly's *Midas*, Motto refers to 'the breeding of a beard' (III.ii.70), Middleton describes 'Young beards … pullulate[ing] and multiply[ing] like a willow' (*Owl's Almanac*, 2044–2045), and in *Troilus and Cressida*, Helen jokes about Troilus's beard by asking which one of the sons (represented by the hairs of the beard) is Paris (see I.ii.134–62).[75] Gloucester imagines that his 'heirs' will revenge him. Tellingly, in his description, Berger uses oxymoronic 'grows small'. This seems apt: the scene swells in implication, but its focus tightens as it represents a concentrated, personal, body-focused relationship between practitioner and subject.

The twenty-five lines that follow Gloucester's barbering are an interrogation by Cornwall and Regan. They want confirmation of information: 'what letters had you late from France?' (II.vii.42), 'Where has thou sent the King?' (III.vii.49), 'Wherefore to Dover?'(III.vii.51, 52, 54 (Folio)). Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern discuss how 'physical torture is matched by verbal torture'

in this scene.[76] In the context of the scene, Regan and Cornwall demand a confession through cross-examination; in the context of the barber-surgery semiotic, demonic barbering comes with a ravenous appetite for news.

Violent surgery on Gloucester is added to inappropriate barbery: Shakespeare shrouds the actions of uncomfortable hair-plucking in the scene with crude, forced amputation. Gloucester's confession causes Cornwall to wrench out one of the old man's eyes, and the other ten lines later. This practitioner also gets personal, departing from his use of the royal 'we' and establishing his private agency with 'I'll set my foot' (III.vii.67). Cornwall does not need surgical tools for the surgical context to resonate, although a director's decision to give him implements is possible given the textual substance. Dessen describes a production of *King Lear* at the Stratford Festival Canada (1972): 'the blinding scene was drawn out interminably while Cornwall stripped down to a leather tunic and then chose his gouging tool from a large rack of gleaming instruments that had been wheeled onto the stage'.[77] In IV.i of *King John* Hubert prepares 'hot irons' (IV.i.1, 39, 59) with which to gouge out Arthur's eyes. Although Arthur persuades Hubert to release him, this scene has several connections with III.vii *King Lear* and shows Shakespeare's early dramaturgical conception of the scenario. Describing blindness later in the play, Edmund refers to 'our impressed lances in our eyes' (V.iii.51): his suggestion of eye-assault involves an implement and potentially reflects on the method by which Cornwall extracts Gloucester's eyes.[78] Directors and actors today debate how Cornwall removes Gloucester's eyes. For instance, does Cornwall actually 'set [his] foot' on Gloucester? Bill Alexander explains how they interpreted Cornwall's lines and actions in an RSC production:[79]

> Initially we wondered whether the line 'put the eye beneath my foot' might mean that Cornwall was going to put out Gloucester's eyes with his heels, but that would have been extremely difficult. The thumb is the obvious thing: he's gauging [*sic*] out the eye with his thumb and then stamping on it.[80]

Alexander's solution is practical, and recognizes that actually it is not that difficult to dislodge an eye. But the idea that a person should set their foot on a subject in order to remove organs is not obscure, nor out of a medical context. Surgery was (and is still) physically demanding on practitioners' bodies. Middleton/Webster parody this effect in *Quiet Life* when the barber imagines how he will punish Young Franklin for his tricks, evoking a surgical 'pinning down' only to turn the process into something ridiculous: 'Now, Fleshhook, use thy talon – set upon his right shoulder – thy sergeant Counterbuff at the left, grasp in his *jugulars* and then let me alone tickle his *diaphtagma*' (III.ii.1–4). Surgical tracts explain how surgeons should use their bodies in procedures: the surgeon 'shall hold the patients legges betweene

his knees', writes Paré of eye surgery, 'for by a little stirring', he continues, the patient 'may lose his sight for ever'.[81] Ironically, Cornwall demands that his servants stabilize the chair and sets his foot for the purpose of expunging Gloucester's sight.

To gruesome-surgeon Cornwall, Gloucester's eyes are malignant, tumour-like lumps on his body that have rendered Gloucester's senses and body diseased, and have precipitated treacherous activity. Lisa Silverman explores the relationship between the surgeon and the judge whose 'healing work must be done mercilessly': 'The criminal is an infection of the social body. Mercy for a decayed limb can only imperil the whole', hence in *King Lear* Cornwall makes a judgement, 'Lest it see more [mischief], prevent it. Out, vile jelly' (III.vii.82).[82] When the Governor of Cyprus in Chapman's *Widow's Tears* imagines that he will 'cut of all perisht members' of the city (meaning all that is corrupt), Tharsalius quips, 'Thats the Surgeons office'.[83] Höfele suggests that Cornwall's actions are the realization of what Lear hopes to conduct on Regan: an exploratory anatomization or vivisection.[84] But Cornwall's attack is not exploratory. Gloucester's corrupt parts have been identified: his eyes are both 'vile jell[ies]' (III.vii.81), not naturally anatomical, but sarcomic. Perversely, in early modern surgery, 'gellyes' were usually 'nourishing medicines'.[85] The eye-as-jelly also reminds us of foodstuffs, and the delectably gory implied recyclability of the excrements associated with barbers and surgeons: wens, wax, urine, hair, blood. Moreover, of the 'five things [that] are proper to the dutie of a Chirurgian' according to Paré, the first is 'To take away that which is superfluous'. Paré's examples of this include matter around or in the eye, such as 'haires of the eye-lid', 'the web, possessing all the *Adnata* and part of the *Cornea*', 'parts of the *uvula* or haires that grow on the eye-lids' and 'Cataracts'. Ironically, of the surgeon's duties in resetting body parts (that are out of their natural place), one of four basic examples is, 'the eye hanging out of its circle, or proper place'.[86] Cornwall's surgical acts and statements are perverted because he reverses customary medical procedure. In Dekker/Rowley's *Noble Soldier* Carle tries to warn the King of Spain against his rash decision, explaining that, 'like a bad Surgeon,/Labouring to plucke out from your eye a moate,/You thrust the eye cleane out'.[87]

The damage Cornwall commits on Gloucester is not only an indication of surgical aberration, but is another piece of the barbery sign system. In a barber's shop, a customer's eyes are a point of vulnerability because the soaps which barbers lather on their clients' faces sting. Barber figures in comedies/satires are able to play tricks because of a customer's need to close their eyes. In 'New Trimming', the barber secretly varnishes the rhymster's face, having instructed, 'keepe close your eyes/For this Ball will prove somewhat tart/and twill disquiet you much to feele them smart' (stanza 12, lines 2–4). When barbering Spadone in *Fancies* Secco warns that the 'composition of this ball … will search and smart shrewdly, if you keep not the

shop-windowes of your head close' (I4v). The Host refers to barbery practice in *Burning Pestle* which 'makes [clients] wink' (III.246) and indeed in stage directions one of the knights leaving Barbaroso's dreadful cave' (III.361) does so '*winking*' (s.d. III.366). The narrator in Barnabe Rich's *Greenes Newes* (1593) describes how an Officer tries to arrest Velvet breaches in a barber's shop: realizing that the officer is waiting to apprehend him, Velvet Breeches, 'suddaynelie … threwe all the water so directly in [the officer's] face, that the Sope getting into [his] eyes, did so smart … that [he] was not able to holde them open … [and] stoode starke blinde for the tyme, wyping and rubbing … [his] eyes'.[88] In Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, Mulligrub, whose face is left lathered on stage calls out, 'Why, Andrew, I shall be blind with winking' (II.iii.81).[89] Earlier, Cocledemoy tells Mulligrub, 'Shut your eyes close; wink! Sure, sir, this ball will make you smart' (II.iii.67–8), puts a coxcomb on his head and steals his purse. Similarly in V.v *1 Promos and Cassandra*, Rosko the barber instructs old Grimball the barber 'your eyes harde you must close' as he rinses his face with perfumed water, repeating, 'Winke hard *Grimball'*; meanwhile stage directions dictate that Roske's partner in crime, Rowke, '*cuttes Grimbals purse*'.[90] In Act four of Middleton's *The Widow* Latrocinio sets up an irregular medical practice (complete with '*a Banner of Cures and Diseases*', s.d. IV.ii.1). There, he and Occulto (aptly named) wantonly treat the sore eyes and sore teeth of Brandino and pinch his purses while they do so: the eye-cups which Latrocino applies temporarily blind the old Justice and at first they gouge out the wrong tooth. As in *King Lear*, the barber-surgery frame of the scene is conceptual rather than explicit: the activities in the scene centre on tooth-drawing, eye-winking, and cozenage; Latrocino comments 'hang him that has but one way to his trade' (G2r), making a mock defence of conflated practice; and Occulto has some remembrance that he 'was bound Prentice to a Barber once' (H2r).

Later in *King Lear*, Lear comments to Gloucester, 'No eyes in your head, nor no money in your purse?' (IV.vi.141–2), correlating Gloucester's maltreatment with loss of money.[91] In Chapter 5 I investigate how receptacles (basins and purses) associated with the barber's shop have an economic, spatial, and dialogic relationship. Margreta de Grazia highlights that 'From the first to the last, the play stigmatizes [Gloucester] as the indiscriminate dispenser of both economic and sexual purses, coin and seed'.[92] Most depictions of barbery economics rely on jokes about emptying customers' purses, allying barbers' work with acts of cozenage as well as spilt seed. In *Like Will to Like*, Cutbert (which, as I suggested in the Introduction, gave the name 'Cutbeard') Cutpurse carries a '*whetstone*' and declares, 'I cut away his purse clenly': his tools and dexterity can double up with those of the barber.[93] In *King Lear* that act of cozenage is the pulling out of eyes rather than the pulling away of a purse. Blinding Gloucester in III.vii is the ultimate authentication of the more mundane risk a customer faces when he is seated in the barber's chair: a client's eyes might be stung by the suds, their purse might

be pinched while they have their eyes shut. In *King Lear*, these petty offences are doubled-up and transformed into a heinous crime.

An alternative reading of the semiotics of Gloucester's blinding still brings us back 'full circle' to the subject of this book. de Grazia argues that 'Edgar retroactively makes the loss of his father's eyes the price of his adultery (and not, as Cornwall charges, of his treason)', drawing on Edgar's observation that 'The dark and vicious place where [Edmund] he got/Cost him his eyes' (V.iii.170–1). Lear's rambling diatribe against brothels and indiscreet sexual activity, and, more generally, the cultural connection between lust and eyes sets a context. Staines explains that in 'Shakespeare's England, blinding had some legendary associations with punishments for adultery and other sexual crimes'.[94] For de Grazia, the removal of Gloucester's eyes is a sign of castration: '"jelly" [is] a synonym for sperm'.[95] Much of the surgical activity in which barbers persisted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was treatment for venereal disease, especially the removal of the external marks from the pox and damaged members, as in *Burning Pestle* and *Quiet Life*. Summoned into the barber's backroom, Ralph is asked to take out his 'yard' (*Quiet Life*, II.iv.40) – to Ralph, his tailor's measuring stick, to everyone else, his penis.[96] The barber is led to believe that Ralph's penis is 'endangered' (II.iv.15) or 'gangrened' (II.iv.17), and he observes, 'Better a member cut off than endanger the whole microcosm' (II.iv.32–3), encouraging Ralph to let him amputate.[97] Middleton parodies familiar lessons on adultery from the Sermon on the Mount:

> Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, That whatsoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast [it] from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not [that] thy whole body should be cast from hell. (*King James Bible*, Matthew 5.27–29)

Middleton makes equivalent eyes and sexual organs; Whetstone makes equivalent purses, penises, coin and sperm (*1 Promos and Cassandra*, Fiiv). If Edgar does change our understanding of Gloucester's punishment from the result of treachery to the result of sexual deviance, he does not do so at the expense of the context of barber-surgery that the scene evokes: indeed, he endorses it.

I have not yet emphasized much variation between quarto and Folio texts: my analysis of props, stipulated stage activities, and inferred theatrical direction in III.vii is relevant to both editions. However, the final nine lines of quarto, which are cut from Folio, provide additional evidence of the medical register conceived of in the scene. As unwilling apprentice figures, the servants' complicity (forced or otherwise) in the undertakings of their gory pedagogue causes them to revolt. After Cornwall and Regan exit, the

servants also offer the scene, or more specifically, Gloucester's wound, some hope of healing. 2 Servant says, 'I'll fetch some flax and whites of eggs/To apply to [Gloucester's] bleeding face' (III.vii.105–6). Countless surgeons', physicians', and domestic works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stipulate egg whites in prescriptions for treating wounds, sores, or broken skin: it was a medicinal staple. Indeed, it was the surgeon's own task to apply these remedies during an operation. In the university tragedy, *Andronicus* (c. 1642–1643), attributed to Thomas Fuller, Lapardas is bound to a scaffold while Spiculator bores out his eyes. It is the surgeon who '*claps plaisters on'* his mangled face.[98]

David Hargreaves, who took the role of Gloucester, describes what an audience would see in Alexander's production:

> we're going to have a piece of sacking (Hessian or flax) covered in something that looks like egg whites and congealed blood, which will give an almost clownish appearance of spectacles. There'll be blood from capsules running down into the beard too.[99]

Not only does this design for Gloucester's eye-mask draw together themes of physical violence and remedy, of sight and blindness, but, in that it is a production team's conscious decision to make the beard part of the fabric of Gloucester's wounded face, it also encourages audiences to see the connection between a bedraggled, bloody beard and systems of abuse in the play. In a parodic episode in *Adrasta*, a '*Devill Barber*' threatens to 'dissect' (I1r-I2r) Damasippus's beard.[100] In Folio, the conversation between the servants is cut, which gives a different tone to the end of the scene: with no remedial assistance for Gloucester, hazardous barber-surgery is not superseded by cure. This is part of a consistent tone in the Folio which more acutely than quarto depicts a world without compassion or succour.[101]

The barber-surgery reading of III.vii elucidates the impact of a later scene in the play. Only one other reference to a chair occurs in *King Lear* (Folio only): '*Enter* Lear, *in a chair carried by servants*' (s.d. IV.vii.20).[102] ('When Sapless age and weak unable limbs/Should bring thy father to his drooping chair' (*Henry VI Part 1*, IV.v.4–5).) Perhaps this chair doubles up with III. vii's prop in performance. Sofer asserts, 'By definition, a prop is an object that goes on a journey; hence props trace spatial trajectories and create temporal narrative as they track through a given performance'.[103] But they can also track through an aesthetic narrative. If this is the same chair, or, at least, if the chair is reminiscent of Gloucester's, the effects are striking as Shakespeare recycles in IV.vii the metaphors, allusions, contexts, and kinetic patterns with which this chapter is concerned.[104] The practitioner figures (Cordelia, Kent, and Gentleman[105]) and Lear in this later scene, as in III.vii, are emblematic, rather than literal. Here, Shakespeare reconfigures the sense of barber-surgery as nonhazardous but Lear's reaction to his predicament

retrospectively instructs us how to read and understand the signs of III.vii: he implicitly sees the potential threat of a scenario in which, in a chair, the subject is unable much to move.

In IV.vii, Lear's chair is supposed to be a therapeutic site: themes of 'restoration' (IV.vii.26) and 'Repair' (IV.vii.28) replace the brutality previously associated with it. Cordelia tries to administer 'medicine' (IV.vii.27) – her kiss – which will mend 'those violent harms' (IV.vii.28) made on her father. In the previous scene, at the height of his distress, Lear exclaims, 'Let me have surgeons,/I am cut to the brains' (IV.vi.188–9), suggesting that Cordelia's later attendance on his wounded head follows in a necessary surgical vein. As in III.vii, the subject of the medical context is discussed (and diagnosed) in advance of his entry, which supports Lear's condition as patient. Lear's disorientation in the space is plain: 'I am mainly ignorant/ What place this is' (IV.vii.65–6), reminding us of Gloucester's disorientation in the abusive arena of III.vii. For a moment, Cordelia focuses on Lear's bearded face by pointing to 'these white flakes' (IV.vii.30). Although he is not physically tied down by servants, Lear believes he is 'bound' (IV.vii.46). In the text, this sense of being bound is metaphorical: Lear thinks that he is 'Upon a wheel of fire' (IV.vii.47). However, in Alexander's production (2004), Corin Redgrave as Lear was in a strait jacket at this moment. Lear's reference to a 'pinprick' (IV.vii.56) is an allusion to pierced flesh that senses acutely all abuse upon it. Foakes notes that 'let's see – /I feel this pinprick' (IV.vii.55–6) indicates 'stage business' which requires a prop; that Lear chooses to lance his skin with an implement fits in the barber-surgery frame. Pleading, 'Do not abuse me' (IV.vii.77), and echoing Cordelia's allusion to 'his abused nature' (IV.vii.15), Lear senses his predicament. His entry in the chair retells a narrative. Whereas in III.vii characters enucleated Gloucester, IV.vii makes Lear's eye-opening part of the activity: 'He wakes' (IV.vii.42). Shakespeare presents the audience of IV.vii *King Lear* with a recapitulation of III.vii: a chair, a beard, physical inertia, practitioners and assistants, vulnerable eyes, and a pricked body. The scene throbs with the barber-surgery semiotics and we, like Lear, remain unsettled. The chair implicitly becomes a site of trauma, inviting us to conceive the wounds of the mind (Lear's psychological torture and implied exorcism) fusing with physical injury (Gloucester's intense bodily hurt), realized in Edmund Bond's *Lear*.[106] Staines explains that 'the tragedies of the character of Lear … and of the whole play of *Lear* are inseparable from the representation and experience of physical pain'.[107] By evoking the barber-surgery context through the chair, Lear enacts Gloucester's trauma and within that memory implants his own, doubling the males' impotency in the play.

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John Ford's works have alerted scholars to his Shakespearean influence, particularly the influence of *Romeo and Juliet* on *'Tis Pity She's A Whore*.

Whether Ford is rewriting, pastiching, parodying, or producing an early form of literary criticism is unclear, as is the scale of Shakespeare's influence. But how Ford evidently digests scenes from Shakespeare's *King Lear* underpins this chapter's reading of the chair. In *Lover's Melancholy*, Ford echoes the scenario between an ailing father and nurse-like daughter of IV.vii *King Lear*.[108] Meleander is sick in mind after he has been stripped of his nobility for protecting his daughter, Eroclea, from the advances of the ruler of Cyprus. His other daughter, Cleophila, '*discover*[s]' him '*in a chaire sleeping*'. But unlike the *King Lear* scenes, in which I inferred a barber-surgery semiotic, in Ford's scene, both practices are named specifically and the chair is contextualized directly. Trollio offers, 'Lady Mistris, shall I fetch a Barbour to steale away [Meleander's] rough beard, whiles he sleepes in's naps? He never lookes in a glasse, and tis high time on conscience for him to bee trimd, has not been under the Shavers hand almost these foure yeeres'. And later, Meleander refers to 'the Surgeon' who may 'Have not been very skilfull to let all [blood] out'. Stirring, the old father complains, 'I know yee both. 'las, why d'ee use me thus!', interpreting his predicament in a chair intertextually as well as contextually, and he asks whether he is 'starke mad'. Moreover, Trollio twice directs attention to Meleander's eyes, which he notes, are 'open' and 'rowle'. Ford gives the official contextual demarcations by naming barbers and surgeons in this sequence and, in doing so, authorizes this chapter's reading of the signs in Shakespeare.

The basin and bloodletting in *Titus Andronicus*

Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* is about signs: about making, reading and seeing them. Audiences and readers of the play as well as the characters within it are interpreters of tokens, gestures, symbols, and, in quarto versions, 'scrowle[s]'.[109] In the following paragraphs I unravel one sign system in which Shakespeare contextualizes some of the horrific events of the play and account for some of its dark comedy, which critics and audiences alike have sensed but not wholly puzzled out. I work backwards through *Titus* and show how later props, actions, utterances, and tableaux relate and are in direct response to the language and events of earlier scenes.

In III.vii *King Lear* a chair enables barbery and surgery contexts to combine; in *Titus* it is a basin, which Lavinia carries on stage in V.ii. The semiotics of barbery and surgery in *Titus* are dispersed throughout the play, and the dramaturgy of the barber-surgery framework relies on cumulative allusion to and representation of amputation, trimming, washing, cutting, phlebotomy, and medicinal cannibalism. If we examine V.ii in isolation, the basin aligns itself with surgery semiotics; if we examine V.ii in relation to V.i and II.ii, the basin completes a barbery sign-system in *Titus*. Because their actions are highly abusive, the practitioner figures in the play labour both within and against the barber-surgery framework. Again, the scenes I examine in

Titus reflect the disastrous side of barber-surgery activities. Lavinia is victim both of physical abuse and satirical sport, of brutal barbery and sick surgery: Demetrius and Chiron trim and chop her. Titus's retribution for his daughter's persecution mirrors, *quid pro quo*, crimes committed against her; the barber-surgery frame holds in V.ii with Titus as surgeon and Lavinia as apprentice. I begin my *Titus* section, as I did the case study of *King Lear*, by discussing the practicalities and effects of tying up characters on stage.

When Tamora believes that her tricks of disguise have worked on Titus in V.ii, and that the time is ripe for more jests, she leaves her sons, Chiron and Demetrius, in Andronicus's household. Within a few lines Publius, Caius, and Valentine are busy binding the brothers. Ten lines are concerned with this event. Chiron and Demetrius's mouths are stopped for a practical reason, thematic homogeny, and theatrical effect: Titus makes his retributive speech without interruption, the play is riddled with powerful motifs of tongue-stopping, and audiences sense the anxiety of persons on stage who are prohibited from expressing themselves through utterance.[110] Despite the lineal focus on binding, we know little about the way in which the brothers were restrained in contemporary performance. With what are they bound? Are they tied to each other? Are they bound to a chair like Gloucester, or to another piece of furniture?[111] These questions prompt us to reconsider scholars' speculation about the presence of a moveable object in the scene: Tamora's chariot.[112] If, as Eugene Waith suggests, Tamora enters V.ii as Revenge in a chariot, another piece of furniture is available to the Andronici, and they could tie the Goth brothers into or on it.[113] The effect suits the play's interest in oscillating fortunes and upper hands: the chariot remains a seat of revenge, but the control over it shifts. Waith assumes that additional, mute characters draw Tamora's chariot on and off, but this seems uneconomic. Instead, Chiron and Demetrius, Tamora's 'ministers' (V.ii.60), could pull a chariot on and Tamora could leave on foot.[114] My suggestion challenges Jonathan Bate's and Frederick Kiefer's conclusion that because Chiron and Demetrius cannot drag a chariot off, they do not drag one on.[115] My point, too, is practical: as well as providing the Andronici with something solid on/in which to restrain the brothers, a chariot would allow characters to cart out the dead Goths at the end of V.ii. Moreover, this makes sense of Titus's earlier fantasy to 'be [the] waggoner' (V.ii.48) with a 'car [that] is loaden with [the] heads' (V.ii.53) of Rape and Murder. We know that felons' bodies in Shakespearean London were fetched by the Company beadle, transported in a coach and dissected at Barber-Surgeons Hall.[116] Moreover, the image of Tamora's chariot packed with her sons anticipates how her own belly will be packed with their flesh: the chariot is a doubly symbolic cavity, like the pit.

One fact governs how Chiron and Demetrius are positioned on stage, and suggests why an object to steady the characters would be helpful: the brothers are bound for fatal phlebotomy. Father and daughter's props

dictate events. '*Enter* Titus Andronicus *with a knife, and* Lavinia *with a basin*' (s.d. V.ii.165).[117] Titus will slit the brothers' throats and Lavinia will hold a blood-collecting basin beneath their necks. Access to the boys' throats is important because the handless Lavinia is unlikely to be agile with her prop. Lavinia is apprentice-like: her prop suggests her subordination to Titus. But her basin, carried ''tween her stumps' (V.ii.182), also determines the knife's signifying potential. Although Katherine Rowe does not discuss Lavinia's basin, she argues that Lavinia's powerful deployment of manual icons means that she is not simply Titus's passive opposite.[118] Ultimately the basin denies the possibility that Titus's murder is uncontextualized or without broader social comment. It is a receptacle for blood (Titus explains it 'receives … guilty blood' (V.ii.183)); so the knife is for bloodletting. If Titus were simply to slit the boys' throats, the event would be an uncomplicated execution. Collecting blood from a bleeding body was not just about stage practicality or logic. Early modern playwrights staged bloodbaths for gory effects (Julius Caesar's murder, for example in III.ii), but recent scholarship shows that blood was usually pre-spilt onto garments to create bloody effects.[119] By *Titus* V.ii, blood has already spouted and splattered freely on stage.[120] Shakespeare resists this repetition, producing a different atmosphere.

Simon Harward, a clergyman who was interested in the competence of surgeons, refers to 'the little basins' in which they compare the blood of their patients.[121] According to the proverb in the period, 'There is no difference of bloods in a basin'.[122] Of 'the Brasse Bason', John Woodall stipulates that a surgeon should have 'at least … one if not two'. However, Woodall explains that there is a difference between the types of utensils used to collect blood, suggesting that Harward's reference to 'little basins' shows his lack of the surgeon's technical language, which relates to the arguments I made in Chapter 1. The 'little basins' are porringers:

> German Surgeons doe ever let blood into a Bason, which I hold not good for the Surgeons Mate to imitate …, except he be of good judgement indeed to judge of the quantity: the blood porringers which are made for that purpose being full, hold just three ounces.[123]

Holme describes various seventeenth-century vessels for phlebotomy – including a *'Blood Porrenger*' to measure out specific quantities of blood.[124] In London, receptacles for bloodletting decorated shops to advertise the practice, although there were edicts for hygiene. The Company's Ordinances of 1566 stipulate:

> no p[er]sonne of the said mysterye exercysinge fleabothomye or bloudlettinge at any time hereafter shall sett his measures or vesselles w[i]th bloude out or within his shoppe windowe but to hange or set his measures or vesselles cleane one the out syde of the shoppe windowe.[125]

Lavinia's basin is emblematic of all blood-collecting vessels.[126] But the size of Lavinia's receptacle also regulates the audience's perception of Titus's bloodletting: a large basin implicitly suggests a lot of blood-letting by a non-professional, which is appropriate to this scene. Size, as I implied in the previous chapter, matters. Comparable to the basin prop is the saucer in the opening dumb show of *Devil's Charter* in which a devil-surgeon, equipped with '*a box of Lancets*' and a '*saucer*', extracts blood from Alexander's arm, whose sleeve is '*strippeth*[*ed*] *up*' (s.d. A2v). For the contract, the devil-surgeon only needs to let a little of Alexander's blood: the saucer's size reflects the peculiar intricacy of the bloodletting, which will not, in itself, kill Alexander. It is interesting that the editors of Middleton's *Phoenix* infer that a basin should be present on stage when Quieto phlebotomizes ('sluice[s] a vein' (15:306)) Tangle, the play's disgraced lawyer, who is bound: '[*Opens Tangle's vein over a basin*]' (s.d. 15:308), '[*Holds up basin to Phoenix*]' (s.d. 15:314). This purge is faux-medicinal to rid Tangle of his convoluted speech (blood 'outfrowns ink' (15:315)) and double standards. It will not, however, kill Tangle, although with blood 'burst[ing] out' (15:308) it is no surprise that he complains of being sick. This begs the question about the size of any receptacle that would have been used on stage in the scene.[127]

Lavinia is not a capable assistant and Titus is hardly a suitable practitioner: they have one hand between them.[128] Lavinia's apprentice role is an element of the dark satire in the play. Deformity was rife in London in the period.[129] An additional clause in the Company's Ordinances of 1605–6 (revised from 1566) indicates that physical disabilities of apprentices were a problem in London at the end of the sixteenth century:

> Item it is ordeyned that no p[er]son beinge a barbor or Surgeon by profession or Admitted to practise Surgery according to the statute w[i]thin the Lymitte before specified shall take any p[er]son to serve him as his Apprentice whoe is decrepit deformed or haveinge any uncleane or noisome disease Or beinge not sownde of his body.[130]

A decrepit or deformed apprentice could disturb, or be the cause of injury to a patient or client. Lavinia's deformation ensures that Titus's surgical operation is part of a wholly perverted medical system, which will frighten, damage, or kill subjects. Moreover, Titus is a subject of the early modern proverbial joke that 'The best surgeon is he that has been well hacked (slashed) himself'.[131] In reality, it was required of surgeons to have a 'stedfast hand, voyde of trimblying' and that he hath the use of the lefte hande, as well as of the ryghte'.[132]

While knives were a standard instrument for a surgeon (Woodall begins his list of 'The particulars of the Surgeon's Chest' with 'Incision knives' and 'Dismembering knives'[133]), they were not appropriate for phlebotomy,

which 'belongs to Surgery'.[134] The correct instrument was a lancet. Nicholas Gyer warns:

> There is newe kinde of instruments to let bloud withall nowe a daies: as the Rapier, Sword, and long Dagger; which bring the bloud letters sometime to the Gallowes, because they strike too deepe. These instruments are the Ruffians weapons … veyne[s] must be opened with a fine Launcet.[135]

Titus's knife is a 'Ruffians weapon', unspecific to the task, and his role as a blood-letter is deliberately coarse. Titus goes for the boys' throats. Phlebotomists commonly slit veins in the neck, but it was vital that in this procedure they used a fine lancet 'a launcer *cum pilo*, that is to saye, that hath a pyn over-thwart about the ende of the lau[n]cer, to kepe it for goying to depe in the [necke] veyne'.[136] Gail Kern Paster explains that phlebotomy 'was, at least in theory, a *controlled* opening and closing of the bodily container, a deliberate invitation to that body to bleed where, when, and for how long the phlebotomist and his patient chose'; she concludes, 'We cannot be surprised that phlebotomies often went disastrously wrong' and surgeons easily gain the reputation of being bloodthirsty.[137] In *Saffron-Walden*, Nashe satirizes and makes vulgar a Barber-Surgeon's legitimate training in blood-letting. Of Richard Lichfield's patients, Nashe orders, 'Phlebothomize them, sting them, tutch them Dick, tutch them, play the valiant man at *Armes* and let them bloud and spare not; the Lawe allowes thee to doe it'.[138] By repeating his instruction to 'tutch', Nashe debases the medical man's professional relationship with the body.[139] This reminds us too of Portia's refrain, 'The Law allows it', in *Merchant* when Shylock is hungry to cut, which temporarily gives sardonic permission and authority for wholly barbaric practice. While the effect of Lavinia's blood-collecting represents, in Gail Paster's terms, 'in theory' a controlled process, the lack of discipline in Titus's bloodletting characterizes the event. Titus falls into Harward's category of 'unskilfull Surgeons':

> There are many unskilfull Surgeons which doe thinke … that for the quantity of bloud, how much may be spared, they neede no other observation, but to let the bloud to runne … so long as they see it to be grosse and corrupt … If they take this course … they may utterly overthrow the strength of their patient.[140]

The Company's Court Minutes record dismissals of practitioners who did not conform to regulations. Thomas Gale warns how 'easely [a chirurgeon] shall fall into intollorable errours, especiallye in phlebotomye'.[141] And in the later seventeenth century, Richard Brome satirizes anxieties around blood-letting in *Sparagus Garden*. In II.iii, Mony-lacks, Brittleware, and Springe dupe Timothy Hoydens into spending huge sums of money on becoming a gentleman which, they claim, involves removing his 'foule ranke blood

of Bacon and Pease-porridge … to the last dram'. Timothy worries that he will 'bleed to death', but the confederates reassure him that an 'excellent Chyrurgeon' will be his charge, his 'blood shalbe taken out by degrees', and his 'Mother vaine shall not be prickt'.[142]

To Titus, Chiron and Demetrius's blood is 'guilty' (V.ii.183): the brothers are suitable candidates for phlebotomy because their blood is corrupt and corrupting. In this instance, phlebotomy serves physiological and ideological effect: for cure (bloodletting was the default treatment for imbalanced humours in the body, such as a flux of rheum, as well as for forms of *copia*) and, ironically, death, and for redemption.[143] Bate questions whether the bloodletting is 'a dark parody of the language of the holy eucharist' (FN to V.ii.197). In *Troilus and Cressida*, Paris explains that 'hot blood begets hot thoughts, and hot thoughts beget hot deeds, and hot deeds is love' (III.i.124–5). Demetrius refers to 'heat' (I.i.634) that overwhelms him and when the audience must imagine that Chiron and Demetrius are raping Lavinia offstage, Tamora refers to her 'spleenful sons' (II.ii.191). One of several reasons for opening 'these veines of the necke or throat', Gyer explains, was for 'griefs of the Splene' as well as for 'hot bloud'.[144] Titus draws from his patients the life-blood that gave them vigour to enact their heinous deeds: a choleric disposition in humoral terms is the result of excessive yellow bile produced by the spleen. As well as a punitive action, bloodletting here is also strangely curative. At his own (theatrical) execution Thomas More underplays his sentence, couching his demise as a cure for the state in terms of the rhetoric of phlebotomy: 'I come hither only to be let blood … My doctor here tells me it is good for the headache' (17.86–8).

This curative process in *Titus* is two-fold. First, the Goth brothers are purged. Second, Titus reveals that there is remedial potential of the boys' blood. Mythological Chiron, ironically known for justice and virtue, was a satyr or centaur, but also a specialist in herbs and the teacher of the ancient surgical guru, Asclepius.[145] For those who do not know their ancient creatures, the clue is in the name again, '*Chiron*', which embeds surgery's Greek prefix. Most significantly, ancient Chiron was known for using his blood as a salve. Shakespeare makes a joke of the role reversal of the surgeon figure at this moment and the implication that even a satyr known for righteousness is still, ultimately, a wilful beast. Titus's supposition is based on a kind of surgical knowledge: he transforms blood into a salutary substance, which he prescribes to cure Tamora's savage appetite. In order to do this, Titus becomes the dissector who prises apart cadavers. In V.ii, Tamora is the anticipatory patient and Titus concocts a recipe. He might 'play the cook' (V.ii.204), but Titus is a dreadful surgeon dabbling in clinical gastronomy when he declares:

> I will grind your bones to dust,
> And with your blood and it I'll make a paste,
> …
> And make two pasties of your shameful heads,

> And bid that strumpet, your unhallowed dam,
> Like to the earth swallow her own increase. (V.ii.186–7, 189–91)

Repeating:

> and when that they are dead
> Let me go grind their bones to powder small,
> And with this hateful liquor temper it,
> And in that paste let their vile heads be baked. (V.ii.197–200)

Surgeon and cook allusions mingle. The polysyndeton in Titus's speech is the cumulative effect of concocting recipes, but in this context also indicates a receipt. Louise Noble examines early modern commerce in pharmacopoeia, and finds clues about the practice of processing body parts (methods of 'curative cannibalism') in the annals of the Company.[146] Richard Sugg emphasizes that 'corpse medicine' was not a marginal enterprise in the early modern period, aligning it with Paracelsian influence on spiritual healing and demonstrating that educated support for medical cannibalism continued throughout the Restoration.[147] The Company regulated uses of mummia and bodily remnants from the dissection table.[148] Medical cannibalistic allusions to bodies and bellies are not uncommon in the period. In *Widow's Tears*, the Governor imagines how he will deal with corruption in Cyprus: 'If they bee poore they shall bee burnt to make sope ashes, or given to Surgeons Hall, to bee stampt to salve for the French mesells' (L2r).[149] Culinary and medical themes combine linguistically in Titus's lines: in its technical sense, 'temper' means 'to moisten (a substance, usually medicinal or culinary ingredients in a comminuted state) so as to form a paste'.[150] In Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, Bosolo characterizes the aging body of the Duchess as 'but a salvatory of green mummy', continuing, 'what's this flesh? A little crudded milk, fantastical puff-paste' (IV.ii.124–6). Carnal appetites are easily replaced with strange, gustatory ones, and being hungry for blood has rather more potential to be literal in this period.

In *Sea Voyage*, shipwrecked sailors become cannibalistic. The play satirizes a sea surgeon's gory hunger, knowledge of dissection, and central role in cannibalistic activities, making cannibalism a medical matter, although its relationship to medical cure is questionable, even by early modern standards (see Chapter 1). Franville asks the Surgeon whether he has kept 'the great Wen/[He] cutst from *Hugh* the saylers shoulder' (Aaaaa4v). He wants to eat the wart. Although he is referring to growths on horses, Gervase Markham characterizes the quality of a wen in the second book of his treatise which 'belongeth to Chirurgerie':

> A Wenne is a certaine bunch or kirnell upon the skinne, like a tumor or swelling; the inside whereof is sometimes hard like a gristell, and spongious like a skinne full of soft warts; and sometimes yellow like unto rusted bacon, with some white graines among.[151]

Markham's analogy of wens to 'rusted bacon' puts warts in the category of 'foodstuffs'; 'graines' are associated with cereals. Earlier in this chapter I noted Shakespeare's choice of 'jelly' for Gloucester's eye. When Aminta faints before the men in *Sea Voyage*, the Surgeon says, 'I think shee may be made good meat./But look we shall want Salt' (Bbbbb1r). Starving Morillat encourages, 'Wake her Surgeon, and cut her throate,/And then divide her, every man his share' (Bbbbb1r). So that 'shee'l eat the sweeter', the Surgeon explains, Aminta must have her 'humorous parts' 'suck[ed] out' (Bbbbb1r). Morillat and the Surgeon recognize that draining blood from a living, conscious body results in culinary excellence. The surgeon in *Sea Voyage* admits, 'I confesse an appetite' and the sequence echoes the way in which Titus deals with his subjects. In addition, Aminta is not simply good food that can alleviate the threat of famine, she is also a 'restoring meate' and her body represents a type of treatment as well as a banquet. Descriptions of food, cure, and dissection synthesize in *Duchess of Malfi* when Duke Ferdinand threatens his Doctor who has been unable to cure the Duke's incestuous infatuation. Ferdinand says he will 'stamp' the Doctor 'into a cullis' (V.ii.75–6), and orders, 'flay off his skin, to cover one of the/anatomies, this rogue hath set i'th' cold yonder, in/ Barber-Chirurgeons' Hall' (V.ii.76–8). A cullis is a broth used to nourish the sick.[152] Ferdinand imagines that the Doctor's dead body – rather than his (lack of) existing skills – would best serve as a cure and as a preservative.

At the heart of these allusions, the imagined or anticipated venue for dealing with gourmet bodies, is Barber-Surgeons' Hall, where dissections and lectures in anatomy took place. Here, belly-feeding activities are also blurred.[153] Before the dissection theatre was commissioned for the Company in 1636, cadavers were chopped up in the kitchen of the Hall. The Court Minutes take notice on 20th October 1631:

> of the lack of a private dissection Roome for anatomicall imployemente and that hitherto those bodies have beene agreate annoyance to the tables dresser boards and utensils in o[u]r upper kitchin by reason of the blood filth and entrails of those Anathomyes.[154]

This kitchen was evidently well used: in early modern London, the Barber-Surgeons' Hall was a place of anatomical and surgical learning, but also a social centre; the Company held annual feasts and let out the Hall for functions.[155] The observation made in the minutes in 1631 was driven by the Company's collective anxiety that the anatomies they dissected might end up on their dinner plates. In this way Barber-Surgeon's Hall, as a social hub as well as a venue of human dissection, is the civic equivalent of the domestic kitchen. Wendy Wall explores gruesome butchery on animals that sustains the household's gustatory appetites in *Staging Domesticity* and suggests the sheer proximity and association of death, flesh, blood, gore, bones, fat and entrails with rumbling bellies.[156]

But the corpse medicine is not the only cannibalistic impulse in *Titus*: the context of this cannibalism is also, of course, revenge. In Sugg's terms, this is also a form of 'exocannibalism': 'extreme aggression against one's enemy'.[157] Noble uses the term 'surgical barbarity' to explain irregular medical practice.[158] I now want to explore how barbery themes in *Titus* align themselves with surgical aberration and enhance the revenge motif. This context is more complex than a suggested doubling-up of poor surgical phlebotomy and illegal barbery bloodletting, although that link too is important.[159] Middleton's satiric comment in *Owl's Almanac* that *without* surgeons, 'letting of blood will be common' (2032–2033) amuses a readership that knows it is already common. (Attacks on the practice of bloodletting (and an increasingly vehement rejection of Galenic physiology and theory) occurred later in the seventeenth century.[160] William Harvey's discovery of blood circulation had little immediate effect on bloodletting practices based on Galenic theory, which were well established in the period.) But those barbers discovered practising surgery in early modern London were warned, fined, or dismissed by the Company. On 3rd July 1599, one 'Watson confessed before the Maisters that he used Flebotomey beinge not Surgeon', but, by implication, being a barber. And on 29th July 1600, the Court Minutes note that 'This daye \it is/ ordered that John Mowle shalbe warned to be before the M[aster]s the next Court for usinge surgery beinge but a barbor'.[161]

In *Titus*, the barbery context is composite, not centred on a particular scene or any one action. However, it is emblemized on stage by a single prop: Lavinia's basin. The basin is part of bloodletting equipment, but here it is also Lavinia's response to the barbery context, which characterizes her victimization.[162] The basin is also a shaving bowl. In the light of these barbery signs Titus's aim for Chiron and Demetrius's necks is telling: in the same way that I highlighted Gloucester's eyes as a vulnerable organ in the barber(-surgeon)'s chair, so here I highlight the neck. The perennial fear of the barber's client is that his throat might be slit. In *Damon and Pithias* and *Herod and Antipater*, the kings fear that a barber can 'lay [a] Razor to [their] throat' (*Herod and Antipater* (1622), G4r). The barber's boy refers in *Midas* to shaving when the barber 'hath the throat at command' (III.ii.85). In the Lichfield pamphlet, the author gives the example of '*Dionisius* … that feared no peeres stoode alwaies in feare of Barbers, and rather would have his hayre burnt off, than happen in to the Barbers handes'; and he concludes, 'All trades adorne the life of man, but none (except Barbers) have the life of man in their power, and to them they hold up their throats readie'.[163]

The barber's basin, like the barber's chair, was essential to the trade. Whenever barbers' shops closed in the period, people described the procedure in terms of taking down basins: on 30th April 1605, barber Stephen Abraham was ordered to 'take downe his basons and geve over his shop'.[164] Indeed, as I discussed in Chapter 2, in terms of denoting the barber's shop in the early part of the seventeenth century, the basin superseded the barber's

pole. Ordinances of 1566 specify, 'yt is Ordayned that no p[er]son using Barbory … hange upp, set, or put out any Bason or Basons … uppon his poule Racke shoppe windowes'.[165] On 1st December 1635, John Robinson was ordered to 'take in his barbors pole & basons, & to forbeare keeping that shop any longer'.[166] The barber's pole was simply one part (the supporting structure, in fact) of the definitive sign of barbery. In William Rowley's short tract, *A Search For Money* (1609), the author describes a barber leaving his shop with his 'banner of basons swinging in the ayre'.[167] In *Fancies*, Secco refers to his 'Pole' within simultaneous mention of the basin (I1r). Ralph in *Quiet Life* says to the Barber, 'I will break thy head with every basin under the pole' (II.iv.65–6). Perhaps Ralph's comment is an indication as to why the basin was removed from the pole (too much head bashing) and replaced – eventually – with the decorative knob with which we are familiar today. Basins were defining objects for the outside of a barber's shop because they were fundamental to the barbery activities within. A barber used the basin for cleaning and shaving although the shape doubled up with the design of phlebotomy vessels. Holme defines the '*Barbers Washing Bason,* or *Trimming Bason*' which, he explains, 'generally have rounds cut in the rim or edge thereof, to compass about a Mans Throat'.[168] The basin is a point of orientation in the shop: Holme lists specific barbery terms such as '*Handle the Bason*' and '*Dry the Bason*'.[169] John Eliot provides the French for '*Hold up this bason*' ('Haulssez ce bassin').[170] In Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Cloth Breeches's comments on barbery procedures include the phrase '[the barber] comes to the bason', making it emblematic of the trade.[171]

The barber's basin is referenced and stipulated as barbers' standard appurtenance in several early modern plays: Cocledemoy borrows a 'basin' as part of his barber disguise (*Dutch Courtesan,* II.i.186); Secco's equipment includes a '*Bason*' (*Fancies*, s.d. I4r); one of Barbaroso's prisoners emerges from a cave '*with a basin under his chin*' (*Burning Pestle*, s.d. III.366) and the object outside Barbaroso's dwelling, which likely merits a prop, is a 'basin' (III.239); Preist calls out in mock alarm, 'what are you [Sweetball] gone from the Bason?' (*Preist the Barber*, lines 50–1); and Licio refers to 'the barber's basin' metonymically (*Midas*, III.ii.63, see Chapter 5). To a contemporary audience, the basin on stage is a stereotype of the barber package. However, accompanied by the knife and not the razor (nor apron, towel, comb, nor scissors), the basin in *Titus* is far from a secure signifier: it will collect blood shed by the practitioner of surgery, but it looks like barbery furniture. Its name, 'basin', is a term used more in barbery than in surgery language, as indicated earlier by my references to porringers and saucers. The portable basin that is a familiar comic prop is not in *Titus* re-imagined as in *Burning Pestle* and *Damon and Pithias* to be something amusingly other than it is (and therefore ridiculous), but smacks sinisterly of authenticity.

The audience's perception of the basin is shaped by barbery metaphor earlier in the play which underlines this prop's thematic importance. When

Lucius confronts Aaron about Chiron and Demetrius's abominable acts, Aaron jeers at Lavinia's rape and dismemberment. Literal and figurative meanings clash uncomfortably in his description and the lively punning is manifold:

> AARON They cut thy sister's tongue and ravished her
> And cut her hands and trimmed her as thou sawest.
> LUCIUS O detestable villain, call'st thou that trimming?
> AARON Why, she was washed and cut and trimmed, and 'twas
> Trim sport for them which had the doing of it. (V.i.92–6)

Aaron's asteismus depicting horrific deeds on Lavinia using the language of barbery – of common matters and hygiene routines – disgusts Lucius. One of Rowlands's epigrams refers to 'common Sope', 'ordinarie Bals', and 'common trimming'; 'commonness', of course, doubles with notions of promiscuity (the 'common Whore') as well as banality.[172] Aaron implies that Chiron and Demetrius's behaviour is humdrum, not extraordinary, and in doing so he undercuts any sense that he is applying elaborate metaphor: his representation has uncomfortable tangibility, not obscurity. Add to this the sense that barbers' language is usually bawdy language and we understand the depth of Lucius's repulsion. Puns on 'trim' typify barbery humour with their potential for *double entendre* and suggestions of dishonesty. In one of Dekker's jests, a barber's apprentice impregnates a girl, and the tale concludes: 'your man has done no more then what he is bound to by indenture, which is to follow his trade, and thats to trimme folkes'.[173] A seventeenth-century ballad, 'Merry Tom of All Trades', describes Tom's barber role with the lines, 'And I can trim a woman/as well as any man' (and the stanza refers pointedly to his 'Razor and 'Washing-balls').[174] The notion of the 'trimmed' female body also holds linguistic doubleness. Whereas in *Titus* trimmed Lavinia is a dissevered rape victim, Juliet's supposed trimness in *Romeo and Juliet* is testament to her adorned, virginal body (so too the King's daughters who play 'fine and trimme Barbers' (Fiiiv) in *Damon and Pithias*). Juliet's nurse is instructed by Capulet to make her 'trim' (IV.iv.24) before her wedding night with Paris. References to women's treatment in barbery terms shift between suggesting their sexual availability and sexual vulnerability. 'Trim' (in its various forms) is ubiquitous in barbery language – both in its official terminology and in literary representation of official terminology – and is a verbal signal of the trade. In Holme (1688), most uses of 'trim' and 'trimming' are in barbers' turns of phrase. (The second most prevalent use is in nautical language, and the third in haberdashery terms.) Two contemporary works' titles, already cited in this study, use 'trimming' to establish directly a barbery context: *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* and 'New Trimming'.

Lucius responds to Aaron's description: 'O barbarous, beastly villains, like thyself!' (V.i.97). Q1's spelling is 'barberous' (*Titus* (1594), I1v). But

graphemic variations do not alter the effect of this word in performance: whether spelt with an 'a' or an 'e', when uttered – especially in this context – 'barbarous' to an audience puns on 'barber'. Patricia Parker explores the semantic nexus of 'Barbary', 'barbarousness' and 'barber', explaining the self-consciousness of the wordplay available: 'conflations of sound and interchangeable spellings were joined by the polyglot influence of languages in which different parts of the network were semantically or etymologically connected'.[175] Thinking back to the sequence discussed in *Sea Voyage* earlier in this chapter, it is little wonder that Aminta apostrophizes the surgeon-led group of sailors who nearly mutilate and eat her with the words, 'Hear me ye barbarous men', to be echoed by Albert a number of lines later, 'O barbarous men!' (Bbbbb1r). (See also Truewit's reference to the barber as 'a barbarian' (II.vi.6) in *Epicoene*; Quintiliano's question to Cutbeard in Chapman's *May-Day*, 'What newes out of Barbary?' ((1611), E2r); Dekker's description of 'every base barbarous *Barber'* (*Horn-Book*, C3v); Spadone's reference to barber Secco as an 'aproved Barbarian' (*Fancies*, B1r), and Secco's wife Morosa telling him he is 'Barbarous minded' (*Fancies*, G4r).) For a barber to be 'barbarous' is for him to be aligned with barber-surgery. There are seven uses of 'barbarous' in *Titus* which are significant oral signifiers in the play's barbery sign system – Calderwood notes that 'the word "barbarous" appears more often in *Titus* than in any other of Shakespeare's plays', but he fails to register the barber association.[176] In I.i alone there are three, accompanied by allusions to 'razors' (I.i.319) and 'raze' (I.i.456): barbery puns hang in the air from early on in the play. In his study on puns and wordplay in early modern drama, Jeremy Lopez explains that 'Constant, unsubtle, even strained puns keep the [theatrical] surface very active', concluding that 'When the surface is active, the audience responds'. However, Lopez primarily explores puns that are separated from what is actually occurring on stage: jokes that are 'clearly a product of convenience more than design'.[177] Simon Palfrey, by comparison, argues that Shakespearean puns are often 'more than an immediate verbal "hit"', and suggests that 'precisely in the wordplay … Shakespeare is plotting a particular play's working architecture, the connecting points "beneath" the various characters and crises'.[178] In my example from *Titus*, the puns and wordplays do not 'remove an audience to a level where the artificiality of language is self-contained and self-sufficient'; instead, they offer the audience a sign-system through which to envisage and see methods of abuse and consequential methods of retribution in the play.[179] Lucius's response, which is to call the Goths 'barberous', ensures (ironically, through punning) that an audience grasps the barbery puns which matter in the play's semiotics.

Lavinia is barbered in a surgical manner: she is disastrously mis-fashioned. Like the verb 'trim', 'cut' holds linguistic doubleness. Usually in the lexical context of a 'wash, cut and trim', 'cut' refers alone to hair; here, however, the semantics shift because of earlier allusion to 'cut [her] tongue' and 'cut

her hands', actions of limb severance. The proximity of verb usages enables linguistic and phonetic connectivity, and underlines the mixed tropes of barbery and surgery. Moreover, as a verb, 'cut' also means to 'help oneself sexually', and as a noun, 'cut' was synonymous with vagina.[180] Lavinia's rape is linked to surgical acts of violation on the body and sexually-orientated barbery. Bate interprets Aaron's punning as butchery metaphor, explaining that a 'washed and cut and trimmed' Lavinia is treated 'like dead meat'.[181] However, Lavinia is trimmed alive. In contrast, Antony calls Caesars' assassins 'butchers' (*Julius Caesar*, III.i.258). None of the butchers' trade terms in Holme involve any form of the word 'trim', and the notion of trimming meat (and therefore trimmings of meat) enters the language in the nineteenth century.[182] The triadic activity and figure of speech of washing, cutting and trimming is characteristic of barbery, not butchery. The opening of a dialogue between neighbours Balthasar the barber and Bennion the button-maker has a similar turn of phrase: Balthasar says he has 'bin washing, shaving, and triming'.[183] On the subject of 'trimming' in Fleet Street, Dekker asks, 'how hast thou bene trimd, washed, Shaven and Polde by these deere and damnable Barbers?'[184] The boys' barbaric washing of Lavinia's body is a licentious lathering and flushing out, not a sanitizing butchery activity: washing Lavinia is dirtying her through perverted barbering.[185] Sugg similarly notes that a choice of word or context other than butchery (in his example 'anatomy' is favoured over 'butchery') can make the semiotic 'a stronger form of socially degrading taboo'.[186]

Four other references in *Titus* – to payment, hair, a pillow, and a pattern – although extraneous in themselves, add texture to the barbery frame in the play's early stages. First, Tamora regards Lavinia's body as her 'sweet sons[']… fee' (II.ii.179). The monetary term transforms Lavinia and sex into commodity value. Perhaps Lavinia gains a whore-status, but in this fiscal exchange, the boys receive a 'fee' for trimming Lavinia, and not *vice versa*: Chiron and Demetrius (not yet Lavinia) are at work. That 'barber' could be synonymous with 'prostitute' suggests that the whore-status is turned on the two boys.[187] Phillip Stubbes satirizes a barber's objective: 'what tricking, and triming, what rubbing what scratching, what combing and clawing … and al to tawe out mony you may be sure'.[188] Costs mount for the person *who is trimmed*. Second, if we think of barbers, we think of hair. When Quintus describes the pit into which the Goth brothers throw Bassianus, he is also describing Lavinia's vagina.[189] The pit's 'mouth is covered with rude-growing briers' (II.ii.199): Chiron and Demetrius encounter Lavinia's hair as part of their trimming procedure. In the period, trimmed female pubic hair was called a 'cony barber' and was associated with assault.[190] Third, the rapists draw attention to the seat on which Lavinia will be trimmed. This is not a chair, but the body of Lavinia's dead husband, Bassianus. Chiron anticipates 'mak[ing] his dead trunk pillow to our lust' (II.ii.130). Pillows stuffed with excrements from a barber's shop were a familiar joke in the period

(see Chapter 5). Rowlands's barber epigram refers to the 'Cushion [that] entertaines [the] slopp' of a barber's client.[191] Finally, the mise-en-scene of demoniacal barbery in *Titus* emulates the common attire of a barber. Tamora characterizes the wood where Lavinia is violated as patterned: 'The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind/And make a *chequered* shadow on the ground' [italics mine] (II.ii.14–15). Today we associate barbers with stripes (on the barber's pole), but in the seventeenth century, a barber is 'always known by his *Cheque parti-coloured Apron*' which 'needs not mentioning'.[192] In *Midas*, Motto glorifies 'chequered-apron men' (III.ii.161) and the barber is called a 'Checkerman' in *Adrasta* (I1r). The atmospheric 'chequered shadow' camouflages the unimaginable actions of II.ii in the guise, in this instance, linguistic – of common barbery.[193]

After their heinous deeds, the brothers taunt Lavinia for being unclean. Chiron says, 'Go home, call for sweet water, wash thy hands' (II.iii.6). Having been savagely trimmed, Lavinia needs her own basin, soap and water, and more traditional barbery attentions, which were hygiene-focused.[194] The boys' joke in *Titus* however, is that in the same way that cosmetics cannot erase a person's sexual history, so the perfumed waters cannot make Lavinia sweet. They align her with the female who William Averell portrays at the beginning of *A Dyall for Dainty Darlings* (1584) to illustrate the futile methods of 'washing in sweet waters … anointing with sweet odours … to make the body sweete, when … pride and whordome … make … soules to stincke'.[195] On one occasion, Sweetball in *Quiet Life* curses his misfortunes saying, 'My sweetballs stink' (II.iv.70), playing to a dirty pun. In Jonson's *Staple of News*, the bodies of Pecunia's women seem available as they joke about their 'legs [being]/Turn'd in or writh'd about' (IV.iii.55–6), much to Pennyboy Senior's dismay as he refers to them as 'you whores,/My bawds, my instruments!' (IV.iii.58–60). Two jeerers respond:

MADRIGAL Barbers are at hand.
They all threaten.
ALMANAC Washing and shaving will ensue. (IV.iii.68–9)

The stage direction, '*They all threaten*', is given in the margin of the 1631 collection, and it is not clear which line merits the action or what this action would have been exactly.[196] Unfortunately, unlike a prop, a theatrical gesture is not so easily recorded. But it is clear that a vulgar gesture existed which denoted barbery, perhaps relating to the barber's third 'tongue betweene two of his fingers' (see Chapter 1). The analogy between a sexualized threat conceived through 'washing' on the female body and barbery activities is clear in the dialogue. Washing is associated with ritual, rites, and routine and in *Titus* it is used as an aesthetic means to connect perverted activities. Shakespeare aligns images of washing not with biblical baptismal metaphor but with barbery, and these external processes of cleaning the body

correspond to phlebotomy procedure by which the inner body is purged.[197] Barber-surgery in *Titus* scours bodies inside and out. Lavinia's name, from the Latin, *lavare* (to wash), encodes this reading.[198]

The witty word-play in II.iv *Titus* conjures the image of Lavinia with a basin and imparts significance to the later materialization of this object. Sofer explains, 'The stage property offers a way to rescue the material object from the ocean of signs limned by theatre semiotics, and indeed, to distinguish the prop from other material objects on stage'.[199] The basin is a sign of reversed (mis)fortunes and apposite reprisal; as a stage property, it has a practical function (it collects blood), medical value, and simultaneously it has symbolic effect in that it is referential to previous barbery contexts constructed in the play. E. A. M. Colman states that 'it is no simple matter to determine precisely where, or why, the sexuality [in *Titus*] turns bawdy'.[200] My barber-surgery reading enables us to see how the sick interplay is envisaged. Finally, although he does not make the barber/surgery link either within or between *Titus* and *King Lear*, Bate senses a connection which supports my explorations in this chapter: 'There is also an anticipation of *Lear* [in the sick comedy of hand washing in *Titus*], where Cornwall accompanies the gouging of Gloucester's eyes with some grimly witty word-play'.[201] By understanding the context of this wit and word-play and its material reference points as part of barber-surgery semiotics we come more fully to grips with the intense effect of these grisly scenes, scenes which draw their dramaturgical power from both the civic and medical threats of the period (extra-theatrical) and sinister parody of the contemporary city comedy (inter-theatrical). This book is interested in the disconcerting effects of things being conflated or doubling up. Here it is parody itself that is compounded through the very allusion to barber-surgery.

Sound

4

'And pleasant harmonie shall sound in your eares': Ballads, Music and Groans, Snip-snaps, Fiddlesticks, Ear-picks, and Wax

Why is there a barber in Ben Jonson's *The Epicoene?* Two comments about the play are my springboard for this chapter. William Kerwin explains that Cutbeard, the barber, 'is remarkable to the characters for his relation to sound … in a profession known for its garrulousness, he is able both to find a woman quiet enough … and to comport himself noiselessly enough'.[1] Writing on historical soundscapes, Emily Cockayne discusses the play's 'sonic theme' as a means to examine contemporary advice about seeking out 'aural ease'.[2] Kerwin highlights the barber's relationship to talkativeness, leaving unexplored 'sound' as a non-verbal concept; Cockayne focuses on the play's exploration of ambient city and domestic noise without reference to the barber.[3] (Despite Michael Flachmann's assertion that '*The Silent Woman*, is anything but a silent play', he interprets its noise as analogical to hell and purgatory, and sidelines its civic logic.[4]) But the barber is the linchpin in Jonson's satirical exploration of loquaciousness *and* sonority in the city, the impact of both verbal and non-verbal sound.

Jonson's choice of a barber character in *Epicoene* is a pertinent, dramaturgical one, although for the most part critics have avoided commentating on this figure.[5] In a play that satirizes aural experiences, the soundscapes of early modern London and those persons affected by noise, barbery, and the barber are contextual and contextualizing constructs. Similarly, to underline the convention of gossip-mongering in *Staple of News*, Jonson makes an ironic trailblazer out of Tom the Barber, who helps launch the news agency. Kerwin's dramaturgical point, which relates to my discussions in Chapter 2, is that 'by making [Cutbeard] a barber, Jonson places him at the center of London's culture of appearances'.[6] But by making Cutbeard a barber, Jonson also places him at the centre of London's culture of sound, where he functions as a sound control.

Morose asks Mute, 'And you have been with Cutbeard, the barber, to have him come to me? – Good. And, he will come presently?' (2.1.15–17). Morose is not waiting to have his beard trimmed. He is contemplating

how to defend and distract himself from 'the labour of speech' (2.1.2), 'the discord of sounds' (l. 3) and 'noise' (l. 12). The irony of this 'Cutbeard' is that he is never connected to cutting beards; later he is a loquacious lawyer. Throats in *Epicoene* are not portrayed as places of hair-growth. When a horn is blown offstage Morose cries, 'What villain … cut his throat, cut his throat!' (ll. 38–40), applying a murderous barbery threat which analogizes how to exterminate offensive sound. In the next scene, Morose complains of Truewit, 'Oh Cutbeard, Cutbeard, Cutbeard! Here has been a cutthroat with me' (2.2.147–8).

Cutbeard is associated with the misogynistic default that females talk too much, in particular supplied by Truewit: 'Why, you oppress me with wonder! A woman, and a barber, and love no noise!' (1.2.34–5). The barbery context can transpose the female voice into a musical instrument. Morose declares, 'I have married [the barber's] cittern, that's common to all men' (3.5.60): sound is prostituted in the shop.[7] When Epicoene begins to 'speak out', Morose calls, 'Oh immodesty! … What, Cutbeard!' (3.4.39) blaming, 'That cursed barber!' (3.5.58). Referring to the racket he has endured at his antimasque-like wedding (as Truewit describes it, a cacophony of 'spitting', 'coughing', 'laugh[ing]', 'neezing', 'farting', and 'noise of the music' (4.1.7–8), as well as chatty, 'loud and commanding' (l. 9) females), Morose despairs, 'That I should be seduced by so foolish a devil as a barber will make!' (4.4.3–4).

This exploratory chapter examines the barber's shop as a sound-marked, cultural site of acoustic performance and practice, and investigates how ears were treated, entertained, and abused in barbery settings. In my endeavour to contrast barbery with surgery I also question how surgical contexts are inflected by their relationship to musical sounds and instruments, and explore the phonic absence of surgeons (logically the product of their frequent stage absence) and how sounds displace or replace surgery. Contemporary antitheatricalists' condemnation of the theatre as a frivolous acoustic space corresponds to critiques of the barber's shop as an inevitably noisy environment, and I am interested in the connections between the site specificity and the 'earwitness' ('one who … can testify to what he … has heard') of the theatre and the shop.[8] My explorations are in dialogue with the growing body of criticism that investigates the ways in which sounds (noise, music and 'soundmarks')[9] can help us to think about identity, both individual and communal. Soundscape theorists such as R. Schafer and Barry Truax have provided a technical language for sonic studies, and have questioned how we view the relationship between humans and the sounds they encounter in their environment.[10] Bruce Smith, Cockayne, Wes Folkerth, David Garrioch, and Bruce Johnson have drawn on these theorists and the language of acoustemology in their attempts to reconstruct the sound maps of the early modern past with reference to literary works: urban and rural acoustic landscapes, bell ringing, rough music, reverberating architectures,

and the anatomy and experiential nature of the ear are the subject of some of their investigations.[11] I draw on the theory and historicity of these studies, defining my own dramaturgical, and socially- and medically-situated acoustic field to uncover how barbery informed cultural conceptions of the early modern listening world.

'Those that will preserve theire hearing … picke not theire ears'

The practitioners responsible for daily ear cleaning were the barbers: inventories and fictional sources reveal that the ear-pick[er] was one of the basic tools of the trade. In the museum at the Mary Rose Trust, one of the display items for the Barber-Surgeon is of bone and ivory ear-picks found behind the medicine chest with barbery objects. In John Woodall's *Surgions Mate*, the 'Earepicker' is listed on the page devoted to an inventory of the 'Barbers Case' and the 'Instruments of the Barber' in Randle Holme's *Armory* include 'A *pair of Tweesers,* or *Twitchers:* with an Ear pick at the other end of it' which 'cleanse[d] the eares from waxe, which often causeth a Deafness in the party'.[12] John Eliot deems '*An eare-picker, and a tooth-picker*' ('Une cure-dent & une cure-oreille') useful vocabulary for a barber's shop in his French handbook.[13] The order of faux-ritualized events in the Phillip Stubbes's portrayal of the barber's shop, is telling: 'pleasant harmonie[s]' which 'tickle [ears with] vaine delight' are heard *after* the client's ears have been picked.[14] Unlike the barber's ear-pick which claims – despite, and even in spite of its doubled function – its discrete place on inventories, the surgeons' ear-picks are simply part of, in Woodall's terms, a '*Bundle of small Instruments … conteyning divers kindes, as Mulletts, Forceps, Hamules or Hookes, Ear-pickers, Sikes, Small spatulas, &c.*' numbering 'at the least 20' of such 'strange formes' – a miscellany.[15] Ear-picks take on greater definition in the barber's practice, which corresponds to Kopytoff's argument about the 'singularizing values … held by … professional and occupational groups which subscribe to a common cultural code' produced by material objects.[16] Authors often give detail to their descriptions of or allusion to barbery or a barber by including an ear-pick reference. Motto protests by his 'earpick' (V.ii.178) in *Midas*. In conceptual terms, therefore, the barber and his effective picking of ears is symbolic in enabling the *earwitness*. Cutbeard exposes Morose to unwelcome sounds by arranging his marriage: he has, figuratively speaking – although with a literal consequence – unblocked and therefore successfully picked Morose's ears.

While the early modern barber's responsibility with ears is not a controversial practice (and often takes comic paths), their association with them can be provocative because of the vulnerability and sensitivity of these organs. Over-exuberant digging in the ear with an inflexible instrument

can puncture the delicate eardrum. Mrs Corlyon's household book (1606) describes several methods for tackling ear complaints, including a steam cure for the deaf made from Malmesye and cloves, and an extraction for earwigs from the ear using warm apples.[17] However, her book advises against a common technique in ear treatment: 'lett those that will preserve theire hearing that speciall care that they picke not theire eares'.[18] In a metaphor in *Sir Thomas More*, 'Nor does the wanton tongue here screw itself/Into the ear, that like a vice drinks up/The iron instrument' (13.20–22), the instrument inserted into the ear, which conceptualizes the flatterer and his patron, easily takes on the qualities of a torture weapon. In barbery terms the ear-pick is a trivial version of the more intimidating razor: a barber – unskilled or malicious – might be a threat to customers' ears. Mocking the activities in a barber's shop, Stubbes writes, 'next the eares must be picked, and closed togither againe artificially forsooth', hinting at the potential perversions, or the perceived perversion, of barbery activities.[19] He suggests that barbers pick their customers' ears so vigorously that they actually pick them apart. Pick can mean 'to probe and penetrate … to remove extraneous matter', but it can also mean 'To pierce, indent, or dig … as to break up'.[20] Stubbes's reference to an artificial procedure suggests that the ear is not as it was before the barber sets to work upon it. The barber lingers in theatre's most renowned depiction of usurpation through the open-access ear: it was a barber-surgeon who admitted to the murder of the Duke of Urbino in 1538, which is widely believed to have inspired Old Hamlet's murder, by pouring poison into his ears.[21]

Responding to the scripted '*Lowde Musicke*' in the late Elizabethan play, *Blurt Master-Constable*, the courtesan Imperia complains to the musicians, 'Oh, fie, fie, fie, forbeare, thou art like a punie-Barber (new come to the trade) thou pick'st our eares too deepe'.[22] The effects of some sounds, as Imperia suggests, are equivalent to bad ear-picking practice as well as bad playing. The courtesan objects to noise as an audience member and reminds us that audiences' ears should, like barbers' customers' ears, be handled with care. Her analogy has a reflexive effect: audiences might become more aware of what is demanded of their own ears in the theatre as the loud music for them too is intrusive. Hamlet knows that the groundlings' ears can be 'split' (3.2.10). Stephen Gosson's allusive reference that in the theatre there is 'Such masking in [the audience's] eares, I knowe not what', raises questions significant to my discussion.[23] Did, as the *OED* states, early modern people have a means to regulate, improve or deaden sounds in the theatre (or elsewhere) using materials or a substance?

Moreover, the probing action during ear picking unsurprisingly relates to the sexually charged climate of barbers' shops. Imperia's objection to the uncomfortable picking-effect of sound occurs during some heavy petting. Sexuality in *Epicoene* is notoriously ambivalent. Tryphon the barber – a pathetic figure in Gervase Markham and William Sampson's *Herod and*

Antipater – apostrophizes his ear-pick when fantasizing about Salumith (a character who cradles precarious desire for her nephew):

> TRYPHON Tooth-pick, deare Tooth-pick; Eare-pick, both of you
> Have beene her sweet Companions; with the one
> I've seene her picke her white Teeth; with the other
> Wriggle so finely worme-like in her Eare;
> That I have wisht, with envy, (pardon me)
> I had beene made of your condition.[24]

In this play, the ear-pick is likely to be a stage property. If sound can be conceptualized as a sexual encounter with the ear, a physical equivalent exists in representations of the barber's ear-picking. If we regard Epicoene as Cutbeard's figurative ear-pick, we find the play's gender politics are further interlaced: sodomitic notions of Epicoene as a penetrative object handled by a barber are suggestive before Epicoene is revealed to be male.

Morose's extreme hatred of noise, and his general gloom, is characterized as a humoural imbalance that needs treatment. Flachmann discusses Morose's 'humourous ailment', although without specific reference to his ears. Taking his cue from Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), he diagnoses Morose with melancholy verging on madness which 'can force a person into silence and seclusion'.[25] But Morose is not silent and he continues to seek out company (so long as it is mute) making Flachmann's melancholia reading questionable. Hudson Hallahan suggests that it is difficult for an audience to be particularly sympathetic to Morose because of his hypocrisy in speaking.[26] But his hypocrisy also lies in the fact that he does not seem to hear himself speak. The Boy suggests that if Morose's ears were not exercised properly, 'He would grow resty … in his ease' (I.i.165–166). Holdsworth glosses 'resty' with 'sluggish', but given the proceeding sentence's reference to 'rust' and Jonson's appetite for gritty depictions of urban and human filth, 'resty' in this context also refers to rancidity.[27] The boy is commenting on Morose's physical complexion as well as his demeanour. The adjective is especially linked to grease and oil. Morose's ear canal is the subject of the Boy's attention, which is particularly fore-grounded by the phonic similarity between 'ease' (in the text) and 'ears' (implied in the context). The homophone for the phrase is 'greasy in his ears'. In George Peele's *Old Wive's Tale*, Huanebango is, according to stage directions, '*deafe and cannot heare*'.[28] Zantippa cannot get his attention other than by breaking a pitcher over his head and exclaims, 'Foe, what greasie groome have wee here?' (E1r). Additionally in *Epicoene*, the Boy's description of the 'street … so narrow' (1.1.161) in which Morose lives, corresponds architecturally to the anatomy of intricate aural passages. Cutbeard is employed as picker and emulsifier of the excessive lipid-like substances in Morose's festering ears. To appease Morose, who does not appreciate the exposure, Truewit hopes

that the barber will have to 'Eat ear-wax' (3.5.87) in order to stay alive after calamity has – in Truewit's imagination – struck the barber shop: Cutbeard's punishment should fit his crime.

Early modern writers often characterize the excrement of the ear by its bitter taste and generally explain earwax in terms of it being waste matter; its beneficial properties, which I discuss in the next paragraphs, are usually portrayed by writers as secondary to the wax's execratory quality.[29] A French historiographer, Scipion Dupleix questions the cause of wax's bitterness, concluding, 'It comes from a putrified and corrupt humour, which gathered together, thickens and heats there within, and being such, can bee no other then bitter; as are all things overcocted and rotten'.[30] Similar descriptions explain hair growth in the period, confirming the barber's trade as one that deals in bodily excrements.[31] Beard growth was even likened to the production of seminal excrement, associated, too, with heat.[32] One of Thersites's typically corporeal insults in *Troilus and Cressida* is that Agamemnon has 'not so much brain as ear-wax' (5.1.51–52): he applies the 'brains between legs' catchphrase, substituting one discharge for another.

Moderated removal of wax is usually deemed a necessary procedure. Filthy ears, states Pierre de La Primaudaye, 'must be oftentimes looked unto and cleansed'.[33] But writers do not always portray wax-free ears as a healthy condition. Variously spelled – with obvious innuendo – Cockadillio/Cockadilio/Cockadillia (and 'Cock' in speech prefixes) is the barber courtier in *Noble Soldier* and a typical lackey.[34] In the following extract, the noble soldier, Baltazar, quickly detects corruption in court which threatens the monarch's bodily and political health:

BALTAZAR Signeor is the King at leisure?
COCKADILLIO To doe what?
BALTAZAR To heare a Souldier speake.
COCKADILLIO I am no ear-picker
To sound his hearing that way.
BALTAZAR Are you of Court, Sir?
COCKADILLIO Yes, the Kings Barber
BALTAZAR That's his eare-picker: your name, I pray.
COCKADILLIO Don *Cockadilio*:
If, Souldier, thou hast suits to begge at Court,
I shall descend so low as to betray
Thy paper to the hand Royall.
BALTAZAR …
These excrements of Silke-wormes! oh that such flyes
Doe buzze about the beames of Majesty!
Like earwigs, tickling a Kings yeelding eare
With that Court-Organ (Flattery) (C2r)

Baltazar characterizes Cockadillio as 'all ear-picker': 'To sound' means to probe and pierce. If the King is exposed to constant picking, no wax is left to protect his ears from, in physical terms, flies, and, in conceptual terms, flattery. Suggestively, Baltazar's outburst associates the barber with one colour in particular: a 'yellow hammer', a gold digger (as in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*) but also a wax-tipped tool.

Of the flatterer (or 'willing slave[s] to another mans eare') Grey Chandos explains, 'his art is nothing but delightfull cosenage … In short he is the mouth of liberall mens coates, the earewig of the mightie'.[35] In a sermon on slander and flattery, Jeremy Taylor preaches that dangerous and smooth tongues, whisperers, tale-bearers and sycophants, are 'like the earwig creeps in at the ear, and makes a diseased noyse, and scandalous murmur'.[36] Troublesome voices are characterized as non-verbal disturbances in the ear. Writers concede, therefore, that wax – like hair – is not without benefit to the body. Pierre de La Primaudaye explains that the 'yellow humour purged by the eares … defendeth them against fleas, little flies and other small wormes and beastes, that might otherwise enter within them'.[37] Scipion Dupleix clarifies that:

> [earwax] is not unprofitable within the eares, but being thickened, fleas, and other little flyes which many insinuate within the eares, may trouble us, are there taken by this conglutinate humour.[38]

Baltazar suggests that the King's ears have been picked so much that the royal ear now harbours 'wormes', 'flyes', and 'earwigs'. In Richard Brome's *Love-Sick Court*, Tersules, once a tailor and – like the play's barber, Varillus – embracing the role of courtier, accuses Varillus: 'Your instruments are sharp as mine … you can pick more out of your Lords ears/Then I take from his Garments with my sheers'.[39] Careless, overly-probing barbery activities leave the King's ear in *Noble Soldier* defenceless and vulnerable to infection. Royal ears are in danger of being open only to gratification (Baltazar recognizes the sodomitic undertones); ultimately this King faces civil war, the penalty for not keeping attentive to his subjects' grievances. A servant describes Timon's buzzing flatterers 'Slinking away, leaving their false vows with him/Like empty purses picked' (IV.ii.10–12): flattery is perceived as negative value and the purse in this metaphor is as the aural orifice scraped clean of all security. The image of the empty purse brings us back to barbery and my discussions in Chapters 2 and 3.

In *Fancies Chaste and Noble* by Ford, Spadone uses the trope of wax-free ears to portray not only vulnerability to flattery, but also sexual access. Naming Nitido an 'eare-wig', Spadone says that he 'will wriggle into a *starting hole* so cleanely', that is that he will have free access to Secco's wife, Morosa.[40] Later, Secco refers to Nitido as 'that hole-creeping Page' (F1v). And if ears were not waxy enough to prevent assault, wax could always be added. In *Staple*, one of Pecunia's ladies is called [Rose] Wax, often modified to 'soft Wax'. Pennyboy Senior exclaims of 'little Blushet-Wax' (II.iv.119), 'I'll stop

mine ears with her against the sirens' (II.iv.120), referring to the jeerers of the play who appear predatory, and drawing on Book XII of *The Odyssey* when Circe instructs Ulysses to 'stop [his] comrades' ears with 'sweet wax kneaded soft, that none of the rest may hear' the siren's enticing voices.[41] Some lines later in *Staple*, Pennyboy Senior complains again of the jeerers, 'Are not these flies gone yet?' (II.iv.165), suggesting that a little wax would have prevented the infestation, and demystifying mythology.

Morose tries to protect his ears in *Epicoene*. Truewit says that he has 'a huge turban of nightcaps on his head' (1.1.139–40). But total interference with ears' openness is contrary practice to that circulated by Protestant sermons, which prioritized auricular concentration over ritual. If 'faith cometh by hearing', God wanted discerning hearers.[42] The image of the blocked ear in early modernity is a troubled one because truth is also barred from it. Bloom highlights that the presiding lesson for women as well as good Christians was to be wary of the blurry line between 'constructive defense' and 'destructive deafness'.[43] Thomas Adams, a clergyman, despairs 'that the eare which should be open to complaint, is … stopped up with the eare-waxe of partiality. Alas poore truth, that shee must now bee put to the charges of a golden eare-picke, or shee cannot be heard'.[44] Good barbery, ultimately, is good religious practice. The barber's need to strike a balance in ear picking was the physical realization of the ideological balance that the listener was expected to achieve.

'Knock, squire, upon this basin'

The early modern pulpit and the stage, as Bryan Crockett asserts, are comparable theatrical performing spaces, which encourage aural alertness and instil the period's 'cult of the ear'.[45] Of church-going, Robert Wilkinson observes, 'Some come not to have their lives reformed, but to have their eares tickled even as at a play'.[46] Smith describes the South Bank theatres as 'instruments for producing, shaping, and propagating sound'.[47] The barber's shop is a similar nodal image of a sound-making site. In a Roman barber's shop a magpie hones its polyphonic skills: she would 'prate, and chatte … counting the speech of men …, the voice of beasts, and sound of musicall instruments', and 'in deepe studie and through meditation [she] retired within herselfe, whiles her minde was busie and did prepare her voice like an instrument of musicke, for imitation'.[48] A shop, of course, is architecturally enclosed and, to some degree, separated from the polyphony of street cries and urban noises that intermingle outdoors: for Plutarch's magpie, the barber's shop is a place to filter, interiorize, rehearse, and interpret sounds.[49]

The barber's shop not only contains sound but reverberates with it. When Rafe enters Barbaroso's lair in *Knight of the Burning Pestle* a particular acoustic delineates the scene: 'Knock, squire, upon this basin till it break/ With the shrill strokes, or till the giant speak. [Tim *knocks*]' (3.320–21).[50]

Earlier in the scene, the Host describes how 'Without [Barbaroso's] door … hang[s]/A copper basin … /At which no sooner gentle knights can knock/ But the shrill sound fierce Barbaroso hears' (ll. 238–41). Celebrating the play's 'happy reconcilements' (5.2.386), the barber declares in Thomas Middleton's *Anything for a Quiet Life*, 'My basins shall all ring for joy' (ll. 383), indicating also theatrical finality.[51] The basin is both doorbell and church bell announcing the subject of barbery both inwards and outwards. Unlike a soundmark that refers simply to a 'community sound', these threshold sounds are, in Schafer's term, 'sound signals', 'sounds to which the attention is particularly directed' and which 'constitute acoustic warning devices'.[52] Indeed, the chiming barber's basin was acoustically tagged to denote something other than barbery practice: it was code for prostitution, the acoustic equivalent of a red light. In *Epicoene* Morose says, 'Let there be no bawd carted that year to employ a basin of [Cutbeard's]' (3.5.83–4). When Rafe knocks on Barbaroso's basins, he signals to the audience the subject of sexual indiscretion but he does not understand the social meaning of the sound he creates and misreads his purpose in the barber's lair.[53] The ringing of the barber's basins at the end of *Quiet Life* reminds audiences that women in the play have been figured within a male, economic market in which both sexes are open to exploitation.

Music-making is also a nodal image of activity in the barber's shop for which instruments – the citterns, gitterns, lutes, virginals – were part of the furniture.[54] Characters perform songs in barbery settings in *1 Promos and Cassandra*, *Damon and Pithias*, and *Midas*.[55] According to *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (a pamphlet produced in the wake of the Nashe-Harvey disputes), barbers have a 'great facilitie attaine to happiness': 'if idle, they passe that time in life-delighting musique'.[56] Intending 'to tickle with … vaine delight', as Stubbes makes clear, barbers claim an audience.[57] But, as with many well-established traditions, music in the barber's shop is subject to mockery. The competition between Pan and Apollo staged in John Lyly's *Midas* provides us with a blueprint: medicine's harmonic notes (represented by Apollo) supposedly produce one acoustic effect, which is pleasing and associated with the God of healing; 'barbarous noise' (4.1.178) from the 'barbarous mouth of Pan!' (l. 20) produces another and is set against the play's barbery subplot in which the first song of the play is performed. A Latin song, translated by Henry Bold, envisages that barbers will form a musical society, beginning, 'In former time 't hath been upbrayded thus,/That Barbers Musick was most Barbarous', and playing on the nexus of etymological associations between 'barber' and 'barbarous', explored by Patricia Parker.[58] Stubbes's reference to 'pleasant harmonie[s]' is ironic: in his satire, these are 'barbarous notes'.

In *Midas*, music associated with barbery rarely seems to be conventionally musical and this contributes to the perception that the barber's shop is somewhere where ears are under attack. One of the main lessons of *Midas* might be listen carefully (to advice as well as to playing), but its subplot tests

and ridicules this maxim: centred on the barber, it concentrates on sounds which, in non-theatrical settings, we might wish to filter out. Cries of pain, rattling, knacking, out of tune instruments, verbosities, slander, and protests make a noisy soundscape. The given 'tune of "My Teeth Do Ache!"' (3.2.148, in the quarto as well as the 1632 edition) for the barber's song plays into the scene's parody of dentistry but it also ridicules the nature of the barber's shop music: the tune is not tuneful. And what, therefore, can we now make of Midas's ass's ears? Not only is it logical that a barber relates the news of Midas's metamorphosis because the barber is the tradesman who attends to ears, but also 'ass' puns crudely on a part of the human anatomy as well as refers to a foolish mule. Hence 'Bottom' in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Midas's ass's ears contribute to the buttock humor available through the sexually indiscriminate barber (and, by proxy, through 'barbarous Pan'): whoremonger and sodomite. Moreover, in Old English, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'arse' originates as 'ærs' or 'ears'.

'The Barber goes snip snap'

Smith reflects:

> The soundscape of early modern London was made up of a number of overlapping, shifting acoustic communities, centered on different soundmarks: parish bells, the speech of different nationalities, the sounds of trades, open-air markets, the noises of public gathering places. Moving among these soundmarks – indeed, *making* these soundmarks in the process – Londoners in their daily lives followed their own discursive logic.[59]

But if trades are 'soundmarked', and thereby have specificity in this acoustic form of representation, how do these identification tags function autonomously? In one seventeenth-century ballad barbery is characterized by sound alone: 'The Barber goes snip snap'.[60] This soundmark is not the creative device of a single balladeer. In the period, this barbery soundmark echoes across different literary media in a range of contexts, making it culturally stable. 'Snip snap', 'snap', 'snip', 'snipsnap', 'snip-snap', 'snipping', and 'snapping' as well as associative 'knacking' sounds are commonplace. 'Snip-snap' and 'knack' hover between various acoustic contexts and their flexibility as soundmarks correspond to the linguistic slipperiness of the language generally attributed to barbers.

Barbery instruments (mainly scissors and razors) inherently produce sounds: the trade cannot be silent. In the catalogue of barber's equipment recovered from the wreck of the Mary Rose, archaeologists list the variety of razors found: 'it is possible that any razor without [provision of arms] was opened simply by shaking the blade free'.[61] Although this implied action would not specifically constitute a 'snip snap', it suggests the noise made by metal scraping against metal. In his examination of ancient barbery tools,

George Boon cites Plutarch who comments on the barber's need frequently to 'strop the razor' and a customer's desire to have something to 'soften [his] stubble', writing, in addition, on Juvenal who 'recalls a young man's stiff growth "sounding" under the blade'.[62] In Charles Hoole's Latin dictionary a section on barbery defines the practitioner as 'one that snaps with the scissers'.[63] Drawing on Truax's description of soundscapes, Smith explains, 'the impinging of non-human sounds, all contribute to a given community's sense of self-identity'.[64]

For the most part writers do not suggest that these are solely incidental sounds from barbery work, but make clear that they are the result of barbers' affectations and rehearsed mannerisms. In *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Greene implies that verbal communication can be matched with non-verbal sounds in the barber's shop, and that scissor sounds endorse faux penal gestures and Rhetoric. He describes a barber lavishly waiting on Velvet Breeches: 'begins he to take his sissars in his hand and his combe, and so to snap with them as if he meant to give a warning to all the lice in his nittie lockes' (more infestations).[65] Excessive sound (even if these are not loud notes) associated with the practice of barbery appears frivolous and performance-driven. Motto reminds Dello in *Midas*, 'Thou knowest I have taught thee the knacking of the hands, the tickling on a man's hair, like the tuning of a cittern' (3.2.36–8). Often when sounds trouble us we characterize them as wholly unnecessary. In recent studies on early modern soundscapes, critics focus on the loud, iconoclastic sounds that characterize and organize the 'noisy' city, its bells and its street cries, for example. But intrusive sounds are not only the loud ones: the nature and the context of the sound affects people's reaction to it. Cockayne notes that 'the honourable Roger North explained that some sounds, such as the "clapping of a door", annoyed the hearer because, in contrast to musical sounds that have "equal time pulses", they have "unequal movements" and "uncertain periods"'.[66] If barbery sounds are like the 'tuning of a cittern' then they are not the predictable notes of a tune.

We seem particularly sensitive when body parts are responsible for the sound. In one production of *Titus Andronicus* (RSC, 1955) Peter Brook unlocked a greater potential to unnerve the audience. 'During the run, the Express reported: "Extra St John Ambulance volunteers have been called in. At least three people pass out nightly. Twenty fainted at one performance"'. A spokesman for the theatre pinpointed the 'nice scrunch of bone off-stage when Titus cuts off his hand' as the crucial moment.[67] Barbers' knacking fingers, rather like cracking knuckles, get too near the bone. Morose's satisfaction that his barber 'has not the knack with his shears or his fingers' (1.2.36–7) is not as peculiar as it initially sounds. Jonson's irascible protagonist might be associated with fanaticism, but he also highlights common human intolerances.

Sounds can also function beyond their immediate sonic impact; nails on a chalkboard, for example, codify unpleasant sound but also, more generally, a sensation of fleeting discomfort. A sound's effect can inform

rhetorical and stylistic device, punitive gestures, and onomastic choices. Barbery sounds are hardly deafening. However, if not the volume, then the nature of the sound, its sonic consistency, nettles the nerves. Francis Bacon comments that 'in Audibles, the Grating of a Saw, when it is sharpened, doth … [set] the Teeth on Edge', illustrating the intensity of sounds with reference to metallic, grinding ones.[68] Moreover, objections to the noise are often explained by the proximity of its source to the ears of the client, as Bacon explains, and so the murmuring earwig is particularly invasive. Of the giant barber in *Burning Pestle*, the Host proclaims: 'with his fingers and an instrument/With which he snaps his hair off, he doth fill/The wretch's ears with a most hideous noise' (3.249–51). This 'hideous noise' could be an allusion to the persistent chattiness of barbers, but given the references to 'fingers', 'instruments', and 'snaps', it is most likely to be a disturbance caused by non-verbal sounds. The sound produced by the barber is his vulgar, laboured proof that he is at work. Stubbes criticizes elaborate show in a barber's shop, emphasizing, 'what snipping & snapping of the sycers is there', which, in part, justifies the barber's extortions.[69]

Barbers' hands are a source of acoustic – as well as gesticular – performance. When Nashe refers to the '*knacke* of [the barber's] occupation' in *Have With You to Saffron-Walden*, he includes an addendum in the margin: '*Barbers knacking their fingers*'.[70] 'Knack' the skill is undermined by 'knack' the irritating noise, and the 'sounds' play off each other on the page. The literal mirroring of sounds in the barber's shop between instruments and fingers corresponds to the linguistic mirroring (puns and homophones) in the word. Today we would call 'knacking' 'clicking the fingers', the action which John Bulwer describes: 'knacking', is 'to compresse the middle-finger with the thumbe by their complosion producing a sound so casting out our hand'. Bulwer later makes 'knacking' analogous with 'percussion'.[71]

In his entry on 'knacking' which constitutes a 'Contemno Gestus', Bulwer also refers to dancing in a 'Barbarian fashion' which he identifies as 'knacking … with … fingers' performed over the dancer's head.[72] Although Bulwer never specifically mentions barbers in *Chirologia*, the homophone in 'Barbarian' in this sentence is suggestive reminding us of 'barbarous' Pan. Bulwer concludes that knacking 'expresse[s] the vanitie of things'.[73] Attending to the vanity of customers by fixing their complexions is part of the barber's professional activity, and so the trade's soundmark sonically encapsulates this pursuit. This doubling-up is suggested in the tailor's comparison between garments and ears in *Love-Sick Court* and the 'vaine delight' that music carries, according to Stubbes, in the barber's shop, both discussed earlier. In *Taming of the Shrew*, Petruchio observes of the sleeve the tailor has made for Katherine, 'Heers snip, and nip, and cut, and slish and slash,/Like to a Censor in a barbers shoppe' (TLN 2075–6; 4.3.90–91). Laurie Maguire has demonstrated that the original reading of 'Censor' (changed by many editors to 'censer' and by editors of *Complete Works* to 'scissor') was '*cittern* (or

a variant spelling of that noun)'.[74] The itinerant sounds of barbery (which double-up with some soundmarks of the tailor, who also wields scissors), the implied musical instrument, and the context of Petruchio's dissatisfaction at the fussiness of the garment, which is like an over-elaborate cittern-neck's engraving, here conflate. Although the context is sartorial, Petruchio's criticism plays out across onomatopoeias – barbery soundmarks (in that the tailor's scissor action is defined in terms of another context) – which provide an acoustic effect of excess. The point of the scene is that excess does not lie with the item (the sleeve) but with Petruchio's reaction to it: his argument based on acoustics supplants one based on vision and catches Katherine out. I began this chapter by separating the concepts of the culture of appearance and the culture of sound in *Epicoene*, but they are related.

In some references, the barber's finger movements signal the conclusion of the trimming process which constitutes a separate acoustic sign-posting: barbery is bounded by – as well as articulated through – soundmarks, which are structural. In *Damon and Pithias*, Snap is the porter at whose gates Wyll and Jacke 'be come … trimme Barbers'.[75] Snap's two entries around this scene encapsulate the trimming process (F1r, G1v). Finales are not described as a knacking-noise but as a single snap, an acoustic anti-climax after clanging basins herald a client's entrance. In 'New Trimming', the rhymer refers to 'the snap of [the barber's] Finger [that] then followes after' (stanza 6, line 4) the trimming routine as a rather pathetic flourish. Similarly, Stubbes describes how a barber concludes his services: 'Then snap go the fingers, ful bravely god wot. Thus this tragedy ended'.[76] Given the mundane subject, Stubbes's criticism of the excessive performances in barbers' shops easily emerges through his portrayal of an overly emphasized and trifling gesture as something heroic ('bravely') and within a grandiose context (a 'tragedy'). Both knacking and snapping are aggravating and intrusive but, most significantly, they are not robust sounds: in their very nature they are incongruent with sounds we associate with grand matters (in performance contexts), such as alarums, thunder, drums, trumpets, and bell chiming. Through the barber, therefore, we have a parody of sound, also exemplified earlier in this chapter by the effect of chiming basins. Stubbes and others construct this parody by playing with notions of volume, scale, context, and the instrument, which make a sound seem ridiculous; in the example of the ringing basin, parody is a matter of re-contextualization.

More generally, the noises associated with barbers are associated with coarse forms of expression. In Bulwer's *Chirologia*, 'certain Prevarications against the Rule of Rhetoricall Decorum' state that 'To use any Grammaticall gestures of compact, or any snapping of the *Fingers* … is very unsuitable to the gravity of an Oratour'. Elsewhere, *Cautio XXVIII* instructs, 'Avoyd knackings, and superflitious flextures of the *Fingers*, which the Ancients have not given in precept'.[77] The sound by which barbers are characterized informs the regular joke that barbers are terrific gossipmongers, but not

necessarily great orators. Coarse, non-verbal sounds epitomize rough rhetoric (captured by Greene's description of a barber who 'at every word a [made a] snap with … [his] sissors'), and so this soundmark critiques oral expression.[78] Having noted that ex-barber Crispino is not thought to have many manners, Volterre declares that Crispino's 'fingers speake his profession' in James Shirley's *Humorous Courtier*.[79] Earlier I quoted from Smith on the soundmarks of trades who produce a discursive logic in a cityscape. More specifically, barbery's soundmark has a discursive logic in that it corresponds to barbers' oral habits and characterizes utterance.

At the end of *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* the author instructs, 'if heere I have been too prodigall in *snip snaps*, tell me of it, limit me with a Falt, and in short time you shall see me reformed'.[80] Lichfield suggests that his own writing might have snip snapped immoderately in chopping back Nashe's discourse wherein reproving '*snip snaps'* replace rhetorical attacks.[81] But the italics also highlight its intertextuality and parodic function: Lichfield adopts his reference to performing 'snip snaps' from the pamphlet to which he is responding. In his mock dedication to Lichfield, Nashe suggests that Lichfield should 'deal … *Snip Snap* snappishly' with the Proctor of Saffron-Walden, indicating that if barbery and therefore barbers are characterized in terms of rhetorical prowess, the result is a rather feeble clicking of scissors and fingers which lacks efficacy.[82] '*Snip Snap* snappishly' is childish and over-alliterated.

Finally, the soundmark ('snip snap') is also supplied for onomastic purposes in literature. In his ludicrously poor disguise, Young Franklin speaks in French and refers to Sweetball in *Quiet Life* as '*ce poulain* Snip-snap' ('this young colt, Snip-snap'), replacing the barber's official name with an epithetical sound bite; the 'Snip-snap' is comic and does not need translation.[83] Moreover 'snip-snap' here functions as a soundmark for gelding (associated with a young male horse) – something that Ralph is unwittingly nearly subject to in the play. Although I cannot find evidence in the period for castration termed as having 'the snip', it seems that the barber's acoustic signifier could have been a precursor; indeed it feeds into – although without particular semantic logic – a variety of notions of barbers cutting things off, which I examine in the next chapter, and the threat that the barber may cut off more than you bargained for. In *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, Spadone refers to the barber as 'a snipper-snapper', transforming Secco into a minimizing onomatopoeia.[84] An epithetical use of 'snip' is also applied by the balladeer of 'The Northern Ladd'. The song tells of a female who is wooed by a number of different tradesmen, all of whom she refuses in favour of a ploughman. One of the maid's suitors is a mischievous barber:

> But I repell'd his rude address,
> and told him 'twas my greatest-cares,
> If wa'd a lowsie A-Snip, alas,
> when he's incens'd should keep my ears.[85]

As it did in *Quiet Life*, so 'Snip' ('A-Snip') in this quatrain can function as an antonomasia for the barber (i.e. 'if he were a only a lousy barber').[86] However, it can also be an epithet for 'rude address', whereby the 'Snip' is a cutting or exposing remark (i.e. 'if his address were a rotten insult or intrusion').[87] In both senses the soundmark 'snip' is derogatory. The final line of the stanza suggests that the female's ears are under threat from the barber: 'should keep my ears' means 'should cover my ears'. The line means that when the barber becomes vulgar, or – to use Nashe and Lichfield's phrase – too 'prodigal in snip-snaps', the maid must plug her ears. Once again, the ears, figured here through the fraught status of the female ear which Bloom explores, are considered a vulnerable organ in the presence of the barber – a 'lowsie', lice-ridden, barber, moreover, who by over-picking leaves the ear open to an unwelcome infestation. The performing 'Snip' in line three and reference to ears in line four of the stanza makes the connection in the ballad between barbery, sound-making, and offence to the ear.

The barber and his trade supplied early modern culture with a particular acoustic currency and aural tropes which were absorbed into and shaped contemporary idiom and metaphor through a series of culturally-stable signifiers: the tangibility of the ear-pick and the barber as the 'ear-picker', earwax as excrement, recurrent soundmarks, noisy instruments, practitioners' affectations, and the acoustically-defined spatiality of the barber's shop. Sounds in early modernity had, as Smith argues, exceptional social meaning, and the figure of the barber – as a surrogate sound control and a parody of the courtier, preacher, musician, sex icon, and rhetorician – could help to characterize what it might mean to regulate or disturb aural experience. The Barbers' ear-picking practices informed the whole concept of what it meant for something – material or otherwise – to enter the ear.

'What groane is that? … Convay him to a Surgeons'

Slicing off ears, like gouging out eyes, is the profound realization of a minor barbery threat and takes us into the field of barber-surgery. When Martius declares, 'Were I Midas, I would cut these ears off close from my head than stand whimpering' (V.iii.15–17), Midas responds, 'Though art *barbarous*, not valiant' (V.iii.18 [italics mine). Playing on his potential to be irregular, the Barber-Surgeon Richard Lichfield in *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* is interested in his subject's ears, which, he deems, are 'dull to heare' and therefore 'deserve their punishment'. His reprimand is enacted through the conversational style of the text: 'Then to bee short, to have thine [ears] cropt is thy punishment: What *Tom*, are thine eares gone?' Accompanying these lines is an acoustic cue in the margin: 'Ha ha ha'. Lichfield embeds his non-verbal reaction in the text, but Nashe's presumed primal cry is bypassed: 'I am sure tis a horrible paine to be troubled with the moving of the eares'.[88] Lichfield then teases his imagined victim, shifting from the image of the barber-surgeon – who cuts unadvisedly – to the surgeon who cures, and asserting

his professional status (a matter of regularizing himself) in the process. He writes, 'What wilt thou give me if I (I am a Chirurgion) make a new paire of eares to grow out of thy head'. Lichfield has 'wax & al things ready' but he decides that Nashe 'long a goe … deserved this disgrace to be eareless'.[89] The ear's anatomical complexities perplexed surgeons in early modernity and this passage's interest in ear reconstruction is timely; but only the earwax is a familiar element. Helkiah Crooke remarks on the aural passage, the 'outward Eares': 'so many & so smal are the particles there-of, and couched so close in narrow distances or nookes betweene the bones'.[90] Otology was only in its early phase, although it was a fast developing episteme.[91] Lichfield's vague reference to 'things' being ready to make or fix an ear fits the pattern I discussed in Chapter 1; whereas the barbers possess one iconic tool for ear treatments, the same cannot be said for the surgeons. Surgical equipment can be described as 'like unto an ear picker', where the definite instrument is a reference-point but not a discriminating object.[92] The 'ear Syringe, called *Otenechyta*' is a derivative of the generic syringe which has dozens of variations depending on the specific use.[93] Holme reveals again that there are a variety of names for essentially the one instrument (as far as the lay-person can perceive): 'a *Syringe,* or *Clyster Syringe;* a *Mouth* or *Ear Syringe;* so called, because used chiefly about those parts … It hath several names, as *Syphon, Syringa,* and *Enterenchyta*', and more, 'The *Enchyta,* is an Instrument wherewith Liquids are instilled into the Eyes, Nostrils or Ears, called also *Otenchyta* and *Oegin*'.[94] Bacon writes, 'I have heard there is in *Spaine*, an *Instrument* in use to be set to the *Eare*, that *helpeth* somewhat those that are Thicke of Hearing'.[95] The information is hearsay. Once again, this pattern tells us something about the way in which a medical narrative plays out on stage. Todd Pettigrew writes that 'the surgeon does not provide enough narrative resource' for the stage.[96] More specifically, the narrative resource for surgery is abundant, but can lack definition.

If no specific surgical instrument is associated with ear treatments, I now want to look at whether the surgeon is given a cultural soundmark. The sounds with which the profession are most associated in theatre, as well as outside, are the screaming, groaning, crying, and moaning injured or sick, which Lichfield converts to an unsympathetic chortle in his pamphlet. Thomas Gale notes that one of the challenges of the surgeon is to persist in doing 'all things as though he heard not the clamors of the sicke'.[97] The Master of the College calls 'Surgeons, surgeons' in *A Yorkshire Tragedy* on cue from the injured Wife's 'O, O!' (5:60), which, at first, is her only means of expression. In Marston's *Malcontent*, Ferneze takes some time to revive after Mendoza '*Thrusts his rapier'* into him.[98] The young courtier's first utterance upon stirring is 'O!', followed a line later by 'O a Surgeon', and finally 'O helpe, help, conceale and save mee' (E1v). Cassio cries in *Othello*: 'O, help ho! light! a surgeon' (V.i.30) and plenty of 'O'-embellishments litter that scene when other characters panic. 'O' represents not just the

victim's alarm, but also that (feigned or otherwise) of those around them. 'Even in the tongue of a man', Crooke observes, 'sometimes it expresseth onelie those things that fall under the Sense, as when wee crie for pain, or for Foode and succour'.[99] In Fletcher's *Sea Voyage*, hungry sailors appealing to the surgeon have six scripted 'O[h]!' sounds over thirty lines (Aaaaa4v). Smith analyses [o:] as an act of communication, questioning how the body projects itself through the primal cry and identifies itself through sound in a process of 'Autopoiesis', or 'self-making'.[100] However, Elaine Scarry's argument about the 'unmaking' power of pain is, among other things, an unmaking power of language: 'Physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned'.[101] The 'O' of the injured party on stage, which is the effect of language failing, at once acoustically identifies its mangled subject and identifies its need: it is not a primal cry for food, but a reactive cry for a surgeon. In *Macbeth* the bleeding Captain's logic is, 'My gashes cry for help' (I.ii.42), which prompts Duncan to command, 'Go get him surgeons' (I.ii.44). Erving Goffman discusses pain as a warning cry (for a patient in the dentist's chair, for example), which mixes an intentional and non-intentional response, holding meaning, therefore, beyond the primal reaction.[102] Smith's and Scarry's readings can be combined. The cry makes and unmakes a subject: a surgeon and a patient. Surgeons in *Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Othello*, and *Malcontent* do not appear and therefore are without phonic presence (save that their generic name is called out). Nevertheless the screaming and whimpering character acoustically cues them. Nashe writes in *Terrors of the Night* (1594) that 'Dreaming is no other than groaning, while sleepe our surgeon hath us in cure' (Ciiijr). 'Groaning' is the realization of that which is barred from sight. We cannot see what the dreaming man sees, but we can hear him; we cannot see the surgeon, but we can sense him. Toures describes surgeons who attempted '*To dig, to delve, to find her paine*' in her song in *Two Maids of More-Clacke*. Their efforts ('*in vaine*') to locate her problem (and thus their presence as medical subjects) are displaced by the song's imperative to disclose pain in giving it expression.[103]

Characterizing the *interjection* 'O' or finding some standardization in it as a cry is not possible. Culpeper and Kytö examine patterns in the 'pragmatic noises' recorded in early modern drama, making suggestions about historically changing sound patterns, but they are forced to concede 'that frequent pragmatic noise items are striking for their *lack* of text-type variation'.[104] Moreover the authors cannot access sounds made in performance because they look at interaction in writing. In production, the sound is, of course, at the discretion of the actor. There is likely to be some improvisation in the right scenario: the instinct of an actor to convey instinctive sound. In Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, injured '*Mend[osa] grones*' before being conveyed to the surgeon's.[105] This stage direction, which resists

scripted expression, is even less descriptive in its denotation of utterance than 'O'. Tragedie's commentary in *A Warning for Faire Women* refers to the sounds associated with agony that fill a theatre and affect the hearer. Following Historie's line, 'Oh we shall have some doughtie stuffe to day' in the Induction, Tragedie complains:

> What yet more Cats guts? O this filthie sound
> Stifles mine eares:
> More cartwheeles craking yet?
> A plague upont, Ile cut your Addle strings,
> If you stand scraping thus to anger me.[106]

Comedie describes 'a filthie whining ghost,/ … [that] Comes skreaming like a pigge halfe stickt,/And cries' (A2v). And later, Tragedie imagines 'The ugly Schreechowle, and the night Raven,/With … hideous craking noise' (C4v). The sounds of those in pain can also be a matter of picking our ears too deep. By comparison, Petulus's 'O teeth, O torments! O torments, O teeth!' (*Midas*, III.ii.74) mocks stilted, overly-defined oral expositions of pain through the trite reversed diction. And Iago's sardonic, 'O for a chair' (V.i.83), parodies the panic-stricken cries about him. Martin and Allard note that 'For Horace and Dryden, there is something about pain that exceeds representation and troubles the smooth symmetry of the Aristotelian mimetic relationship; the failure to recognize this asymmetry produces not tragic pleasure but either laughter or disgust'.[107] The danger of representing pain is that, like a staged surgeon, it can seem too strikingly counterfeit and threatens to 'unmake' the theatrical moment; it is prone to the 'Ha ha ha'.

Scarry argues throughout her work that the very unrepresentability of pain nevertheless encourages writers to attempt its appropriation. Other characters help to characterize cries. Malevole responds to Ferneze's 'O', 'Proclamations, more proclamations' (E1v) in *Malcontent*. Williams provides a soundscape for the battlefield in *Henry V*: 'some swearing, some crying for a surgeon' (IV.i.137). When Lodovico and Gratiano hear the cries of Cassio and Roderigo, Lodovico remarks, 'Two or three groan' (V.i.42) and he refers to his hesitation 'to come in to the cry' (V.i.44). The primal cries are made a subject of their speech: 'the voice is very direful', 'Whose noise is this that cries', 'Did you not hear a cry?' 'What are you here that cry so grievously?'(V.i.37–53). Cries demand to be heard. The Captain's response to Mendosa's '*groanes*' in *Insatiate Countess* transform stage directions (and therefore Mendosa's expression) into words: 'What groane is that? … Convay him to a Surgeons' (E1v). The refrain of Toures's song is the cry of a maiden in agony: 'O stone, stone ne ra, stone ne ne ra, stone' (C4v). The term of the problem from which she believes she suffers is encased between non-verbal sounds (performed, presumably, as notes) and, in the song, her pain (and her expression of it) is variously described in advance of the refrain: 'she

cri'd out in her despaire', 'And with an open throat she cries', and 'Still she cri'd out with paine and wo' (C4v). The wails of the refrain are appropriated by both language and music. The illusion that words can substitute the primal cry is matched by the illusion of the surgeon's presence through the primal cry. Substitutions in these examples ensure that there is a distancing factor that helps to dispel the anxiety surrounding the counterfeit.

'O' and its various alternatives in the examples discussed here is not a soundmark but is a sound signal. The point about the expression of pain is that it is wholly individual and cannot become a community sound; hence the surgeon is also usually imagined abstractly. Moreover, the sound does not necessarily derive from the activities of surgery but often resounds in advance of it, as we have found in the examples from early modern drama. It does not 'mark' the surgeon (who cannot be 'marked' because of his absence), but variously 'signals' him. The sounds of characters in agony (in performance) are highly audible and affecting but they resist interpretation.[108] In *Modulated Scream* Esther Cohen uses a musical analogy to conceptualize expressions of pain in late medieval culture when, she claims, the surgeons' 'battle [with] pain on a daily basis' (because of the 'extreme suffering of surgery').[109] Cries of pain, she states, are 'polyphonic'. However, there is a difference to be drawn: 'Unlike good polyphonic music', she argues, 'sounds of pain … do not harmonize'.[110]

'Come Surgeon, out with your Glister-pipe,/ And stricke a Galliard'

In *Before the Mast* Jeremy Montagu describes a copper-alloy whistle that was recovered from the Barber-Surgeon's chest which held surgical instruments:

> It is 96mm long and very narrow in bore, with an internal diameter of 7mm … The purpose of the whistle is unclear. It looks as though it could have been a piston whistle, like a modern swanee whistle … Such instruments were used for teaching caged birds … *If the piston was calibrated, it might, just possibly have been used to measure the range of hearing; if such techniques were within a contemporary practice* [italics mine].[111]

The author suggests that the object could have been a sign of early otology. If the whistle were not an otological instrument, then a pipe for coaxing birdsong seemed an odd addition to the Surgeon's case.[112] In *Sylva Sylvarum*, Bacon describes experiments in which he uses a whistle-like object to determine the transmission and reception of different '*Magnitude*[s] … of *Sounds*':

> Take a *Truncke*, and let one whistle at the one End, and hold your Eare at the other, and you shall finde the *Sound* strike so sharpe, as you can scarce endure it. The *Cause* is, for that *Sound* diffuseth it selfe in round; And so

> spendeth it Selfe; But if the *Sound*, which would scatter in *Open Aire*, be made to goe all into a Canale.[113]

Crooke describes similar experiments to Bacon, although neither writer stipulates a formal measuring process that might involve a calibrated instrument. In his investigations of the inner ear (the *cochlea*), Crooke makes observations by using 'a circled instrument … For', he explains, 'if a man lay his eares to the holes of such an instrument, hee shall here a wonderfull whistling and hissing noyse and murmure: where if a man blow into it with his mouth it will sound like a Trumpet'.[114] It seems that Montagu was onto something.

However, my visit to the Mary Rose Collections revealed that the whistle had been misidentified. Embarrassingly, the curator informed me, the archaeologists had got the object 'the wrong way round'. The cylinder was not meant for blowing notes. It was for cleansing the bowels. The supposed 'whistle' was actually a glister-pipe.

The curators at the Mary Rose Trust are not the first to acknowledge that a surgical instrument (and specifically a glister-pipe) can look uncannily like a musical instrument. François Tolet describes an Arabian's attempt to extract stones from the urethra using 'Pipes of different sizes, much of the shape of Flutes, or Pipes which are musical Instruments'. The practice even involved 'blow[ing] in' the inserted instrument to 'dilate … the passage'. Not surprisingly, Tolet does not claim that this procedure was particularly successful.[115] In surgery a glister is historically associated with oral application. Paré writes, 'Galen hath attributed to Storkes the invention of Glysters, which with their bils, having drunke Sea water, which from saltenesse hath a purging quality … whereby they use to bring away the excrements of their meates … a Glyster is fitly taken after this maner'.[116] Watching Cassio with Desdemona, Iago observes, 'Yet again, your fingers to your lips? Would they were clyster-pipes for your sake' (II.i.178–9); the image is sexual, but foully so.

At the beginning of *Sea Voyage* the stranded sailors hope that the surgeon can brighten their spirits. Tibalt jests, 'For my own part, Ile Dance till I'm dry;/Come Surgeon, out with your Glister-pipe,/And stricke a Galliard' (Aaaaa2r). Nothing in the script suggests that any stage activity results from these lines, particularly as the surgeon is supposed to be without his instruments. Tibalt draws attention not only to the correspondence of the instruments' shape (glister-pipe and musical pipe) and their reverse bodily application, but also more generally to the fact that in theatre, references to or the performance of lively, merry music makes a mockery of sober surgical practice; Galliards, according to *Deadly Sins*, are associated with fidgety tradesmen. (The '*syringe*' (s.d. III.452) onstage in *Burning Pestle* could become a visual joke if gestures to the ear, mouth, and bottom are made by the actors.) Crooke suggests that surgical learning can be of two kinds which he gives in musical terms, but with only one kind should surgeons

associate themselves: 'attend the plaine-song rather then the division or descant, which doth oftentimes corrupt the Musick if the auditors care be not careful to distinguish them'.[117] The learning of a good medical practitioner included 'musicke' as well as grammar, logic, astronomy, arithmetic and geometry, and philosophie.[118] 'Division' or 'Descant' is frivolous, distracting sound which – in Crooke's conceit – renders sober practice difficult. William Bullein's *Government of Health* (1595) provides pneumonics for remembering the 'foure complections' (humours) in song format. Humfrey, in conversation with John, advises him to listen to his 'simple harmonie' and 'many plaine verses'; 'take that chaire and sit downe, and I … will teach thee my song', he says.[119]

Certain types of music can emphasize the irregularity or inoperativeness of the surgeon figure and others, like the 'plain-song', with its reverential undertones, can denote the atmosphere of the learned professional. 'He that hath always a laughing contenance, & is geven to too much jesture and mirthe', states John Securis of men of physic, 'is taken for a lewde person'.[120] Crooke also claims that 'where there is so great a consent of learned and wise men joyned with the authority of all antiquity, I am not easily drawne to dance after the novell musicke of a wanton wit, which shall varie there from'.[121] Crooke's analogy is also his own defence against criticism from the College of Physicians, with whom he had, at times, a testing relationship because of his active involvement in anatomization, his publications of anatomy in English, and, ultimately his association with barbers. He demonstrates that he has not, despite his interest in modern anatomical learning, turned his back on classical medical teachings. Good, contemporary surgery, he suggests, is not 'novell musicke'. To take a modern example: Otolaryngologist, Charles Limb (not all good names are fictive), who has clinical interests in music perception, acoustic neuroma, and hearing restoration, introduces himself as follows:

> I am a surgeon who studies creativity, and I have never had a patient tell me that 'I really want you to be creative during surgery' … I will say though that … it's somewhat similar to playing a musical instrument. And for me, this sort of deep and enduring fascination with sound is what led me to both be a surgeon and also to study the science of sound, particularly music.[122]

Limb recognizes that despite surgery's on-going need for improvisation and creativity, for the observer (and particularly the patient), the practice must at least seem like a well-known tune, not full of surprises.

Later in the same scene from *Sea Voyage* when Tibalt again makes the surgeon a figure for ridicule, he says that the surgeon has 'lost his Fidlestick' (Aaaaa2r), his probing device. In the context of the earlier reference to a galliard, this sounds like a musical word-play on 'fiddle', although other

readings are simultaneously possible (see Chapter 1). Mercutio jokes about his rapier being a 'fiddlestick … that shall make [Tybalt] dance' (III.i.47–8). Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* contains a scene in which a musical context (a bawdy sung quatrain) combines corporeal and fiddlestick references.[123] Balurdo '*Enter*[s] … *with a base Vyole*' and tries to distract Maria, who is distressed on the eve of her marriage to Piero.[124] Prefacing his music-making by drawing attention to his instrument ('I have the most respective fiddle. Did you ever smell a more sweet sounde'), Bulurdo begins:

> *My mistresse eye doth oyle my joynts*
> *And makes my fingers nimble:*
> *O love, come on, untrusse your points,*
> *My fiddlestick wants Rozzen* (F4r)

Balurdo's song is about probing (the naked female body), and is given a surgical, as well as sexual, context through its reference to '*joynts*', '*nimble fingers*' (Bullein instructs that the surgeon 'must be … nimble handed'),[125] and a lubricated instrument (the 'fiddlestick' – for music- and love-making). In *Monsieur Thomas*, Thomas directs, 'proceed to incision Fidler' in advance of a song, and *Noble Soldier* pastiches Bulurdo's song when Cornego asks of Baltazar, in the middle of bawdy conversation about 'pricke-song[s]' (F3r), 'have I tickled my Ladies Fiddle well?', to which Baltazar responds, 'Oh but your sticke wants Rozen to make the strings sound clearely' (F3v).[126] Tibalt's reference to the surgeon's missing instrument is similarly compound in its allusion: his immediate mention afterwards of a 'Box of Bores grease' (Aaaaa2r) could be a reference to exotic remedial matter, but it is also, more basically in this context, his fiddlestick's resin. *Sea Voyage* surgeon's inability to perform surgically is characterized by his inability to perform sexually and musically: there is an implied triple pun on 'instrument'. Vulgar surgical performance is signalled by reference to a musical one.

Towards the end of *Sea Voyage*, the sailors repeat their request for music that will, they believe, revive them. The Master exclaims to the women, 'We cannot be merry without a Fidler./Pray strike up your Tabors, Ladies' (Bbbbb4r). Tibalt confirms that their hunger can be appeased (and their bodies, therefore, restored) by the women by using a musical analogy: 'we that have grosse bodies, must be carefull./Have ye no *piercing ayre* to stir our stomacks?' (Bbbbb4r) [italics mine]. Feasting on music is not feasting on pleasant melodies, but on penetrating ('piercing') sounds which hold both sexual and (medical-) cannibalistic meaning in *Sea Voyage*. The picking is too deep. By this stage the surgeon seems to have disappeared having been unsuccessful in his gruesome task in Act 3. The surgeon's failure to feed or restore the men is again transposed into a lack of restorative music. The women's attempt at another cannibalistic ritual at the end of the play mirrors the earlier one with the surgeon: just before Rossillia cuts the throats of

Aminta, Albert, and Raymond, Sebastian and Nicusa enter to restore civility and happiness on the island. At this moment the 'instruments of death' are 'la[id] by' (Ccccc2r). But these 'instruments' are both for flesh and for music-making: throughout the scene, 'Infernall Musick,/Fit for a bloody Feast' (or '*horrid Musicke*' as in stage directions (Ccccc1v)) provides a soundscape for ritual cannibalism. Inappropriate music, gruesome feasting, and tasteless surgery form a nexus of meaning in *Sea Voyage*: where surgery fails, the focus shifts to coarse music and even coarser rituals concerning bodies.

'For to that warlike tune I will be open'd'

Examining the dual aesthetics of exposure and concealment in *Epicoene* and *Troilus*, Kerwin misquotes one of Thersites's allegations of Cressida, saying that she performs '"a juggling trick – to be *silently open*" (V.ii.24)' [italics mine]. For Kerwin, this quotation summarizes the doubleness he explores: the 'charge of hypocrisy that both these plays make about some of the pieties of the surgical culture', which, in particular, relate to themes of (female) deception.[127] However, Folio and quarto editions of the play read 'secretly open' (V.ii.26). The misquotation does not undermine Kerwin's argument about the hypocrisies he finds in surgery's attempts to cut open the body but at the same time keep this act private, to treat the body – and acknowledge its defaults – but disguise its true form. Nevertheless, he leaves open to question the relationship between an episteme of openness (with regard to surgical procedure) and its sonic characteristic.[128] The open body was not necessarily identified with silence: to be 'open' and 'silent' could indeed be a 'juggling trick'.

Anatomizations were conducted regularly in Barber-Surgeon's Hall. Of surgeons who failed to attend anatomy lectures given at the Hall, William Clowes gives a musical analogy:

> It hath bene peradventure objected publiquely, [that] the negligence of some Chirurgio[n]s frequenting not of his Lectures, doth bewray the[m] to be rather wilfully bent to shrowde themselves under the dark wings of ignorance, than desirous of learning and knowledge … And therfore what avayleth it to play excellent Musicke to those that cannot, or will not heare.[129]

'Excellent Musicke' is equivalent to the company's anatomical lectures, when a cadaver is opened up. Whereas in barbery, the trade would analogize a teaching environment for music making, here, music analogizes the learning environment, which demanded discerning listeners. No music actually plays during an anatomy, only afterwards at the banquets held. Florike Egmond supposes that 'the plan to enliven dissections with flute music' in Leiden was never carried out because of 'differences of opinion about the

costs', but equally there could have been differences of opinions about the suitability of music given the occasion.[130] According to Clowes, secrecy and obscurity ('the dark wings of ignorance') within the profession are characterized by surgeons' inability to hear. Importantly, not 'any old tune' suffices for the metaphor. The premodifier – 'excellent' – endorses what Crooke later distinguishes as the difference between plain-song and novel music.

Fletcher's *Chances* uncovers the hidden secrets of the people in Bellonia. Petruchio thinks that he is ruined because disgrace has befallen his sister, Constantia: 'I know … as clear as truth./And open as beliefe can lay it to me,/That I am basely wrong'd' (Aaa1v). Later, Constantia believes that when her secret is found out – that she has married clandestinely and had a baby – her brother 'will cut [her] peece-meale' (Bbb1r). Resolving wrongs and disclosing truths is a matter of prising open bodies in the play. Petruchio's ally, Antonio, is the feisty one. He wants to gouge open the Duke (whom he believes has wronged his friend), and to this end involves himself in a brawl. Antonio hurls out various commands: 'Cut [the Duke's] winde-pipe', 'knock his brains out', 'If you do thrust, be sure it be to th'hilts,/A Surgeon may see through him' (Aaa1r-Aaa1v), and later, 'I say cut his Wezand, spoile his peeping' (Aaa3v). The gentlemen in ear-shot of Antonio comment, 'You are too violent', 'Too open, undiscreet' (Aaa1v). Predictably, the Duke is not injured in the fight, but Antonio is. His bloodthirsty 'openness' and his desire to see bodies opened up is made manifest, and he is transported to the Surgeon's which is realized in some degree on stage.

In III.ii (see Bbb2r-Bbb2v), Antonio is about to be opened up: 'Wilt please ye/To let your friends see ye open'd?', asks Surgeon. The surgical subject's openness is also public, which doubles the effect of being turned inside out on stage. Antonio complains in advance that the surgeon 'Has almost scour'd [his] guts out' and in response to the surgeon's question, retorts, 'Will it please you sir/To let me have a wench: I feele my body/Open enough for that yet?' His bawdy demand makes little sense. He gets the context of his medical treatment wrong, speaking out in a manner more usual in a barbery setting. Urging, 'Leave these things,/And let him open ye', Antonio's friends indicate that they trust this surgeon who appears to them (and the audience) composed and dignified: he advises against drinking wine before the operation (and prescribes only 'temper'd' wine afterwards), confirms that he has 'giv'n [Antonio] that [which is] fittest for [Antonio's] state', listens to the requests of his patient ('Will these things please thee?'), and gives comfort ('Feare not').

One of Antonio's requests is to have music playing while he undergoes the operation:

ANTONIO De'ye heare Surgeon?
Send for the Musick
…

1 GENT Let him have Musick.
SURGEON 'Tis ith'house, and ready
…. *Musick*

Anticipating that music will comfort and aid his patient, Surgeon is prepared for this request. Ideas about the healing power of music and music as a comforting distraction from pain have long circulated.[131] Peregrine Horden emphasizes that we can better think about medicine historically through a synoptic view of therapy which takes into account environments as well as practitioners.[132] Cordelia instinctively calls in quarto, 'louder the music there' (IV.vii.25) when her father begins to awaken after he has been 'cut to th'brains' (IV.vi.189). It is not clear what kind of music plays at these moments in *Chances* and *King Lear* but it was probably comparable. Foakes suggests that cutting the musical reference in Folio *King Lear* (and presumably therefore, the musical playing in performance) was consistent with cutting the role of the medical figure from 'Doctor' to 'Gentleman'.

However, restorative (perhaps restful) music in *Chances* is displaced by a different kind of entertainment. Antonio has a specific request:

ANTONIO let 'em sing
John Dorrie
2 GENT 'Tis too long.
ANTONIO Ile have *John Dorrie*,
For to that warlike tune I will be open'd.
…
And now, advance your plaisters *Song of Joh. Dorry.*
Give'em ten shillings friends: how doe ye find me?

Writing on the music in Fletcher's plays, Edwin Lindsey explains that John Dorrie, a popular ballad in the period which was recorded in a number of publications, and hence does not need writing out in the script, 'is a simple, a rollicking jig-like affair' but not a warlike piece of music (even though it tells of the capture of a pirate).[133] The tune is 'lively' and 'fast', according to Lindsey, because of its 6/8 time, duple rhythm.[134] These are the frivolous notes which displace sober surgery, and against which Clowes and Crooke warn. Gosson writes, 'Homer with his Musicke cured the sick Souldiers in the *Grecians* campe, and purged every mans Tent of the Plague. Thinke you that those miracles coulde be wrought with playing of Daunces … Galiardes … Fancyes, or new streynes?'[135] Whereas the earlier '*Musick*' in the scene from *Chances* comes from within the surgeon's house (probably from behind the musicians' curtained gallery in Blackfriars) the popular, vigorous piece is not background entertainment and usurps performance space, demanding the attention of audiences' eyes as well as their ears.[136] It might be that Antonio's friends dance to this jig. In his discussion of 'certaine wonderfull

and extravagant wayes of Curing diseases', Paré begins by listing a variety of ailments that are cured, according to the ancients, by music. These include tarantula bites, which relates to the tarantella in Italy ('they fetch Fidlers and Pipers of divers kinds, who by playing and piping may make Musicke, at the hearing whereof, he which was fallen downe by reason of the venemous bite, rises cheerfully and dances'), people who have become 'Franticke', and gout sufferers.[137] This type of music is not suitable for operations and Paré emphasizes the novelty and anachronism of these cures. The song in *Chances* marks the duration of a surgical event but it might also completely eclipse it. The Gentleman's original objection, ''Tis too long', suggests that a song must be selected that will fulfil a performance slot. The scene stages a battle of representations of surgery which play out acoustically: the surgeon cannot find his sober form of representation in this whizzy, popular comedy and, ironically, in insisting on a frivolous context for his surgery, Antonio relieves the surgeon of any burden of performing (having to represent) a regular surgical act on stage. Moreover, the nature of this music for an indoor theatre was not, according to Tiffany Stern, usual: 'Music in general was a private-theatre staple, and it took a very different form from the basic, brash music that belonged to public theatres such as the Globe'.[138] The *John Dorrie* is at odds with the typical atmospheric music effects achieved in the indoor theatres; therefore the controversy in representing a surgical context in *Chances* is underlined by the song selection which is unexpected, usurping surgery and the stage.[139] The hypocrisy, to which Kerwin refers, of a surgical context is not, therefore, achieved in this instance by Antonio being 'silently open[ed]'.

Antonio begs his surgeon to allow him to drink wine because he is horrified at the thought of being 'drest to the tune of Ale onely'. Alcohol possesses, according to Antonio, an inherent musical quality and one which suits his lively demands. But his surgeon warns that wine is 'death' when the body is being operated upon. Clowes instructs surgeons, 'You shall forbid Wyne to all wounded persons, chiefly if he have a Fever'.[140] Thomas Randolph's university drama, *Aristippus*, performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, is a celebration of canary wine rather than of the Socratic Greek sage. But the play's association with both the colloquially named drink and the ancient quick-witted philosopher make it a setting for mirth, satire, pranks, and singing.[141] Young Simplicius is in search of philosophical training, instead of which he gets a drinking lesson from the university men, Aristippus and his two scholars: their doctrine is 'Sacke and red Noses'.[142] Aristippus's head is cracked in a brawl with a Wilde-man, and so Medico enters first to brag about his miraculous talents and then fix the patient. Martin Walsh argues that *Aristippus* is a revival of the mumming play.[143] He identifies the duel (between Aristippus and his Scholars and the Wild-man and his Brewers), the boastful quack doctor (Medico), and his miraculous cure (some powder) for a broken cranium – resulting in the 'resurrection' of the title character – as key structural elements in the drama which support

its air of revelry and folkloric characteristics. Walsh regards Medico as the generic 'quack'.[144] But he is not an all-purpose medical figure. Medico is a satirical figure of both the barber-surgeon and, more specifically, of Richard Lichfield, Barber-Surgeon to Trinity College in the late sixteenth-century. Randolph takes the name Medico from the title page of Lichfield's *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (*Saffron-Walden* is addressed to '*Don Richardo Barbarossa*' and 'olde *Dicke of Lichfield*').[145] Benjamin Griffin explains that in *Aristippus*, 'Lichfield's Nashe connection … is not stressed [but] the barber-surgeon had evidently remained a Cambridge character in his own right'.[146] His Barber-Surgeon status is made into a joke in *Aristippus* as it was in *Saffron-Walden*. Randolph's Medico introduces himself as 'a Surgeon' but within a few lines, the Wild-man refers to 'Razor[s] in [his] shop' and Medico calls for a 'Barbers provision' in order to attend on Aristippus: a '*Chayre*', 'Bason', 'Napkins', and 'Boxes' appear on stage (see D1r-D3r). Like other dramatists, Randolph makes a mockery of the professional who introduces himself as simply 'Surgeon' (with implied medical clout), but who nevertheless is affiliated with less medically-specialized practitioners. Ultimately, he is identified by barbery (its material signs) which sets the tone for Medico's ridiculous medical boasts and also for the music with which the play concludes.

Once Medico has performed his impossible cure, Aristippus's scholars hail his civic reputation and then the characters burst into song. Their subject is 'health', which completes Aristippus's recovery: 'Now noble Signior *Medico de Campo*, if you will walkein, let's be very joviall and merry' (D4r). With the refrain, '*Conferring our notes together*' (D4r), the song produces, through music, an effect which Simplicius has being trying to understand: '*compossibilitatis*' (A3r) (composition). This parodic matching together of pieces is, in turn, emblematized anatomically by the bringing together of Aristippus's fractured cranium. Medico observes that 'the Meninx of [Aristippus's] eare is like a cut Drum, and the hammer lost' (D3v): when he is fixed, music and sound will resume. However, the irregular context of Medico's practice is characterized by disorderliness ('*incompossibilitatis*'): drunkenness and music displace sober, quiet recovery and the mending of the ear is made ridiculous by the play's noisy conclusion.[147] In the same way that Lichfield is amused by the idea that he could fashion a prosthetic ear for dismembered Nashe, so here the response to unimaginable anatomical reconstruction is 'Ha ha ha' (a response which jovial music makes acceptable). The songs in *Chances* and *Aristippus* are not an attempt at 'harmonious concent'; they instead remind us of the scene in *Midas*, when a dentistry act is replaced by a song about sore teeth.[148] Crooke applies a musical (rather than an architectural) analogy to conceptualize the composition of the body, which argues against Galen whose idea of the 'beauty of the part' was in its equality:

> but wee place the beauty of the whole body, in the *inequality* of the parts; that is, in their unlike and different quality and magnitude; but yet such

> a difference as whereby the parts do answere one another in as apt and neate correspondencie of proportion, even as musique is made of different sounds, but yet all agreeing in a harmonious concent.[149]

This chapter has demonstrated that non-verbal as much as linguistic and material signs can have a competing and parodic function, inviting the audience to 'tune in' and to do so consciously. In the final chapter, I explore the rhetorical characteristics of barbery and surgery. If Chapter 4 has been interested in how to be a discerning listener in the period (to hear what is regular and irregular), Chapter 5 is interested in how terms and metaphor associated with barbery and surgery gave expression to contemporary critical responses to both spoken and written language.

Voice

5
‘An unnecessary flood of words’?

Critics have established that there is ‘not a simple, hierarchical relationship between orality and literacy’ in early modernity, or in other periods.[1] Moreover, there is no simple divide between speaking and writing, particularly when we think about the production, performance, and publication of drama: rather, in Carla Mazzio’s words, there is a ‘crossroads of oral and textual cultures’.[2] The intersections between the oral and the literate in early modernity, a fruitful subject also for Adam Fox, are relevant to my discussions on barber-surgeons and indeed are dramatized through the respective rhetorical situations of both barbers and surgeons.[3] Early moderns’ representations, metaphorical construction, and critiques of language drew on their attitudes to barbers’ and surgeons’ practical work on bodies (to depilation, removal of excrement, bleeding and amputation) as well as the contested forms of expression that shaped impressions (cultural, civic, and medical) of their professions. Barbers’ and surgeons’ relationship to these cultures of language is markedly different, but it is not a clear-cut case of one only being associated with one culture. As my analysis has demonstrated, compounded and problematic notions of barbery and surgery are pervasive. That said, barbers’ and surgeons’ association with artistic (as well as medical) cultures are, at least idealistically, at odds, enabling writers to play on the divisions between orality and literacy implicit in the ‘barber-surgeon’: barbers and surgeons conceptualize the ambiguous relationship between words spoken and written.

I am interested in how barbery metaphor informs a type of common popular oral criticism in early modernity, generating its own informal idiom. It is only when the Countess remarks, ‘that’s a bountiful answer that fits all questions’ (II.ii.125) in *All’s Well* that her Clown, Lavatch, responds with the aphorism, ‘It is like a barber’s chair that fits all buttocks’ (II.ii.16); the simile draws attention to the recyclability of language in a spoken context, which is also a familiar, bawdy, barbery one. The oral culture with which barbers are associated regards language as highly

generative but also essentially disposable. In the barber's shop jokes oscillate between notions of reproduction (hairs/heirs) and depletion (loss of hair (depilation) but also of purse or seed as forms of forfeiture and castration). One of Walter Ong's psychodynamics of orality is that it tends to be copious and/or redundant.[4] Thomas Nashe reminds his readers, 'hair the more it is cut the more it comes'.[5] Especially valuable here are notions of *copia* and *elecutio*, most significantly set down by Erasmus, which were famously open to exploitation. Ideas about stylistic elaboration had their pitfalls.[6] I explore the isomorphic connection between language and hair, or more generally, language and the waste matter that accumulates in a barber's shop. In John Lyly's *Midas*, for example, a chopped-up tongue is imagined as 'shavings' (II.v.103).[7] The barbery trade can embody, in Mote's phrase, a 'great feast of language' (*Love's Labour's Lost*, V.i.36–7) because in the trade's setting 'one word … "beget[s]" another, always in transformation, never remaining still, never fixed'.[8] Mote's reference to the 'feast' also describes the 'scraps' (V.i.37) and Costard responds with a reference to 'the alms-basket of words' (V.i.38–9). Both language and hair also encode ways of thinking about value, and I discuss how barbers' language-use (or language-use within a barbery context) is related to economic matters – a 'trimming market'. The context of the marketplace in this chapter corresponds to notions of abundance and austerity, and, in particular, to the dual semantics of the verb 'trim', which means both to cut back and to adorn. To think about language as a resource or product is to think about frivolity, excess and/or waste, and potential; in a barbery context language is an extravagance, a pile of trimmings, and a basin of words. The conceptual frame of barber metaphor as a critical tool also encourages reflection on language that revels in multi-meanings and complex etymologies, examined throughout this book.

But if literary writers want to represent surgery in the period they can face a problem. I have suggested, with reference to tool sets, that surgical language is likely to be too technical for the typical writer. In addition, the voice of a regular surgeon should resound plainly, without embellishment. On a practical level, the role of the upright surgeon automatically carries little dialogue because private exchanges during treatment are not fit for a public stage. Moreover, a surgeon regards bodies as text to be read and interpreted – exemplified in public anatomizations – and aligns himself within the humanist tradition and a medical intellectual movement.[9] Whereas the barber's language appears transient, public, and transportable, the surgeon's is moving towards being fixed (and private) in alignment with the attitude that there was a correct, and economic, way of speaking, writing, and thinking.[10] Specifically surgeons were working *against* the commonplaces of the barber's image and reputation – whether this was more rhetorical than actual was beside the point. Surgery's efforts were emphasized by the shift in anatomy from reading the body as a sign of selfhood towards 'a Cartesian or purely mechanistic understanding of the

relation of self to standardised body': language too, had to be precise.[11] But surgeons' decision to publish in the vernacular put them linguistically between two traditions: an oral barbery one, and a classical, Latin, printed medical one. As we have found, an uneconomic abundance of linguistic options can result from the direct effects of choice. These historical tendencies help us to think about the writers' representation of barbery and surgery as vehicles for their arguments about rhetoric and as a means to be reflexive of different modes of writing (as well as figures that informed writers' social and medical satire). This book concludes, therefore, by arguing that conceptions of barbers and surgeons and their irregular counterparts were complicated by their linguistic distinctions, and by highlighting contemporary rifts and crossovers between oral, popular cultures and printed, professional ones.

'Tully *de Oratore*, the very art of trimming'

In my first chapter I examined one aspect of the barber subplot in *Midas*, arguing that the play's absent beard was underlined by the absence of the material properties of barbery on stage. I return to this play to investigate another characteristic of Lyly's portrayal of the barbery trade, and to offer a reading of the text that relates to linguistic rather than to material elements in the drama, reflecting the player boys' training in elocution and Lyly's artistic interests.[12]

The point of the barber's role in the Midas story from Ovid is that the barber cannot keep silent about Midas's ass's ears: he must whisper the news into a hole in the ground, whereupon reeds sprout from the place and tell the events to the wind. An Ovid-aware audience expects the barber to be fundamental (although ignorant) to the miraculous spilling of the story. Lyly's barber initially appears to have distinct verbal control; in the end, however, he loses it and conforms to stereotype, although he never conforms to his role in *Metamorphoses*. Nothing fantastical occurs in relation to the barber in Lyly's version, although Lyly does not neglect the reed story element and its mythological dynamic in the drama. The shepherds in IV.ii know they have to be careful around the reeds which 'may have ears and hear us' (IV.ii.20), but the barber is kept separate.[13] The barber's voice in *Midas* holds no mystique because it is aligned with gossiping courtiers. Lyly's critique of the barber's verbal traits makes a larger point about the relationship between the barbery trade and its reputations in financial dealings, befitting a play that reviews attitudes towards material worth. The barber's voice is crucial to his barbery economy, and the hullabaloo in the subplot is as centred on the characters' ability to harbour silver tongues as it is on their squabbling over a golden beard.[14]

Speech is an additional (faux) skill-set in the barber's shop. Motto and Dello, seem to have the verbal upper hand in their first appearance on stage and their rivals, Licio and Petulus, are the blabberers. Motto boasts of the

rhetorical lessons he has given Dello, which are comparable in importance to the artisanal skills required of apprentices of barbery:

> MOTTO I instructed thee in the phrases of our elo-
> quent occupation, as 'How, sir, will you be trimmed?'
> 'Will you have a beard like a spade or a bodkin?' 'A
> Penthouse on your upper lip, or an alley on your chin?'
> 'A low curl on your head like a bull, or dangled lock like
> a spaniel?' 'Your moustaches sharp at the ends like shoe-
> makers' awls, or hanging down to your mouth like goats'
> flakes?' 'Your lovelocks wreathed with a silken twist, or
> shaggy to fall on your shoulders?' (III.ii.40–48)

This mixture of animalistic, weaponry, and courtly metaphor ridicules the diversity of cuts available to a client in the barber's shop, and mocks not only the barber's trade as a frivolous enterprise, but also highlights the supposed gullibility of barbers' customers, who fall for a superficial sales pitch. Motto gives the list of phrases that Dello must master and handle as well as his barbery instruments. In Jonson's *Epicoene*, when Cutbeard makes a statement 'upon [his] dexterity' (II.vi.22), he is referring to his use of clever words rather than fiddly instruments.[15] The barbering economy – like other commercial ventures – is built upon a practitioner's ability to generate and market a variety of products, and on a customer's powers of selection. The various cuts on offer are for the barber a linguistic inventory.[16] Barbers cannot literally show the product until the client's face has been shaped and so their description serves as a display of goods: words represent hairs. Motto's list highlights that the styles of beard constituted an early modern fashion industry. In the seventeenth-century 'Ballad of the Beard', beards are celebrated in a variety of shapes and lengths (stiletto, needle, soldiers', judges', bishops', and clowns').[17] The opening stanza defends the ballad's verbal attention on the beard by highlighting its proximity to the organ of speech, the tongue:

> The beard, thick or thin, on the lip or chin,
> Doth dwell so near the tongue,
> That her silence in the beard's defence
> May do her neighbour wrong.

Selling the beard is part of the barber's tongue's responsibility to his trade which is invariably perceived as an ability to con, a theme in the subplot of *Midas* which mirrors the main plot's concern with the dangers of poor counsel.[18]

Dello responds to Motto's list with, 'I confess you have taught me Tully *de Oratore*, the very art of trimming' (III.ii.49–50). Here, 'trimming' holds multiple puns: Dello suggests that Motto's list is a set of saleable haircuts, a

collection of rhetorical phrases, and also a linguistic and, ultimately, tangible means by which to trick customers of monies. In his first few examples, Motto refers simply to beards that are 'spade[s]' and 'bodkin[s]', the weaponry images of which carry a semantic of clean cutting.[19] But also 'trimming' refers to the decorative aspect of the barber's work: they adorn their client with 'curls[s]', 'flakes', and 'silken twist[s]'. 'The art of trimming', in Dello's line, correspondingly refers to the balancing of oral arguments and to an orator's selection of language. Dello's comment refers directly to *Art of Rhetoric* (55 BC) in which Cicero portrays the ideal orator. The reference amuses an audience who only see barbers as models for one kind of interlocutor. But Dello suggests that the art of barbery is a marketing strategy in that barbers must sell their goods using slogans. Bruce Smith draws our attention to the 'voice-based cultures' that informed early modern media.[20] By reducing rhetoric to mere representation (of the trade), the barbers' oral prowess has its limit. Hunter and Bevington suggest the onomastic significance of the *dramatis personae* in *Midas*. For 'Motto' they cite etymologies in the Greek *motos* ('lint') and Latin *motus* ('motion').[21] Neither is problematic. Motto's association with dentistry make sense of his name's association with lint, a fabric needed to dress wounds, and he is central in the subplot's tracking of an absent golden beard which is a faux fiscal ebb and flow (or motion). However, 'motto' also means a witty or succinct maxim: a sententia. Lyly ridicules his character – the barber and economic forms of speech rarely go together in literature. In the same way that 'trim' holds a double implication in relation to hair fashions, so it does in relation to rhetoric. The 'art of trimming' for the good rhetorician can mean to present terse (i.e. trimmed down) arguments, but the rhetorician also knows when to adorn his language. Crucially Cicero is Motto's rhetorical guru because he is not as anti-ornamental as Plato or Quintilian.[22] John Barton writes in *The Art of Rhetorick* (1634) that rhetoric involves embellishing language, 'That is to say, It is the Art of trimming, decking, garnishing the Oration, with fine, wittie, pithie, moving, pleasing words, classes, and sentences in the passages and style of speech'.[23] The barber is Lyly's satirical embodiment of the struggling orator who is pulled in two directions.

Finally, 'trimming', as I have discussed before (particularly in relation to Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* and Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias*), also means to fleece someone. Dello recognizes – on behalf of his audience – that Motto's list of products becomes increasingly overdone and makes seem highly specialized and exotic what is in fact a standard list of beard styles/cuts.[24] It is the linguistic equivalent of making the barber's basin a shield, his pole a javelin, his razor a chopping knife, and his comb a threatening set of prongs. Unwitting customers can be seduced by barbers' bombastic language which is an elaborate façade: they pay more for something that sounds appealing (and, ironically, they pay for the theatrical *value* of over-performing in the barber's shop). And this is the barber's

confidence trick. The customer will be fleeced as well as furnished in being trimmed.[25] Verbal, stylistic, and economic interpretations of 'trimming' collide in Dello's response to his master. At the end of the first barbery scene in *Midas* the characters sing a song which, in Blount's edition of 1632, concludes with 'There is no trade but shaves,/For barbers are trim knaves./Some are in shaving so profound/By tricks they shave a kingdom round' (III.ii.162–5).

Phillip Stubbes's Amphilogus announces in *Display of Corruptions* that 'in the fulness of their overflowing knowledge … [Barbers] have invented such strange fashions and monstrous maners of cuttings, trimmings, shavings, and washings'.[26] Stubbes's ironic reference to barbers' inventiveness mocks the way that they portray themselves as creative practitioners. Amphilogus suggests that customers pay for the method of barbery: 'when they come to the cutting of the haire, what snipping & snapping of the sycers is there, what trickling, and triming, what rubbing what scratching, what combing and clawing, what trickling & toying, and *al to tawe out mony you may be sure*' [italics mine].[27] Significantly, the passage from Stubbes is reminiscent of part of Stephen Gosson's criticism of fidgetiness in the theatre: 'Such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking'.[28]

In *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, it is obvious that the barber can draw more money out of velvet-breeches than of cloth-breeches. The latter observes:

> [the barber] gets more by one time dressinge of [velvet-breeches], than by ten times dressing of me … velvett breeches he sittes downe in the chaire wrapt in fine cloathes … then comes he out with his fustian eloquence … saith, Sir will you have your … haire cut after the Italian maner, shorte and round, and then frounst with the curling yrons … or like a spanyard long at the eares, and curled … or will you bee Frenchefied with a love locke downe to your shoulders … my sissars are ready to execute your worships wil … then being curiously washt with no weorse then a camphire bal.[29]

Cloth-breeches's modified references to '*fine* cloathes', hair '*curiously* washt', and suds produced from '*no weorse then* a camphire bal' [italics mine] are ironic: velvet-breeches is getting the same treatment as everyone else in the chair who is washed with cloths and soap balls. But the barber alters his language for velvet-breeches: 'These quaint tearmes … g[r]ee[t] maister velvet breeches withall'.[30] Oral performances in the barber's shop relate to a monetary factor. According to Charles Nicholl, Cambridge barbers were renowned for their verbal performances, which they commercialized.[31] A barber's efforts to 'cut back' in the shop are matched by options for them to 'add on' services, which are usually represented by a flourish of language – 'fustian elequence' and 'quaint tearmes'. Later in this chapter I reflect on

their implicit association with charlatanism and irregular offerings of medical help.

Lyly also satirizes barbers' use of Latin. Although barbers were not expected to have Latin, the Company decreed that Barber-Surgeons who were surgeons should be proficient in the language:

> MOTTO I did but rub his gums and presently the rheum evaporated.
> LICIO *Deus bone*, is that word come into the barber's basin?
> DELLO Ay, sir, and why not? My master is a barber and a surgeon. (III.ii.61–65)

The passage incorporates two comic paths (in addition to the onomastic one I discussed in my Introduction). First, Licio makes Motto appear like an irregular barber whose use of 'rheum' is supposedly inappropriate given that he should not display any specific medical knowledge. In *Anything for a Quiet Life*, the barber liberally uses Latinate medical language, which is not thought appropriate by Ralph, who asks, 'What's this you talk on, sir?' (II.iv.16), and again 'What a pox does this barber talk on?' (II.iv.19) when faced with the barber's textbook Latin.[32] When Ralph appeals first to the practitioner (his fellow stage character) and then to the audience, he shares the joke that barbers attempt language for which they are unschooled both on and offstage. In *Seven Deadly Sins*, Dekker refers to barbers' 'learned Latin Basons'.[33] Dekker's phrase also incorporates a pun for his reader, perhaps not so obvious to us today. 'Latyn' or 'Latten' was a type of metal alloy thinly hammered from which basins were typically made.[34] Language here is associated with having material quality, and this too is underlined by the full impact of the line which describes barbers 'throwing all their Suddes out of their learned Latin Basons'. In *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, Spadone refers to barber Secco as a 'copper basnd-suds-monger' (B1r). Language envisaged in the barber's basin can be disposable, throw-away speech (the suds) which suits the image of non-specialist who nevertheless tries to make a verbal impact. The second comic path in the *Midas* passage is that Motto appears like a deficient surgeon whose use of 'rheum' is not especially technical (as Hunter and Bevington note, 'rheum' is 'a perfectly good Elizabethan word', meaning that it was common).[35] So Licio's implication that Motto has advanced medical knowledge is absurd.

Present in *Midas* and *Deadly Sins* is a suggestion of a conceptual linguistic space in the barber's shop, more specifically, in the barber's basin. This rhetorical space can be perceived as regular or irregular: the language circulating within this iconic object can be playful chatter, incorrectly used diction, and also the language of the sick and of graver matters.[36] The image of the basin as a spatial metaphor for where language collects (as well as where soapy water and blood accumulate) informs the whole cultural stereotype

that the barber is a gatherer of words, phrases, and news as well as corporeal waste. Moreover, the basin, like the barber's tongue has its own agenda in advertising the profession. If basins displayed in shop windows were filled with blood, the practice was deemed irregular.

Some years after Lyly's *Midas*, another playwright makes tangible on stage a basin as a space into which unwanted language is collected. Jonson's *Poetaster* is one of the later exchange plays in the *Poetomachia* or War of the Theatres (1599–1601), which was also a war of words. In the final scene Horace (the figure of Jonson in the play) supplies a cure for Crispinus (the figure of John Marston) who is on trial for using 'wordes … able to bastinado a mans Eares' and for trying to slander Horace:[37]

> HORACE Please it great Caesar, I have Pils about mee
> …
> Would give him a light vomite; that should purge
> His Braine, and Stomack of those tumorous heates (M2r)

Soon Crispinus admits that he is sick, and Horace calls for 'A Bason, a Bason, quickly; our Physicke works' (M3r). Over the next one hundred lines, Crispinus vomits up his florid, bombastic vocabulary (both Latinate and vernacular) into the receptacle.[38] After each of Crispinus's heavings, Horace is able to examine the regurgitated language and repeat it: in the basin, one of the most potent signifiers of the barbery trade, language can be read and interpreted. This scene is significant to our interpretation of the few lines from Lyly and Dekker. In Jonson's example the filling of the bowl with rejected language is a 'vomit', and in *Dutch Courtesan* it is literal excrement: Cocledemoy insists that if his 'wit', his verbalization of his barber's role, fails he will 'go cack in [his] pewter' (II.i.203–4).[39] Julian Koslow speculates that 'nowhere in Jonson's writings is there a scene which better dramatizes how complex and peculiar was the relation Jonson imagined between words and bodies'.[40] The barber's basin is a space for collecting material which is trimmed, shaved, or extracted from the body. Words in the barber's shop are like bodily remnants – in theory the unwanted bits, but in practice the 'scraps' that are of interest, add colour to expression, and demand scrutiny.[41]

Finally, while the basin performs metaphorically in these examples, it is possible that early moderns were familiar with the sight of a speech-impaired subject who used a receptacle – which could be slung around his/her neck – to permit speech. This figure could be one from folklore but Ambroise Paré writes authoritatively:

> A certain man … had a great piece of his tongue cut off, by which occasion hee remained dumbe some three years. It happened on a time that as he was … drinking in a woodden dish … suddenly [he] broke out into articulate and intelligible words. He … put the same dish to his

> mouth … and then he spake so plainly and articulately, that he might be understood … Wherefore a long time following he alwaies carried this dish in his bosome to utter his mind.[42]

Further, Paré illustrates the cup-like instrument fashioned from this chance event, underlining its practical rather than fanciful use. Language in this object is not refuse; but we can see from where the literary imagery of a basin of words may derive.

A choke-pear for a purse

The basin is not the only conceptual space in *Midas* with which the barber is associated. At the end of IV.iii, Licio remembers that he and Petulus still have business with Motto. Licio appeals to Minutius, the huntsman with whom they are bantering, 'help us to cozen the barber' (IV.iii.85), and Minutius responds, 'The barber shall know every hair of my chin to be as good as a choke-pear for his purse' (IV.iii.86–7). Mixed within this final line of the scene is a collection of images that associate the barber with hairs, controlled language use, and money. Hunter and Bevington's conclusion that 'Minutius intends to use every means at his disposal to pry open Motto's purse' makes one sense of the line, but does not give us the full implication of the metaphor at work. A choke-pear is an intrusive gag which prevents a torture victim from being able to make any noise. In Webster's *White Devil*, Monticelso threatens to silence Vittoria who rails against his lack of an 'honest tongue' (III.ii.229): 'I'll give you a choke-pear' (III.ii.233). The instrument does not 'pry open' in order to extract sound from the victim; it shuts them up. In Dekker/Rowley's *Noble Soldier* Baltazar explains that he is careful to escape political censorship at court and he characterizes this censorship as 'some choake-peare of State-policy' that would 'stop [his] throat, and spoyle [his] drinking-pipe'.[43] Therefore a 'choke-pear for [a] purse' does not necessarily extract money from the material space, but stops it from being filled with it.[44] I noted in Chapter 1 that Robert Balthropp's will barely acknowledges specific surgical instruments, and yet one stands out: 'a chochbarr of silver for the uvula'.[45] The uvula is the projection of tissue from the soft palate, responsible for voice-making in the mouth.[46] Minutius's torture instrument possibly parodies a type of dentistry instrument, presumably used by practitioners when undertaking fiddly work, although I have not come across other references to a 'chochbar'.

Minutius's quip is that because he has no hair on his chin, like Hal of whom Falstaff remarks 'for a barber shall never earn sixpence of [his chin]' (*2 Henry IV*, I.ii.25), the barber's purse will be blocked from filling with coins, rather than being emptied of them: Minutius cannot be shaved/trimmed – in both senses – by the barber.[47] Mouths and purses double up. (In Chapter 3 I discuss references to eyes and purses in *King Lear* which semantically

enhance the barbery imagery available.) According to his brag, in which oral and fiscal images conflate, Minutius is able to stop the barber's mouth and therefore stop his custom. In the subplot, the absence of the golden beard, discussed in the first chapter of this book, makes a mockery of the on-going quarrel between the barbers and Petulus and Licio. Here, Minutius's physical lack of a beard is converted into a joke about a barber's inability to sell his trade (to pour forth the 'phrases of [barbery's] eloquent occupation') and thus to generate income from Minutius.

Minutius never appears with Licio and Petulus to confront the barber, but the duo later realize the importance of getting the upper hand of Motto linguistically – as Motto has done with the fake inventory – in order to gain the upper hand on him monetarily:

> LICIO Let us not seem to be angry about the inventory, and you shall see my wit to be the hangman for [Motto's] tongue.
> …
> PETULUS We'll make him have a tongue, that his teeth that look like a comb shall be the scissors to cut it off. (V.ii.96–100)

They will transform Motto's mouth into a physical (barbery) instrument which will ultimately silence him. (Later, Dello says that Motto 'made [his] lips scissors' (V.ii.160).) Carla Mazzio discusses the paradoxical representations of the tongue 'as a literal prison-house of language', highlighting that in early modern texts 'the mouth is positioned as a war zone, with tongue and teeth locked in perennial combat'.[48] This draws on biblical references to the tongue, for example see Chapter 3 verse 8 of James: 'But the tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison' (King James version). In *TTN*, Richard Lichfield recognizes that 'nature hath set before [the tongue] a double bull-woorke of teeth to keepe in the vagrant wordes which straying abroade and beeing surprised may betray the whole cittie'.[49] To the author's mind, moreover, Nashe's 'talking makes [him] bee accounted as a purse that cannot bee shutte' who empties himself of worth ('all silver').[50] For Mazzio, 'Nature … has encoded mechanisms for censorship into the anatomical structure of man'.[51] In imagining Motto biting off his own tongue Licio associates the barber with the failure of 'pre-performance' censorship. In this way, censorship in *Midas* is 'post-performance', and corresponds to theatrical censorship which occurred after the performance event (as well as before).[52] The mouth is figured as a penal zone for the tongue after it has strayed. Licio and Petulus force Motto into proclaiming that 'the King's are ass's ears' (V.ii.157), a treasonable utterance. The envisioned bitten-off tongue is the image of execution for the traitor, rather than of the prudent editing of language.[53] As the set-up takes hold, Dello warns, 'Master, take heed; you will blab all anon.' (V.ii.149–150). Motto disregards his apprentice's advice, blabs, and has to promise to return the

golden beard to Licio and Petulus in order to avoid punishment. As I have discussed, Motto's default vow is to make an oath on the tools of his trade. In the Chapter 1 I argued that where material props had never materialized, the material inventory was a worthless list on which to make a vow. Now we can see that where barbery language is represented as a slippery substance, oaths rather than actions highlight the linguistic economies of the barbery trade that are open to abuse.

Because Lyly adapts a famous story for theatre, he plays with audience expectations in ways other than the direction of the main plot, which is already decided. The barbery antics begin with Motto fighting against stereotype and agreeing with Dello, 'thou shouldst be no blab, because a barber. Therefore be secret' (III.ii.55–6); but he will conform to stereotype just as Midas will show poor judgment.[54] The subplot is not only a quarrel over an absent golden beard (and therefore wealth), but is also about the control and loss of control of language. Language gains commodity value in the barbery setting in that it can add and subtract value, which is imaged in the golden beard, comparable to Pecunia's allegorical role in *Staple of News*, below. According to Richard Hart, Pecunia is 'not merely a passive embodiment of wealth as was the heap of gold which Volpone worshipped each morning when he arose from bed. She is kept under tyrannical watch'.[55] Similarly, the golden beard is not static, but is perpetually reforming as a symbol of wealth. Moreover, in the same way that Pennyboy Junior is engaged in 'aimless and dissipated wanderings with Pecunia', so are the characters of the subplot in *Midas* captivated in a fruitless enterprise.[56] Representations of barbers often encode a crisis of language, and in *Midas* this crisis has a faux-economic impact, allowing Lyly to raise questions about the substance and value of (oral) exchange.

Hair extensions

Midas's wish itself appears like a wasted utterance in the play – he could have wished for anything – and yet its impact is made literally and literarily weighty. When Motto promises to hand over the golden beard as a bribe to stop Petulus and Licio from spreading the news that he has spoken treason, he is offering payment for the right of censorship by the court servants. Licio and Petulus gain the rights over the barber's language which they have isolated – trimmed – from Motto's speech. Dello suggests that he will increase the value of this bribe by offering to give the court servants huge cushions stuffed with hair made by the barber. He matches the court servants' inclination to capture value from the barber's speech to the barber's ability to generate value from hairy excrements in the shop, drawing attention to the fact that that which we believed to be throw-away might carry more weight than we thought. This relates to the medical cannibal arguments of previous chapters. Blood, for example, can either be put to remedial effect or poured away. In Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour*, Carlo Buffone uses

the conceit that barbers erroneously retain (as well as collect) blood in the basin: 'I, and preserv'd [the secretions] in Porrengers, as a Barber does his Blood when he pricks a veine'.[57] Barbers were also mocked for using urine for lotium and Thomas Elyot includes in his dictionary an unusual example for his entry on 'Moreover' ('*Quin, for etiam*'): 'the barbour paryd his nayles, he gathered the parynges togyther, and caryed them all away with hym'.[58] For what purpose remains a mystery. And what about hair trimmings?

It is not clear whether historical practice in the period included barbers making wares from hair (namely cushions and tennis balls), but literary references to this are abundant.[59] Menenius Agrippa berates Sicinius and Brutus, the 'herdsmen of the beastly plebeians' (II.i.93) in *Coriolanus*: 'When you speak best unto the purpose it is not worth the wagging of your beards, and your beards deserve not so honourable a grave as to stuff a botcher's cushion, or to be entombed in an ass's pack-saddle' (II.i.84–7). Menenius associates the subject of (what he regards as) the tribunes' poor language with the image of their beards and their beards' fates. Indeed he exploits the notion that hairs and language can have worth beyond their initial growth or utterance to indicate that these men's words and hair do *not* have extended value, even for an ass's pack-saddle. Gosson writes of frivolous, effeminate poets who deal in bowels, dunghills, and wantonness, filling their words with 'ornamentes': 'Rippe up the golden Ball, that *Nero* consecrated to *Jupiter Capitollinus*, you shall have it stuffed with shavinges of his Beard'.[60] In his mock prognostication of 1591, the author, Foulweather, predicts certain events following the sun's eclipse: 'Item … some shall have so sore a sweating that they may sell their haire by the pound to stuffe Tennice balles'.[61] Puffe threatens Sir Oliver in *Ram-Alley*, 'If you come there,/Thy beard shall serve to stuffe, those balls by which/I get me heat at Tenice'.[62]

The ambivalent relationship of hair to the human body corresponds to oral discourse's unstable relationship to the written word: both are branches of more permanent-seeming entities. Helkiah Crooke begins his description of 'the Haires of the whole body' by drawing on Greek definitions meaning to 'mowe or poule', or 'cut' which suggest their inherent temporary status.[63] Indeed, Crooke explains the lack of coordination in humans between hair and skin colour in terms of the lack of longevity of hair: 'the skinne cannot … reteyne the excrement driven to it so long as to give it his owne colour'.[64] When asked '*which are the members called excrementous'*, Peter Lowe replies, 'The nayles and the hayre'.[65] But it appears from other anatomical tracts that hairs are not simply excrements, but are matter produced *from* waste. They are not classified as unwanted bodily discharge because they have diverse uses such as cover, defence, ornament, and the removal of other bodily excrements.[66] According to Ambroise Paré, 'The benefit of [hair] is [that it] consum[es] the grosse and fuliginous or sooty excrements of the braine'.[67] Crooke is in accord: 'Haires are bodyes engendred out of a superfluous excrement … corrified by the narturall heate'.[68] Will Fisher

asserts that early modern physiognomers 'figured [beard growth] as a kind of seminal excrement' and draws on Bulwer's assertion that to '"eradicate our Beard, or with Depilatories burn up and depopulate the Genitall matter thereof" is "to evirate ourselves"'.[69]

However, in popular culture, this medical argument does not translate into a straightforward sense of castration. In the examples I give above which refer to 'sweating', 'heat', '*Frenchman*', 'Codpieces' (and the inevitable 'balls'), hair removal encodes a strong impression of activity: re-stuffing rather than simply stopping balls. Playing tennis could mean having sex, but in *Staple* it could also encode a jeering contest (see IV.i.20–25). The reuse of human hair is a literary fantasy for a sexualized effect of extra-generativeness and it is an externalized view of the inner processes of production from waste in the body which revolve around hair growth: the writer's perception of natural patterns of waste. If the reuse of human hair is social practice, then it contributes to a picture of early modern resourcefulness. Thomas Boehrer, for example, discusses processes of excremental (sewage) circulation in early modernity, using the 'waste-is-treasure equation' and historical records of turd repositories, and relates it to the rhetorical character of Ben Jonson's poetry: 'Like the waste it represents, Jonson's excremental verse refuses to be disposed of once and for all; it keeps coming back in different shapes that cannot be entirely ignored or dismissed'.[70]

Again, we find that Shakespeare draws on a typical joke of city comedy to make a more profound figurative gesture in a different genre. In *Henry V* the Dauphin's insulting gift of tennis balls (a 'treasure' (I.ii.259) to the English King is now easier to read: not only does the Dauphin tell Henry to fuck off and make a mockery of the war being waged, he is also asserting that Henry is not kinglike but wayward, recycling the image of the young King as a flyaway. Henry reads the tennis balls well as a salvaged depiction of his wild youth, which he embraced with a '*barbarous* license' (I.ii.272 [italics mine]).

Using the example of *Sir Thomas More*, I now want to look at how contemporary playwrights extended their output by inserting material on the subject of the barber, which suggests that the stereotype has an implicit inexhaustibility. Put crudely, barbery material was evidently popular so playmakers made ample use of it to stuff their works: filling subplots, creating interludes. As I have suggested throughout this book, barbery material also had a natural affiliation with modes of performance as well as housing a rich vocabulary for literary mongering. Tiffany Stern has characterized the fluid nature of playmaking and the unstable text by drawing on playwrights' epithet, 'playpatchers', and discussing the evidence that writers recycled their material, and inserted, deleted, and revised collaboratively and individually before and after the play made it to performance.[71] Because the language associated with barbery is not a stable economy, it is a staple commodity for writers who utilize its puns, tropes, layers of meaning, and faux rhetorical turns: it was a good subject with which to pad out a play,

often metatheatrically. Addition IV in Hand C (the scribe and coordinator of the manuscript) of *Thomas More* is one such example. Images of filled spaces pattern the scene and its sense of being packed-in is embedded: the Sheriff accuses Falconer of causing the street to be 'choked up with carts' (8.62) and Erasmus notes that 'merry humour is best physic/ …, for … melancholy chokes the passages/Of blood and breath' (8.191–4). Of Addition IV, John Jowett writes that it 'might be motivated by practical considerations of staging … The need to buy time might have become more and more apparent as the play moved towards performance'.[72] The writers needed extra dialogue for what was a rejected and failing manuscript.[73]

The Falconer episode of Addition IV is recycled from a description of incidents involving Cromwell, not More, in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1583).[74] Common early modern puns on hair/heir implicitly endow the subject of hair with a sense of generativeness, captured in More's and Falconer's reference to hairs at birth (see 8.100, 240–41). The scene is a late insert in the play in terms of its chronology, and Dekker's extension at the end of the scene – which continues the discourse on hair – contributes to the effect of further padding.[75] Following More's soliloquy (Addition III, again in Hand C), Addition IV accounts for most of scene 8 (271 of its 291 lines) as it stands in modern editions. Addition IV is really two episodes: More's trick in letting his man Randall pretend to be Lord Chancellor and the dispute between Falconer, a long-haired ruffian, and the Sheriff and secondly More. Despite its two strands, scene 8 centres on a few themes: outward appearances, hair and wit, disguise, penalties, and tricks – a typical subplot combination, and a typical barbery one, which relates to the play's interest in the historical anecdote that More would have his head cut off for holding his tongue, but not his beard, and its internal reflexive demand for Wit to be found a beard.[76] Scene 8 juxtaposes the playwright's need to create dialogue with More's message that 'Who prates not much seems wise, his wit few scan,/While the tongue blabs tales of the imperfect man' (8.38–9) and warning to Randall that he 'talk not overmuch' (8.37). In turn, its focus on Falconer's overly-lengthy hair conceptualizes this; 'less hair upon' your shoulders means 'more wit' (8.248). More's interest in Falconer's need to amend his image is drawn out: 'How long have you worn this hair?' (8.99), 'how long/Hath this shag fleece hung dangling on thy head?' (8.101–2), 'When were you last at barber's? How long time/Have you upon your head worn this shag hair?' (8.107–8), 'it is an odious sight/To see a man thus hairy' (8.121–2), 'Cut off this fleece' (8.125). More classifies Falconer's case as a 'trivial noise' (8.74), and yet much is made of it: 'let's talk with [Falconer]' (8.231), More says at the next opportunity. Towards the end of Addition IV, Morris remarks, 'I'll hear no words, sir, fare you well' (8.273) indicating that the padding is complete. The words on hair have done their bit. Whereas More pontificates on the familiar virtues of trimmed-down speech, shaved Falconer complains that the barber has taken value – rather

than waste – from his head and has made him look like a sufferer from the pox who turns bald. Falconer makes his 'locks' (8.249/250) synonymous with safe-keeping, says he is 'deposed' because his 'crown is taken from [him]' (8.260–1), claims that he is the victim of a 'poache[r]' (8.282), and hopes that his new hair will be spun like 'fine thread' (8.288–9).

Although the character of a barber does not appear in the scene, the term 'barber' is used five times and is important to its conception. We must envisage a barber at work offstage during Addition IV because Falconer re-enters trimmed. Moreover, in the scene's other episode, More calls Randall a 'painted barbarism' (8.180) for deluding Erasmus, a jest which More orchestrates. More's notion of disguise is filtered through a pun on 'barber' and his criticism of language-use is contextualized by that figure. Ultimately, Falconer dismisses the idea of being 'a hairmonger', but this term, in the penultimate line of the scene, characterizes the activity with which the playmakers have engaged in constructing Addition IV: in trying to add value to their manuscript, the authors of *Thomas More* further question the value of language through various analogies to hair. Jowett glosses 'hairmonger' with a description of 'a barber's client whose hair is sold to make wigs'.[77] But this is out of place, despite the fact that the actor playing Falconer had to wear a wig in his first entrance in order to appear shaved in his second. The play never makes use of the term 'wig', and periwig-making did not begin in earnest for social, rather than royal or theatrical, use until later in the seventeenth century: in the period of this study, barbers and wig-making do not go together in popular representations of the trade, or in the Company's records about barbery practice. Like a prosthetic beard, Falconer's head of hair was detachable and recyclable. The notion that barbers deal in hair was not restricted to the single commercial avenue of wig-manufacturing. The potential of hair as a material object, concept, or literary subject – especially in a barbery context – means that it is readily-available filling-matter.

'I'll go see/This Office … and be trimm'd afterwards'

In *Staple* Jonson satirizes the social institution of printing houses, journalistic partiality, mass circulation of news sheets, contemporary publisher figures like Nathanial Butter, and contemporary attitudes towards wealth and Jonson's own literary corpus. But within the play, he also satirizes the social and literary aspects of the broadcaster role played by barbers, and in doing so develops a theatrical frame in the play, which assists his exploration of the correspondence between the Staple office and the theatre.

In the previous chapter I examined why in *Epicoene*, written nearly two decades before *Staple*, Jonson gives the barber, Cutbeard, a fundamental role in controlling the non-verbal soundscape around Morose, and I argued that we should think about the barber as an iconic ear-picker in the period. But Cutbeard controls speech, as well as sound, in *Epicoene* and Jonson illustrates

the role the barber (conceptually) played in managing voices, dialogue, gossip, and news. Hart notes that both news and money demand by their nature to be current; barbery fits into the fashions of the now-conscious worlds.[78] Jonson makes directly correspondent a barber's ability to generate news and a barber's ability to make money by making a barber, Tom, a vital structural unit in the news office in *Staple*. Pennyboy Junior remarks on Tom's suitability for this role because of his 'Quick vein in forging news' (I.v.133) – the gossipy barber stereotype is in his blood. Here, I explore the barber as a dramatic, thematic, and structural feature in the play who is crucial to Jonson's presentation of the Staple.[79] Tom the barber becomes a member of the office, but more than this, he is fundamental in its linguistic and also physical conception on stage. He is the first character to tell us about the office and the one who reports its destruction. The Staple is the barber's news.

The barber's shop as a place for exchange, gossip, and news-gathering has been long established in literature and in popular social consciousness. William Andrews describes the perennial barber figure: 'he retailed the current news, and usually managed to scent the latest scandal, which was not slow to make known'.[80] In *TTN* 'The Barbers Chaire is the verie Royall-Exchange of newes'.[81] Mulligrub asks barber-disguised Cocledemoy four times 'what['s the] news?' (*Dutch Courtesan*, II.iii.30, 32, 36), Spadone turns to Secco for the 'tattle oth' towne' (*Fancies*, I4v) and declares of news: 'that's part of your trade' (I4v). In John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, Bergetto and Poggio are excited by foolish talk from the barber about sandbag-fuelled mills: 'my barber told me', '(my barber says)', and 'So the barber swore, forsooth' (I.iii.34–42) pepper their talk.[82] Bergetto's immersion in gossip with the barber characterizes his hopelessness as suitor to Annabella. His 'rare speech' is, in fact, 'gross' and, according to his uncle, Donado, 'intolerable' (I.iii.56, 64, 69). The barber's shop or the barber himself is a centre of information which emanates verbally: at best it represents distraction; at worst it signals corruption. In *Quaternio* (1633), Jurisperitus tells the Rustic of the punishments to which Heathens subjected those who told lies. His example is of a barber who circulates 'intelligence' of 'some strange Occurrence which happened in *Sicilia*' which he learns from a customer in his shop. The barber's information proves false and causes uproar in the town, and he is tortured on 'the wheele' for being 'a disturber of the peace of the Citie'. Nashe supplies the epithet '*rumor-rayser'* for this barber.[83] In this compound, rumour is seen as generated (raised up, or amassed), and also seen as an item of the barbery process that can as easily be cropped (razored) as cultivated, reminding us of the double implications of 'trim'. Rumour is envisaged as something material, harvestable, and ultimately saleable, although it characterizes false commodities. In 'West-Country Tom Tormented' (a ballad surviving from the late-seventeenth century), the eponym refuses to 'prattle and prate', '*meddle* [and] *make*', and is irked by the news mongering in

London at the cobbler's stall, in a tavern and at the Royal Exchange.[84] The balladeer withholds the setting of the barber's shop as a centre for chatter until the final stanza and the barber's demand for news is the final provocation for Country Tom, who runs from the shop half-shaved and interrupts the barbery process by rejecting the gossip element of its routine. In being deprived of gathering news from a customer, the barber (in this example) is also deprived of his fare for barbering. The Staple, which doubles as a barber's shop in Jonson's play, is the point of consolidation for the urban centres ('The Court … Paul's, Exchange, and Westminster Hall' (I.ii.60)) of artificial (social and political) intelligence.

Staple is a typical product of Jonson's interest in framing devices: the play is divisively layered.[85] A sense of a distinct venue is as important to the Staple as it is to a barber's shop, and in Tom's first scene, Jonson connects the practical considerations of setting-up a barber shop with the notion of setting-up the Staple. Tom initially arrives on stage with his barber's furniture, greeted by Pennyboy Junior's instruction, 'Set thy things upon the board/And spread thy cloths. Lay all forth *in procinctu*/And tell's what news' (I.ii.20–22). The news is, of course, a description of the Staple. And at the end of the scene, Pennyboy Junior decides, 'I'll go see/This Office, Tom, and be trimm'd afterwards' (I.ii.140–41). Tom 'lay[s] forth' his barbery gear not to set up his barber's shop in which to shave his client, but to establish a space in which to set forth the Staple in words rather than 'things'. He rhetorically constructs the venue which is 'Newly erected/Here in the house' (I.ii.31–2) and has been 'set up' by Cymbal (the Master of the Office) with 'desks and classes, tables, and his shelves' (I.ii.44–5) in advance of its realization on stage. Put another way, an audience sees a barbery setting (with props/furniture) as a place for news to be disseminated before they see the Staple's office space. Pennyboy Junior says upon entering the Staple, 'I bought this place for [Tom] and gave it him' (III.ii.8). Later, Customer 1 refers to the staple as a 'profane shop' (III.ii.123). The office space ultimately displaces the functional barbery space and Pennyboy Junior is 'trimm'd afterwards' of monies for news-purchasing rather than for hair-removal.

Later in I.iv, the structural space of the Office is configured on stage. (Catherine Rockwood argues that the play has 'no central *locus*' in terms of its structural and thematic configuration; yet a strong sense of physical space pervades at some instances in this drama.[86]) Register is coordinating the Office: 'What, are those desks fit now? Set forth the table,/The carpet, and *the chair*' ([italics mine] I.iv.1–2).[87] The single chair is, of course, significant in view of the iconic status a chair gains in a barber's shop. Dekker mocks 'Or if you itch, to step into the Barbers, a whole Dictionary cannot afford more words to set downe notes what Dialogues you are to maintaine whilest you are Doctor of the Chaire there'.[88] When Pennyboy Junior and friends enter the Office, they take note of the 'dainty rooms' and the 'place' (I.v.1) itself. Cymbal explains the set up: 'This is the outer room, where my

clerks sit/And keep their sides; the Register i'th midst,/The Examiner, he sits private there, within' (I.v.2–4).[89] Divided into outer and inner (private) spaces, the Office is like the layout of a typical early modern barber's shop wherein additional surgical services are provided in a less public space. The shop and office are not entirely open to scrutiny, and the space for news-mongering is inherently corrupt. Jonson lays before his audience the sites in which the slow-witted are exploited: the playful news office which doubles as barber's shop is also comparable to the fair. But the office clerks fuss. After Jonson's fractious years composing masques with Inigo Jones at court it is little surprise that instances when interior design becomes a subject on Jonson's stage appear ridiculous. D. F. McKenzie claims that 'even in its further perspectives of outer and inner rooms, the Staple is a competing image of the theatre' (and to my mind a barber's shop), but it is also a competing image of a masque.[90] In 'An Expostulation with Inigo Jones', Jonson addresses 'wise Surveyo^{r}' Jones with affected zeal: 'are you fitted yet?/Will any of these express yo^{r} place?', he asks, and refers to Jones's 'omnipotent Designe!'[91] In addition, the emphasis on the physical construction of the office as a bodily subject (with 'limbs') appears doubly parodic: first with regard to Jones and his classical, Raphaelesque training in human anatomy; second with regard to a divided space, overseen by a barber, in which bodies are reconstructed.[92]

The Staple's ephemerality underlines the type of manufacturing industry with which the barber is associated: the industry in which the trade goods (language and hair) are quickly regenerated and disposed of (raised or razored). When Expectation (an apt name) refers to the office after it has been set up on stage, he emphasizes its elusiveness: 'a new Office, i'the air, I know not where' (I.Intermean, 5–6) and later complains that 'They have talk'd on't, but we see't not open yet' (II.Intermean, 49–50). Significantly, it is Tom who gives the news about the fate of the office, as he did about its erection: 'Our Staple is all to pieces, quite dissolv'd' (V.i.39) he says, mixing images of material disintegration and disappearance (things becoming immaterial).[93] It has 'Shiver'd' and 'crack[ed]' in being 'blown up!', but the clerks have 'flew[n] into vapor' or 'Into a subtler air' (V.i.40–47); the office has broken up (i.e. it is a ruin and has remains), but simultaneously has 'vanish'd' without trace (V.i.50). The Staple struggles with the divisions between selling spoken, written and printed language, between words that are heard, read and owned, and in the play it is the barber, finding himself unable to trade effectively in printed language, who is left to suffer at the loss of the office: he mourns, 'I am clear undone' (V.i.37) and 'broke, broke, wretchedly broke' (V.i.38).

Ultimately, the conjuring of language that is satirized in the Staple mirrors the playwright's duty, and the office that was essentially 'i'th air' is correspondent to the play that exists 'in our skies' (Prologue, 10). In *Staple*'s 'Prologue for the Stage', the audience is asked to 'come to hear, not see,

a play' (line 2) for the writer would have an audience 'wise/Much rather by [their] ears than by [their] eyes' (lines 5–6). Writing on *Staple*'s satire of 'commodification as a disease of the urban populace', and evaluating Jonson's repeated discovery 'that the distinction between high and low cultural effects is a problematic one', Don Wayne concludes: 'In contesting … [the] criteria of distinction, the playwright is unable to disguise the fact that he takes the productive labor and the material culture of everyday London life and turns it into aesthetic capital'.[94] McKenzie specifies that 'the play itself is properly larger than the Staple, for it is Jonson's own Staple of news. It is not synonymous with the city news office but is offered in serious public competition with it … the Staple is a competing image of the theatre'.[95] Muggli argues that Jonson 'succinctly dramatizes the frightening transformation of individual consumers into a mass audience seeking the same trivial … news'.[96] The office members, and the barber's commitment to language is also Jonson's: all three rely on language, which becomes a social and commercial enterprise, to earn their keep.[97] At the time of writing *Staple* Jonson's popularity had slumped considerably and his literary output was being ill-received. In encouraging his audience to take pleasure in the language games in the play, Jonson was encouraging audiences to enjoy his linguistic conjuring, whilst simultaneously critiquing himself. The office in *Staple* is therefore a tri-partite construction in that it interweaves criticism and the reputations of a news-house, a barber's shop, and a playwright's poetic mind.[98] Jonson intermingles his commentary on the social and civic mechanisms of early modern London with his more politically ideological critiques. McKenzie's reductive summary of the barber's function in the play – he allows the Staple to 'cope with the arts' – only hints at the connectivity between the perception of the barber's shop and creative, linguistic venues.

The trimming of Thomas Nashe

In this section I examine how writers employ an ideological sense of trimming as punishment and how dual notions of cuts in oral and written discourse evoke the barber-surgeon. The Company exercised very specific measures to discipline an unruly apprentice brought before the court by his master on 9th August 1647. The minutes take note:

> Mr Heydon complayning to this Court of his Apprentice how present in Court For his evill and stubborne Behaviour towards him and frequent absentes out of his service … The said Apprentice being in Court to answer to the same did rudely and most irreverently behave himselfe towards his said M[aste]r … in Savory language and behaviour using severall Oathes protesting that he will not serve his M[aste]r Whatever shall come of it.[99]

The clerk registers not only the apprentice's absence from duties, but also the language he uses before his superiors, which is unregulated, unruly and also too lengthy: he makes 'severall Oathes' implying that the nature of his protestation in this context, his defence, is overly long or exaggerated (like Motto's oaths).[100] The minutes note one course of action only: 'This Court did therefore cause the haire of the said Apprentice (being undecently long) to be cut shorter'. The court tackles the indecency of the apprentice's verbal expression by tackling the indecency of his overly-hairy physical expression.[101] Verbal expression can be interrupted but it cannot literally be cropped once it is generated. Hair cutting in this instance codifies that impossible (penal) response to language use – hence in *Midas* the court servants trim Motto of 'his' golden beard. In *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596), Thomas Nashe imagines that the barber has the capacity to 'shorten … all his enemies' who employ strong language against him.[102]

In John Jones's *Adrasta*, Damasippus is a lecturing as well as a 'lecherous' stoic, adapted from the philosopher Damasippus in the second of Horace's *Sermones*. Damasippus's crime in the play is not just that he nearly cuckolds Master Frailware and is unfaithful to his wife Mistress, Abigail, but that he is a hypocrite in delivering his 'moral lecture' against the sins of the flesh.[103] Frailware and his page punish Damasippus by arranging for a barber (disguised, perhaps like Nick in *Burning Pestle*, as '*a Devill Barber*' (s.d. I1r)) to shave him. In part, this is an act of castration, envisaged by Page: 'Let his offensive member be now lopt off' (I1r). Moreover, language that has proved false is comparable to a messy beard: Damasippus has a 'Dung-mix of haire' (I1v). But the analogy that dominates the scene is that Damasippus's long beard is his long speeches; his is a 'morall Beard' (I1v), comparable to the 'moral lecture', of which Damasippus protests, 'it is an Ornament and speciall gravity belonging to our Sect' (I1v), meaning a group of vocal stoics. The barber teases, 'what can you say to save it?' and then denounces, 'Impossible that hair should argue wit' (I1v).

Licio traps the barber by regarding Motto's mouth as a barbery instrument which will, metaphorically, cut off his tongue in *Midas*. Barbers' tools and barbery's language of cutting and trimming contribute to a semiotic that regards language use as something that needs maintenance, pruning, and penalties. Beards and hair that get out of control or become too lengthy are associated with the look of a ruffian (as the Falconer scene in *Thomas More* makes clear) or (for males) are too womanish and, according to the logic in *Epicoene*, talk too much.[104] Amphilogus explains in *Corruptions* that:

> barbers are verie necessarie, for otherwise men should grow very ougglisom and deformed, and their haire would in processe of time overgrowe their faces, rather like monsters … I cannot but marvell at the beastlinesse of some ruffians … that will have their haire to growe over their faces … hanging downe over their shoulders, as womens haire doth.[105]

In the same way that a person's hair tells the observer something about their social standing and often determines their gender (and age), so too does their language-use. In *King Lear* the fact that Gloucester's crime, according to Edgar and Cornwall, is indiscreet talking makes Regan's interest in his beard appropriate: his *beard* prompts her again to think of him as 'traitor' (III.vii.37). Gloucester, in turn, imagines that his beard will become the accuser, extending the trope that speaking out and feats of justice can centre on the figurative associations of a beard. Responding to talkative Falconer, whose head is newly barbered, More remarks, 'Why, now thy face is like an honest man's' (*Thomas More*, 8.237). In *Adrasta* Damasippus is a 'reformed man' (I2r) after the barber takes his razor to 'these haires that never yet were cut' (I1v). More generally, unwanted language is treated like superfluous hairs – like waste. 'The Barbers Office' in Joseph Marty's 1621 book of epigrams reflects on the tonsorial efforts in making an improperly hairy face (head and beard) acceptable:

> A Circumciser of those excrements,
> Which are enormous, or extravagant
> On Capitall or Barball lineaments,
> Or wheresoere they are exorbitant.
> And to be plaine; be pleas'd a while t'sit bare,
> He will correct your worship to a Haire.[106]

The epigram exemplifies linguistically its aesthetic subject – of reforming appearance – by shifting linguistic registers from a florid opening quatrain, packed with feminine rhyme, to a pithily phrased rhyming couplet. When Polonius bemoans in *Hamlet* that the 1st Player's speech 'is too long' (II.ii.494), Hamlet jibes, 'It shall to th' barber's with your beard' (II.ii.495).[107] In *Hengist*, the eponym tackles a dispute occurring between two townsmen, declaring, 'Call in the Barber; if the tale [the history of the dispute] be long,/ He'll cut it short, I trust, that's all the hope on't' (III.iii.43–4). Of the vicar that Cutbeard selects for Morose's marriage in *Epicoene*, the barber acknowledges that he is 'an excellent barber of prayers' (III.ii.41–2). In Quintiliano's dispute with the barber in Chapman's *May-Day*, memories of promised 'crownes', which Cutbeard says have 'hung long enough a conscience', should, according to Quintiliano, be 'Cut … downe' – which 'belongs to [the barber's] profession if they hang too long'.[108] Stories, tales, speeches, prayers, memories, and news, predominantly considered in their spoken forms, can be embellished by a barber, but they can also conceptually be chopped. In the warm up to their barbery games in *Damon and Pithias*, Will and Jack tease Grimme the collier for his muddled understanding of court business. Grimme unwittingly calls 'Master Carisophus' 'Master Crowsphus', prompting Will to quip, 'you clippe the Kinges language'.[109]

Nashe characterizes the barber's need 'Without further circumstance to make *short*, (which to speake troth is onely proper to [the] Trade)' in

his dedicatory epistle to Trinity College Cambridge Barber-Surgeon in his pamphlet *Saffron-Walden*.[110] Nashe's address to the Barber-Surgeon (and his cocksure use of barbery stereotype) sparks the final pamphlet of those recognized as part of his controversy with Gabriel Harvey in the 1590s: *TTN* literally cuts things off.[111] Although *TTN* is officially anonymous, critics have long since discarded the idea that Harvey was the author, and some have confidently identified it as the work of the Barber-Surgeon of Trinity College Cambridge, Richard Lichfield. Nashe's epistle is addressed to 'Don Richardo Barbarossa de Caesario', and on the title page of *TTN*, the name 'Don Richardo de Medico Campo' (medico/leech, and campo/field, thus Leechfield) is included.[112] There are pros and cons in this authorship attributive.[113] However, the author of *TTN* certainly relies on this persona for his satirical impact and he is characterized as an authorial voice even if he is not the author.

After Nashe appeals to the Barber-Surgeon to 'come and joyne with [him] to give [Harvey] the terrible cut', Lichfield turns on Nashe.[114] Nashe's appeal to him in *Saffron-Walden* is hardly delicate: despite his call for collusive action, the satirist does not resist humiliating the Barber-Surgeon. His aggressive use of 'Dick' in abbreviating 'Richardo' and his derogatory barbery tropes are provocative. Twice in *TTN*, the author parenthesizes a reminder, '([as] I am [a] C[h]irurgion)', he writes, indicating that Nashe's appeal to Lichfield's barber identity only fails to acknowledge his true professional one.[115] Here I examine how the author of *TTN* applies a barbery metaphor to imagine silencing Nashe, whereby Nashe gets the barbery treatment for which he has set himself up in *Saffron-Walden*. Ultimately Lichfield's surgeon identity oversees the enactment of a 'perfect cut' on Nashe's works rather than his spoken discourse, which I discuss later. In *TTN*, barbers' ability to cut back customers' excretory matter is the author's trope for his attack on Nashe's 'infectious excrements', his language. Nashe supplies this trope in *Saffron-Walden* in which he appeals to the barber as a 'Corrector of staring haires' and 'vagrant moustachios', a 'scavenger of chins', and a 'supervisor of all excrementall superfluities' (similar epithets to the ones Middleton assigns to the barber in *Hengist*).[116] In *TTN*, the author develops the conceit of the barber as the iconic waste-remover, and makes more explicit the language of barbers' ability to target the verbal. Nashe's voice is welcomed into the barber's shop: his 'ill corrupted speeches' and 'infected speech' which spill from his 'cankered convicious tongue' are his overly lengthy excrements.[117] Lichfield attacks Nashe's 'talking' and 'confused bibble babble'.[118] *TTN* engages in a printed pamphleteering battle, but the context of barbery shifts the focus firmly onto oral rather than printed matters.

Unlike in the vomiting scene in *Poetaster*, the barber-surgery context of *TTN* is emphatic when the author conceives that 'out of [Nashe's] mouth proceedeth nothing but noysome and ill-savered vomittes of railinges'.[119] Lichfield diagnoses Nashe and whereas in *Poetaster* Crispinus's vomiting is

the translation of his bombast speech into sickness, in *TTN* sickness characterizes Nashe's speech. Well before Jonson, the author of *TTN* uses the image of spewed language to represent corruption of verbal expression, although he does this without reference to a basin. Where language fails to develop effectively in the mouth, sickness follows. Lavinia is left without a tongue in *Titus Andronicus*, with Aaron characterizing her dismemberment in barbery terms (she is 'washed and cut and trimmed' (V.i.94)). Having no tongue to express herself, Lavinia at first can only weep, and normal oral communication paths are violently disrupted. Titus says that he cannot internalize her sorrow, but is obliged to cough it up (as a 'vomit') in an expression (and purging) of uncontrollable passion:

> For why my bowels cannot hide her woes,
> But like a drunkard must I vomit them.
> Then give me leave, for losers will have leave
> To ease their stomachs with their bitter tongues. (III.i.231–4)

Tongues that are 'bitter', suggests Titus, cannot formulate neat, trim speeches, and language pours from the mouth like waste matter, like the railings of a drunkard. In *TTN*, the author's suggestion that he should 'picke [Nashe's] teeth and make a cleane mouth' is followed by a greater threat: 'Ile picke out toungue and all'.[120] The barbery contexts linger in these examples: in the direct naming thereof in *TTN*; in the barbery semantics associated with missing tongues in *Titus*; and in the object associated with the activity (the basin) in *Poetaster*, where mouths (and tongues) and therefore language are perceived to be unkempt.

As well as attacking Nashe's speech within a barbery frame in *TTN*, the author also attacks Nashe's body, and introduces a surgical element to the concept of trimming. (At the beginning of the pamphlet the author notes in the margin that his trimming involves attacking 'all [Nashe's] parts'.[121]) When this happens, the subject of language is not perceived as that produced by Nashe's mouth, but that recorded in his printed works. The notion of Lichfield's 'perfect cut' in *TTN* aims at something more permanent compared to the 'margent cut' which characterized trimming back Nashe's speech/voice – a temporary measure. Dekker refers to more drastic shaving in *Deadly Sins* when he describes the more damaging vice of the metropolis as 'a shaving that takes not only away the rebellious haires, but brings the flesh with it too: and if that cannot suffice, the very bones must follow'.[122] In another of Dekker's works, *A Knights Conjuring*, Lucifer thinks that the author is 'more like to have him to Barbers-Chyrureons Hall, there to anatomize him, then to a Barbers shop to trim him', which is in the context of petition writing ('pen, ink, and paper') rather spoken claims and is bolstered by Dekker's reminder that in the pamphlet Lucifer is 'a Devill in print'.[123] In Middleton's *Phoenix* the enforced phlebotomy of Tangle is a purge of what

the lawyer has historically written: 'an extent', 'a *Proclamation,* a *Summons,* a *Recognisance,* a *Tachment* and *Iniunction,* a *Writ,* a *Seysure a Writ of praeisement,* an *Absolution*'.[124] Marie Claire Randolph highlights the trope that links surgical and satiric writing: 'the satirist himself is a whipper, a scourge, a barber-surgeon' and 'the satirist's pen is often a searing, cauterizing scapel which probes deep and cuts away dead or gangrenous flesh, leaving a clean wound to heal'.[125]

The site at which Lichfield envisages tackling Nashe as a linguistic subject shifts from the barber's shop (in the opening) to Barber-Surgeon's Hall, specifically its anatomy theatre: 'but when thou shalt be opened, that is, when [the anatomist] shall see but some *worke* of thine, he shall finde in thee naught but rascallitie and meere delusions' [italics mine].[126] And the author foresees that 'with [his] brethren the Barber-Chirurgions of London' he will 'anatomize [Nashe] and keep his bons as a chronicle to shew many ages heereafter that sometime lived such a man'.[127] Chopped up Nashe as a body is dismembered Nashe as a text. The figure of the surgeon steps in to perform a permanent, textual attack, and the remaining fragments chronicle in literary form what has been broken up. Lichfield's contextual use of barber/surgeon binaries in creating this division might purposefully have been employed to rile Nashe who harboured an anti-Ramist stance against binary division of the arts envisioned by the Ramean Tree. Nashe's use of print as, in Neil Rhodes's use of Walter Ong, 'a form of secondary orality' is simplified by Lichfield's attack on its two manifestations, as oral and as print, rather than its wholeness.[128]

Twice at the end of *TTN* the author portrays this 'trimming' as a record 'in red letters', and reminds us of an exchange between Baltazar and Cockadillio in *Noble Soldier*: Cockadillio names himself the king's barber and Baltazar asks him to appeal to the King on his behalf (see Chapter 4). Cockadillio shows little interest in the matter, and in Baltazar's frustration he declares, 'I begge, you whorson muscod! my petition/Is written on my bosome in red wounds' (G2r), to emphasize the gravity of his appeal. Cockadillio immediately gives his excuse: 'I am no Barber-Surgeon' (G2r), he says.[129] Because Baltazar embodies his petition as a text, the barber, because he is not a surgeon, assumes he has no business with it (i.e. with Baltazar's body). In *Macbeth*, Duncan remarks to his injured Captain, 'So well thy words become thee as thy wounds' (I.ii.43) before sending him to the surgeon. Words in this analogy are transcribed. In a dedication to his brother-in-law, the writer Thomas Randolph, Richard West observes that 'Although his wit was sharp as other, yet/It never wounded; thus a Razor set/In a wise Barbers hand tickles the skin,/And leaves a smooth not carbonated chin … His quickening pen did Balsam drop not Inke'.[130] The wise barber avoids cutting 'red wounds'. I now want to examine surgery's association with oral and written language in the period to further highlight the divisions I have identified.

'An unnecessary flood of words'

In the previous chapter I explored how sounds associated with surgery could put a label on the practitioner: plain music suited the figure of the temperate, scholarly surgeon while frivolous tunes deprived a surgical context of sobriety and learnedness. Medical tracts frequently instruct surgeons in decorum of speech: unnecessary words are like unnecessary notes. In Ordinances of 1606, the Company's court decrees against the 'multiplyinge of idoll and unnecessary speeches'.[131] According to advice, surgeons should be economical speakers, they should prioritize the voice of the patient rather than their own, they should prove themselves in deeds rather than in words, and they should not circulate information on case histories or patients as common news. This was a backlash against the medical rhetoric of medieval times which, Peregrine Horden argues, gained physicians a reputation of saying more than they did; Horden characterizes the 'success' of medicine in this period as a 'placebo effect' orchestrated through 'verbal and gestural performance'.[132] The patient's voice in the seventeenth century, Françoise Tolet suggests, should be given priority over the practitioner's: 'The Chirurgeon ought to be Informed from the Patients own mouth, and by those that wait on him, of the secret matters and distempers to which he is subject'.[133] While an operation for lithotomy (one of the most dangerous and painful of the period) is being prepared, 'it is fit', writes Tolet, 'that the Chirurgion should speak to the Patient, but in few words … because one must be very reserved, to oblige those that are present to be silent and with respect to be attentive'.[134] Talking can mask the expression of a sick patient and interfere with a surgeon's ability to diagnose.

Moreover, 'plain speech', according to Bicks, 'was traditionally revered as a virile, effective style' (and less open to imagined threats of castration).[135] Pelling examines the difficulties faced by Physicians in being associated with female communities of healing in a 'menial, domestic world behind closed doors' for which, as Kate Giglio explains in her examination of Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*, story-telling is part of the process in restoring health.[136] Surgeons' and Physicians' relationship to orality is equivocal. Yet throughout the instructions given to the surgeons is also this unspoken message: in order to distance themselves from their counterpart barbers, surgeons should be mindful of the way they talk. This also tied into surgeons' (and physicians') need to distance themselves from charlatans and quacksalvers – the phonies of their professions – whose names, as Rhodes explains, derive from words associated with oral performance: from 'ciarlere', the Italian meaning to chatter or spin a line, and 'quacken', the Dutch meaning to prattle.[137] (The term 'quacksalver', which yokes a notion of oral performance with 'salve' (ointment), is comparable to the name 'Motto', discussed earlier.) In his book on charlatans in early modern Italy, David Gentilcore examines the sophisticated behaviours and performances of these pretenders, who, despite

making use of all forms of communication, were most commonly associated with their displays of oratorical skills through clever, silver-tongued marketing.[138] While, as Gentilcore points out, charlatans have been somewhat lumped into the bracket of the uneducated and almost artless, they were in fact highly manipulative and successful individuals. Again we find that the light-hearted reference to their practices in popular culture masks pervasive concern that one day you could fall victim to their wily ways: at best you may be ripped off; at worst you may cause yourself severe bodily harm.

William Bullein characterizes 'ignorant, counterfet Chirurgy' 'Wyth flattring words, and *trim tales*, glosinges' [italics mine] and insists that 'playne true tales, oughte to bee amonge Men of knowledge, without curious Cyrcumstau[n]ce or Rhetoricall coloures'.[139] William Clowes warns of the dangers of surgeons using 'flattring speeches and sweet words' to coax patients into risky operations that purport to do miracles.[140] Tolet insists that '[the surgeon] ought to make his prudence appear by making his prognostick, and distinguishing between those things that are ineffectual and perilous, and those things, wherein according to the Rules of his Art he may succeed, without exaggerating the least circumstances … by *an unnecessary flood of words*' [italics mine].[141] 'For if ye be a surgeon, ye know it must be your dedes and not your wordis, that must help hym', writes Thomas Elyot in his pasquinade on flattery in Henry VIII's court.[142] The surgeon is set in direct contrast to the figure of the sycophant, much associated with his counterpart the barber and his pretensions to medical expertise.

Insistent upon his surgeon identity and yet exploiting the barbery one with which Nashe has pigeonholed him, the author of *TTN* explains, 'Now I give not every word their litterall sence, and by that you may see how I presume of your good wit, to see if by my allusions you can picke out the true meaning, but I use a more plaine demonstration'.[143] Lichfield does not become particularly plain in his demonstration, but preserves the allusive, convoluted language that befits a barber persona and his retaliation to Nashe. 'Plain demonstration' is his potential to cut up Nashe's body/text in the formal setting of the Barber-Surgeon's hall. Although sometimes incorporating elements of performance (as critics such as Hillary Nunn have argued), this kind of 'Plain demonstration', as I have shown, rarely suits the demands of theatre.[144] William Carroll claims that the characters of *Love's Labour's Lost* learn a principle of decorum in the way to use words, and yet the play's very construction relies on the fact that this decorum is flouted throughout, making it Shakespeare's most Lyly-like play. For a playwright to represent a surgeon who does not flout this decorum, the creative options for language are reduced. And so in *Massacre at Paris*, King Henry's surgeon, told to 'flatter not' (xxii:1222), only has two lines.[145] The surgeon's lack of spoken language *is* his narrative.

In Middleton's *A Fair Quarrel* the surgeon saves the Colonel, who is injured in a duel, and asserts his position as a regular practitioner by declaring that if the Colonel is not fully recovered he may 'be excluded quite out of

Surgeon's Hall else' (V.i.394). However, this surgeon's efforts to seem regular are undermined by the onslaught of language he uses in IV.ii to explain to the Colonel's sister his chosen remedies. He declares, 'I made [the Colonel] a quadrangular plumation, where I used sanguis draconis … with powders incarnative, which I tempered with oil of hypercon, and other liquors mundificative' (IV.ii.17–20), and he also boasts that he will 'make another experiment on next dressing with a sarcotrick medicament, made of iris of Florence. Thus, mastic, calaphena, opopanax, sacrocolla –' (IV.ii.22–5). Using excessive and inaccessible language in order to seem expert to his listener, the surgeon appears like a bragging barber (such as Lyly or Stubbes portrays); the Colonel's sister finds puns ('figatives'/'Sacro-halter!' (IV.ii.21/26)) in his speech, undermining his vocabulary. Thomas Randolph uses a similar scenario in *Aristippus* – just as jovial music supplants a serious surgical tone in the play, so too does Medico's unnecessary chatter and boasting. Asking after her brother, the Colonel's sister in *Fair Quarrel* is disconcerted: 'I'm ne're the better for this answer' (IV.ii.14) she says. Her 'Sacro-halter' (IV.ii.26) interruption insinuates that the surgeon should be bridled, a comparable image to that of the choke-pear. The verbally performative surgeon is instantly less surgeon-like and to a contemporary audience appears like a barber.[146] If, as Susan Gossett supposes, the surgeon's 'not thus much' is accompanied with '[*snapping his fingers*]' (IV.i.7) an additional acoustic signifier marks the surgeon's performance. The Colonel's sister asks for the surgeon to speak in 'plain terms' (IV.ii.27) and despairs when he cannot:

> What thankless pains does the tongue often take
> To make the whole man most ridiculous.
> I come to him for comfort, and he tires me
> Worse than my sorrow. What a precious good
> May be delivered sweetly in few words,
> And what a mount of nothing has he cast forth. (IV.ii.36–41)

The Colonel prepares his will seeing little hope. The 'plain' fact he deduces is that he is on his deathbed, and he asks for his sister to 'hear [his will] plain' (IV.ii.71). After the surgeon's muddling words, brother and sister determine to be straight with each other, and the Colonel turns to text (his will), staking his control over his announcement and the material trajectories of his belongings. But the Colonel is not going to die. The surgeon's 'glosinges' have given the wrong impression. Offstage and in silence, the Colonel recovers in the surgeon's care.

'Abusing confession'

Non-disclosure forms and guarantees of confidentially are embedded in our society and inform an entire legal system. In the past, the church offered the

population one of the most private forums for self-expression in the form of the confessional box. But the medical world, with its emphasis on the Hippocratic Oath which included a clause about keeping secrets, was also supposed to offer a similar pledge of trust. Today, protection over medical histories is a contested and controversial field, explored, in relation to oral testimonies, by Kate Fisher.[147] The reluctance today of many ethics committees to enable research is, although frustrating for historians, deeply-rooted. For Elyot, some 400 years before, the surgeon's office is 'The same … office of a good confessour'.[148] Giving advice to physicians, surgeons and apothecaries in the mid-sixteenth century, John Securis displays an acute sense of responsibility: 'And whatsoever I shal see or heare among my cures (yea although I be not sought nor called to any) whatsoever I shall know amo[n]g the people, if it be not lawful to be uttered, I shal kepe close, and kepe it as a secrete unto my selfe'.[149] One type of medical irregularity John Cotta identifies is embodied by the female voice which becomes the centre of his grievances against their involvement in medicine. 'We may justly here taxe their dangerous whisperings about the sicke', he writes, and refers to the 'waving of [their] idle tongues', their 'indiscreete words' and 'Common & vulgar mouthes'; he warns of the dangers of their 'Oft and much babling inculcation in the weake braines of the sicke', and asserts that their 'faire and pleasing' comments are often simply 'dangerous flattery'.[150] Barbers, of course, did not hold the same office as surgeons. In *Epicoene*, Truewit questions Morose, 'Why, did you ever hope, sir, committing the secrecy of it to a barber, that less than the whole town should know it?' (III.v.21–2). William Cartwright's *Ordinary* includes a scene similar to the ones in *Quiet Life* and *Knave in Grain* in which a barber is made to believe that a client needs a special operation (on his genitals) when in fact the client attends on business. Cartwright names the barber character a 'Chirurgion' and this Chirurgion promises secrecy: 'D'y'think/I would undo me self by twitting? 'twere/To bring the Gallants all about mine Ears,/And make me mine own Patient. I'm faithfull,/And secret, though a Barber'.[151] Because the character aligns himself with undependable barber promises of secrecy, his ability to promise discretion under his surgical title is undermined. The stereotype of the garrulous female aligns itself with that of the chatty barber, rendering them both, according to some, unsuitable medical practitioners.

In the Company, surgeons specifically were instructed to avoid entering into rumour matches: 'it is ordayned That no manne of the saide Fellowshippe shall … by slanderous words or other evil device shall disable any of the said Fellowshippe touchinge his Science or connynge … except that his patient himself or his Friendes be agreened [sic] or doe mislyke his Surgeon'.[152] As well as civic business (which members were obliged to keep private), the court might also discuss certain medical cases because surgeons were obliged to alert the Master and Governors of patients who presented severe, life-threatening conditions and on whom an operation was

required.[153] On 5th August 1600, a case is recorded of a member who breaks the Secrets Act, 'Where Raphe Pyat was charged by John Newsam concerninge the utteringe of some speeches spoken and passed in the election house … which ought not to have byn revealed'.[154] Ironically, while tangled reports about who said what to whom are recorded on this day, no further entry is made on the matter in the court book and Raphe Pyat either is not charged or the charge is not recorded: the minutes are silent on the matter.

Webster's *Devil's Law-Case* paints a bleak picture of human interaction: secrets, ill-timed disclosures, false counsel, rumour, withheld information, and involuntary truth-telling in the play spin a messy web of unethical conduct. The surgeon characters are central to Webster's conception of sickliness in society.[155] Because surgeons are associated with keeping secrets, Webster demonstrates that if they break their moral codes and disclose information they should keep, or if they keep secret information that they should share, they can function as unequivocal signs of social deterioration. This differs from barbers' gossiping pastimes, which generally provide a variable – often chaotic – sense of social mobility and interaction and civic jubilancy rather than an impression of failed rites. The surgeons are not attentive to their patient, Contarino, and are persuaded – because they expect monetary reward – to let Romelio 'have all privacy' (III.ii.68) with him. Their silence, which Romelio purchases, should be a favourable quality, but, in this case it is unorthodox, particularly as it draws on the connotation of the surgeon as a religious figure with privileged access to the spiritual as well as bodily condition of patients. In III.iii Romelio unwittingly tells Jolenta the truth that their mother was in love with Contarino. But he has no grounds on which to make this claim. Sensing his device, Jolenta demands, 'How came you by this wretched knowledge?' (III.iii.128) to which Romelio, with his corrupt interactions with the surgeons fresh in his mind, answers, 'His surgeon overheard it,/As he did sigh it out to his confessor' (III.iii.129–30). Jolenta's criticism is swift to follow: 'I would have the surgeon hang'd/For abusing confession' (III.iii.132–3), aligning the surgeon's sacred responsibility with that of church members.

Readily adopting their roles in a bribe relationship, the surgeons think of additional ways to ensure a stream of payments from Romelio which will enable them, laughably, to 'grow … lazy surgeon[s]' (III.ii.139). Indeed, Romelio shows he has little faith in the surgeons keeping quiet. He therefore determines that they 'Be wag'd up the East Indies' where, he says, they can 'prate … beyond the line' (III.iii.203–4). The surgeons discover that Contarino is not dead and have a duty to let it be known he lives, but it is at this point that they decide, on their own terms, to 'be secret' (III.ii.158) and 'not blab' (III.ii.162), preaching perversely by their professional code: 'We are tied to't' (III.ii.159) says First Surgeon. Finally, it makes little sense for Contarino to remain disguised once Ercole has revealed himself in IV.ii. But his reserve in this instance is prompted by First Surgeon, who advises him to 'Stay' and 'keep in [his] shell/A little longer' (IV.ii.536–7). The final

punishment given by Aristo at the conclusion of the play is for the surgeons, 'For concealing Contarino's recovery' (V.v.87).

Plain dealing for a fee and thrift in being mute

While scholars have presented arguments for a variety of texts as sources of Philip Massinger's *Emperor of the East*, they agree that the scene between Paulinus, his surgeon, and an empiric in Act 4 is originally contrived and inserted by Massinger; there is, it seems to them, little need to linger on it.[156] Peter Phialas concludes that 'the scene with the empiric and that of the confessions [in the final act] are stage conventions introduced by Massinger for the purposes of producing certain required effects'.[157] However, where others have sidelined IV.III as a stage 'convention', I want to use it to explore Massinger's original treatment of medical satire. His representation of the surgeon is unusual and is in dialogue with the historical advice to surgeons I outline above. Indeed, Massinger's surgeon is a unique example of the representation of a sober, trusted surgeon on the early modern stage, who actively separates himself from the world of empirics and takes, during his scene, a central role.[158] Todd Pettigrew argues that 'In the case of the empirics … the vociferous attacks on their practice create a strong narrative conception of the illicit practitioner … Surgeons, unlike most other practitioners, were not subject to the same intensity of attack and, when they were attacked, could defend themselves in print'.[159] But this view is simplistic. Surgeons were attacked in popular culture, and they could not always defend themselves in print, particularly, as I discuss later, because they published in the vernacular; an empiric only appears in *Emperor* and in one other play of the period, Middleton's *Widow* (see IV.i and IV.ii).

In *Emperor*, the surgeon admits that Paulinus's gout is beyond his cure and that he can do only so much to relieve his patient's discomfort. Soon after, an empiric enters professing that he has cured a host of noble patients and claiming inordinate fees for his medical services which he says will restore Paulinus to health. After listening to the empiric's lengthy avowal, the surgeon explains to Paulinus that the imposter's proposed (and elaborately expressed) solutions are unsuitable for gout. This scene is not simply a comic interlude – indeed, Phialas suggests that it fails as one. Unlike in *Fair Quarrel*, *Aristippus*, and *Corruptions* where the surgeon figures are represented by the authors as boastful, money-driven, and prone to using impenetrable language (capable of disarming their patients), and unlike in *Law-Case*, where surgeons appear to be inadequate or in *Mad Lover* where the surgeon is set up to fail (in an impossible task), Massinger makes the surgeon in *Emperor* a respected figure who uses plain terms and resists money-laundering. The playwright achieves this at one level because he stages alongside the surgeon an imposter of the medical world. (This calls to mind how the surgeon's steady attempts to cure Antonio in Fletcher's *Chances* (see Chapter 4) are thwarted by the patient who determines that there will be an irregular

procedure.) But more than this, Massinger makes thematic in the scene a notion of verbal decorum, upheld by Chirurgion.

First, the audience learns that Chirurgion has successfully alleviated some of Paulinus's discomfort, despite not being able to cure him: 'I Have done as much as art can doe, to stoppe/The violent course of your fit', he says, and Paulinus confirms that he is now 'At some ease'.[160] That the surgeon has not been able to cure Paulinus is not isolated as a failure: surgical tracts from the period are larded with practitioners' suggestions for relieving gout, but like many of the pharmaceutical methods discussed in the period, the medical practitioners are not equipped with certified ways to help sufferers. Second, Chirurgion is refreshingly realistic in signalling to Paulinus that his 'many bounties' could easily be wasted by continuing to attempt to find a cure. He tells Paulinus, 'If I could cure,/The gout my Lord, without the Philosophers stone/I should soone purchase [it]', indicating that finding a solution (within the limits of his profession) is unlikely and would also be costly. The surgeon prepares Paulinus 'for a certaine truth'; to 'flatter [Paulinus]', he acknowledges, 'were dishonest', and he will not, as Paulinus observes, 'ling[er] out what is remedilesse'. In line with all medical surgical advice, Chirurgion does not employ inaccessible language in conversation with Paulinus, he does not talk at length, and he does not gloss over the medical truths. Paulinus is impressed: 'Your plain dealing/Deserves a fee', he says.

I have argued that for a writer to depict the esteemed surgeon could be a verbal dead-end or simply dull, which it would be here were Massinger not to introduce an empiric against which he depicts the surgeon. Chirurgion is given a position of authority: 'Heare him, my Lord', he says to Paulinus, 'for your mirth; I will take order,/they shall not wrong you' (I1v). The surgeon opens a verbal path in the scene, and becomes a judge of medical language. His self-controlled silence is transposed into a dramaturgically effective strategy, a strategy employed more complexly by Shakespeare, for example, in IV.iii of *Love's Labour's Lost*. While the empiric makes a fool of himself with florid speeches (which he says demonstrate his 'plainest language'), Massinger's Chirurgion is not passive: 'Why doe you smile?' asks Paulinus when the empiric is in full flow, and Chirurgion responds, 'When hee hath done I will resolve you' (I2r). His expressions, indicates the script, punctuate the scene's humour in the same way that Biron's, King's, and Longueville's asides do in Shakespeare. In reserving judgement, the surgeon's silence allows the empiric to continue talking, and by avoiding aposiopesis, the surgeon does not enter into an oral battle which might compromise his professional status. Chirurgion in this way critiques what would be familiar to an audience as the satirized version of himself. Without forcing a historical point, Massinger's Caroline play bucks a trend and perhaps pays tribute to the fact that surgery was becoming more accepted as a professional discipline, estranged from its barbery roots, later in the seventeenth century. Chirurgion has the final word on the matter. Of the empiric, he observes, 'Such slaves as this/Render our art contemptible' (I2v).

IV.iii of *Emperor of the East* anticipates the later confessional scene when Theodosius disguises himself as a friar to hear Athenais's (his wife's) confession and determine whether or not she has been unfaithful. The surgeon insisted that to interrupt the empiric were to spoil the potential for 'mirth' in the scene. Indeed, by making Paulinus 'smile' the empiric is 'free[d] from punishment' (I2v). Theodosius, must allow Athenais to complete her speeches so that she also can be freed from punishment. Like the surgeon and the priest, he must pass remarks after the patient/confessor has spoken. The decorum set by the surgeon underpins the opportunity for other characters to entertain (the empiric) and to be heard (Athenais), thus marrying channels of performance in both interlude and central elements of the drama. Phialas is right to acknowledge the connection between these two scenes, but is hasty in his dismissal it.

In Marston's *Wonder of Women*, Gisco is sent by Carthalon from Carthage to poison Massinissa (under Astrubal's supervision). However, unlike Massinger's surgeon whose ability to hold his tongue is a favourable quality, Marston's 'impoisner' (given the title of 'surgeon') is crafty and non-professional seeming in his silence.[161] First Surgeon in *Law-Case* tells us that the surgeons' silence is not necessarily a mark of their honesty: 'They give us so much for the cure, and twice as much/That we do not blab on't' (III.ii.161–2). The desired characteristic of a surgeon figure is readily transformed into something menacing by making the characteristic either corrupt or extreme. Gisco is not plain speaking, 'his thrift is to be mute' (C1v). A totally silent surgeon-figure (a devil in disguise) appears in the opening dumb show of *Devil's Charter*, using lancets to phlebotomize Alexander's arm in preparation for signing his diabolic contract. While an extremely chatty barber figure might correspond to tricksters and vagabonds, a fully silent surgeon might embody a threat of a sinister nature. Gisco is not trained to cure, but to kill. Warned by letter of the threat Gisco poses, Massinissa advises the surgeon (who is on the verge of dressing, in silence, Massinissa's arm), 'to leave off murder, thy faint breath./Scarce heaves thy ribs, thy gummy blood-shut eyes/Are sunke a great way in thee, thy lanke skinne/Slides from thy fleshlesh veines' (E4v). These silent, 'faint breath[ed]' surgeons are unnatural, 'base … creature[s]' (II.ii.54) whose practices are not explained to the patient-figure. The threat embodied by surgical figures – in *Wonder of Women* made into a visual sign on Gisco's person – is that they could act upon a body unquestioned. Their non-disclosure policy can be protective but it can also be intimidating. Elyot highlights that the surgeon should not be a silent figure simply iconized with his 'playsters and instruments', but that 'somtyme he speketh also' underlining the fact that speech is not necessarily 'unprofitable'.[162]

Finding a (written) voice

Unlike barbers in the Company, all surgeon apprentices were obliged to be able to 'write and read'.[163] Stubbes's criticism that 'Yea, you shall have

some [surgeons] that know not a letter of the booke (so farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practise these misteries)' distinguishes the unskilled practitioners.[164] Some surgeons in the Company published, but they were not obliged to go to university. One of the places where some surgeons found their voices was in the Anatomy Hall, but even here their expression through verbal discourse could be restricted. Examinations in surgery, like university examinations, would be conducted orally, but this channel of communication was highly controlled and smacked of the formality of the written word. Lectures in surgery were text-based and in early 1568 court minutes took note of standard practice: a 'doctor [Physician] shall com and take his place to reade and declare upon the parts desected'.[165] In Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, sick Franck says that 'Physitians … meane to reade upon me'.[166] Anatomizations were traditionally not exploratory but 'didactic experience[s]', ritual dominated, and studies of bodies were most likely to be done in the absence of the public platform and recorded textually.[167] In these scenarios, the body becomes a text. Jealous Corvino barks at Celia, 'I will make thee an anatomy,/Dissect thee mine own self, and read a lecture/Upon thee' (*Volpone*, II.v.70–72).[168]

The 'public' anatomization was not the practitioner working on the body in any kind of improvisational fashion that he might undertake during operations or private study. Paré tells surgeons that they 'shalt fare more easily … attaine to the knowledge of [surgical operations] by long use and much exercise, than by much reading of Bookes, or daily hearing of Teachers. For speech how perspicuous … soever it be, cannot vively expresse any thing as that which is subjected to the faithfull eyes and hands'.[169] The surgeon on display professionally was not like the barber, off-text and freely-expostulating in his shop. And yet the two are comparable in their propensity to recycle information: barbers notoriously spread the news (a regurgitation) and surgeons lectured on the body according to a script (repetition).[170] The trajectories of voices in these two places, however, are different. Whereas in the barber's shop the practitioner receives, assembles, and divests news from outside his walls, surgeons' Anatomy Hall was a nucleus for information which emanated from within. Indeed, in 1566, the Company funded Thomas Hall, a freeman of surgery in the Mystery, 'towards his study in Maudlin College in Oxford … for Surgery annexynge physycke there unto And thereby here after to proffet his other brethren beynge of this sayd mystery … by Readynge lectures unto them in [th]e Comon Hall'.[171] Even from an early stage, the Company sought an 'in house' representative. The reputations of the practitioners position them very differently in terms of early modern systems of discourse. Barbers' voices carry across town and are involved in popular social networks, and beards and hair are incorporated into figurative conceptions of speech and indiscriminate sex. Surgeons' voices are tightly controlled, often subverted, often privileged, and do not enter into public pathways of communication. Indeed, the fact that the surgeons barely have a voice on the commercial

stage might have reflected the profession's ability to position itself away from a public platform. The 'public' anatomization – which was probably not as 'public' (certainly not in London) as has previously been made out – might tell its audience something about anatomy, but it did not disclose the practice of surgery, which was not available to the public ear or (as I discussed in the first chapter) eye.[172] Pepys is invited to a public anatomy as a special guest, and nowhere is it suggested that part two of a morbid display at Tyburn was the gathering of the public at Barber-Surgeon's Hall. The surgeon who anatomized corpses performed differently from the surgeon who attended to the living patient.

The identity of the learned, medical practitioner is also a chirographic matter. In *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), John Eliot provides phrases for use in an Apothecary's shop: 'Who prescribed you this receipt?', 'Tis Maister Doctor.' 'What Doctor?' 'Will you know? Know you not the hand?' ('Ne cognoissez vous pas la main?')[173] Securis writes on the importance of the physician's writing:

> some … wil rather scribble the[n] write a recept, and will make such dashes and strange abbreviations in theyre billes, that theyre writing semeth rather to be arabicke … I fear me that they that write so, are ashamed of their owne occupation, and feare leaste that if they should write playne, their errours and faults shoulde be espied. He that is a playne man will deale playnelye, will speake splaynely, and write playnely.[174]

He warns against adding 'dashes' to and abridging documents: trimming in both senses is not advised. Paré gives examples of writing medical reports 'in imitation whereof the young Chirurgion may frame others'. The 'presidents' Paré provides encourage surgeons to engage critically with his text and also remind the surgeon of their own documents 'In witnesse whereof [to] have signed', or to 'have put [his] hand and seale', and to affirm the 'report with [his] owne hand'.[175] Giving a diagnosis, explains Paré, is a delicate matter, needing 'considerat[ion]', 'ingenious[ness]', 'wis[dom]', and 'judgement', and writing suits its measured expression. But this expression is not simply formulaic. Paré's reference to 'making or framing' suggests to the surgeon that writing is another craft.[176] Unlike in Securis's limiting instruction, Paré hints at a creative streak which incorporates notions of composition, such as those I examined in reference to *TTN*. When in *Epicoene* La Foole says of Daw's writing set (his 'pen and ink' (V.i.9)) that 'he has his box of instruments' (V.i.14), Clerimont responds, 'Like a surgeon!' (V.i.15). Clerimont's quip not only uses the surgeon's instrument-rich tool kit to conceptualize a box of items, but also underlines the fact that writing instruments and surgical tools have the potential to inscribe and create (Mavis wants to 'write out a riddle' (V.i.10)). The opening dumb show in *Devil's Charter* also makes visible the connection between surgical tools (lancets) and Alexander's ability

to sign a contract. Indeed, the *OED* cites from the mid-sixteenth century the use of the verb, to lance, as 'to make a dash or stroke with a pen'.[177] In *Return From Parnassus*, Ingenioso remarks upon Juvenall's writing, analogizing surgical lancing and satirical inscription:

> thy jerking hand is good,
> Not gently laying on, but fetching bloud;
> So, surgean-like, thou dost with cutting heale,
> Where nought but lanching can the wound avayle.
> O suffer me, among so many men,
> To tread aright the traces of thy pen (I.i.86–91).[178]

By comparison, John Davies characterizes poor writing in *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* (1625) as verbal incontinence by referring to a different surgical instrument which, as I argued in the first chapter, is usually associated with oral application: 'making a Glister-pipe of his rare pen'.[179] This pen threatens to act as a conduit for waste.

Despite all this, printing was not necessarily straightforward for surgeons Cornelius Schilander, whose surgical tracts were published in the 1570s and 1590s admits at the beginning of his *Chirurgerie* (1596) that the work 'was not meant at first, to be published unto the view of the world, but only for [his] owne private practise'.[180] In the same way that the instruments of surgery were fashioned by the individual practitioner in private, so the writings of the surgeons could be concealed and were not collectively manifest. While surgeons and physicians shared similar anxieties about their oral reputations, they were distanced in their reputations as writers. For surgeons, such as Thomas Gale who was a forward thinker at the end of the sixteenth century, even finding a printed voice in the period – to sound against the sceptics of surgery – was not always easy. He writes of his inclination to 'holde back [his] penne in farther commendynge Chirurgerie' to his patron, Robert Dudley.[181] The struggle surgeons faced as writers was not helped by critics such as James Primerose who entirely dismissed their published works:

> Hence it is, that whosoever have written any thing of Surgery worthy of praise, from *Hippocaretes* … unto this our age, have been always physicians, except a few late writers, who have presented nothing to us, but what wee had before.[182]

Primerose accuses surgeons, the 'late writers', of presenting merely recycled knowledge, aligning them with phoney tradesmen who offer little more than a glossy version of something fundamental and, crucially, not original.

If surgeons' work ever came to publication it was usually regarded as unlearned in elite circles because surgeons tended towards the vernacular.[183]

Despite the fact that a surgeon's education was officially grounded in Latin, many capable practitioners, it seems, were not fluent or at least did not expect their readers to be. Crooke begins *Mikrokosmographia* with a lengthy address in Latin but concedes in his Preface that crucial tracts in physic have had to be 'translated' for surgeons. He goes on to defend himself: 'Many objections are made against me. First, that being a professed Scholler I should have written in Latine … but it had bin most ydle, my purpose being to better them wo do not so wel understand that language'. His inclination is to enable knowledge to be in circulation and accessible. In his translation of Galen and in defence of publishing in English about surgeons, Gale makes a good point about surgeons' Hellenistic precedents: 'they did write them [medical works] in Greeke, which was their own language & tongue, to that end, they might the better bee understanded, and sooner bee learned'.[184] W. Cunyngham, doctor of physic, writes the dedication to Gale at the beginning of *Certain Workes* (1563) and asks the author, 'what kepeth backe the publishing of your iiij books … Doth feare of sycophants and detracting tongues atoyne you? Or the mistrust of severe judgement at the learned, kepe back your honest attempt?' He advises of surgical works generally, 'kepe these bookes no lenger in darknes, but let them taste of lyght'.[185] The idea of the offstage surgeon was a literal as well as dramaturgic commonplace in the period. Gale left many manuscripts and half-finished treatises which suggests his on-going struggle with committing his works to print, and the contemporary difficulty for many surgeons to put English surgery on the literary as well as the medical map.

Epilogue

Binaries are an implicit part of literary and dramaturgical mechanisms which have shaped countless critical responses to text, and here I have examined a range: the onomastic (the hyphenation of 'barber-surgeon'), spatial (interconnecting public and private work spaces), material (props such as the basin and chair which signal ambiguous contexts), sonic (the dual phonic and rhetorical effects of the onomatopoeiac 'snip snap'), theatrical (absence and presence on stage and the differences between structure and content), linguistic (slippery terms such as 'trim'), theological (rival, secular images of the church), social (medical and civic), and cultural (oral and written domains). *Civic and Medical Worlds* has invited us to see double and to understand the effects of doubleness as diversely constructed. The barber-surgeon is a trope in early modern literature because he has a tangible social impact and historical meaning derived from his barbery and surgery roots; but the figure of the barber-surgeon can also be *our* trope in investigating how representation works. He therefore performs in this book within and beyond his era.

If, as Robert Weimann argues, 'the early dramatic figuration of an actor-character thrived on a doubleness in (im)personation', and that 'this doubleness … possessed a specific impetus, an impelling force which remarkably vitalized and impinged on the contract between the two roles of any dramatic performance', then the barber-surgeon adds a further dimension: a character can have an inner opposition, a competing stereotype or convention which also forms a contract and relates to extra-literary conceptions.[1] Weimann asserts that 'One reason why the personator as compared to the personated looms so large is the former's own duplicity', but here we have found the reverse to be true as well.[2] The barber-surgeon looms in performance, not only because he embodies a social anxiety, but also because he poses a problem to the writer who draws the character(s)'s duplicity from two cultural banks: from the hyper-referential and performance-driven tonsorial world, and the obscure world of surgery which resisted definition.

At one level, this exploration of barbers, surgeons, and barber-surgeons enables us to 'join up the dots' and make sense of a host of early modern references, including tennis balls, chairs, basins, trimming, earwigs, coals, lancing, and washing. These could be both decorative and playful in the literature as well as entrenched and of value to the fundamental conception of a piece of work, and the recurrent joke about irregular barber-surgery could prompt laughter and horror: it was a matter of degrees. The patterns we find in writers' reference to the subject of barber-surgery also reveal some of the insistent intertextuality, reuse, and cyclicality of early modern literary productivity, in terms of language, rhetoric, and dramaturgy. By and large an audience would know what it was getting with reference to the barber-surgeon; the challenge to writers was how to nuance the material to make it wittier, or more filthy or more gruesomely somatic, and to insert clues that not all audience members would necessarily spot, for example the subtle implication of the names Tryphon and Lavinia.

In ending, I am also interested in how I responded to the early modern barber-surgery material by thinking thematically about different forms of its representation. Surgeons were charged with four areas of practice, recorded by Alexander Read in his surgical lectures: *Compositrix* (to unite what is disjoined), *Separatrix* (to separate what is unnaturally joined), *Ablatrix* (to remove what is superfluous), and *Additrix* (to supplement what is lacking).[3] And it seems that these expectations of the medical practitioner about how they should address a body have been the backbone of my investigations here as a literary scholar. The binary concerns of division and amalgamation, excess and deficiency were made manifest in contemporaries' conceptualisation of the figure of the barber-surgeon as a conflated entity: both in the way barbers and surgeons had a structural contribution to literary works (including forms of reflexivity, interlude, and off-staging), and in the themes and subjects they prompted, whether that was to do with hairiness, sexuality, appetite, or sickness, which coloured depictions of pranking and revenge.

My explorations of the barber-surgeon have shown that, in both a literary and historical context, binaries are anything but straightforward. The very title of this book implies two, discrete worlds and yet it is by examining how they overlap that we come to a better sense of each, in how the accessible, visible civic world (embodied by the barber) related to a more private, emerging, specialist medical world (embodied by the surgeon), and vice versa. In the same way, I hope that the contribution of this book has been in drawing yet more closely together Literature and Medicine, fields which can be in danger of stiffly cross-referencing each other rather engaging in deeply-rooted cultural and social expressions and sympathies. My subject of the barber-surgeon, therefore, is not only a trope for forms of representation but a blueprint for interdisciplinarity, of its hazards and rewards. That there is tension and unease, a question of value and even propriety in interdisciplinarity should not surprise us. But where there is an instinct to conflate, converge, connect, and co-exist, cultural production and historical enquiry can thrive.

Notes

Introduction: Naming of Parts: Barber, Surgeon, and Barber-Surgeon

1. Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Quinborough* (1661), A2v. [References to the play in this paragraph are from this edition, which Howard Marchitello uses for his 2004 version of the play with Nick Hern Books.] The two manuscript versions of the play, the 'Lambarde Manuscript' (Nottingham University Library MS PwV20) and the 'Portland Manuscript' (Folger Shakespeare Library MS J.b.6), differ only slightly from the 1661 publication. Grace Ioppolo bases her edition of *Hengist* on the Lambarde Manuscript in *Collected Works*; she reproduces the Portland Manuscript with Oxford: Malone Society, 2003.
2. I reflect on this pun throughout the book.
3. John Ford, 'The Fancies Chaste and Noble' in *The Works of John Ford*, ed. William Gifford, 3 vols (London: James Toovey, 1869) II, FNs 15 and 16 (p. 234).
4. Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Johnston, '"By tricks they shave a kingdom round": Early Modern English Barbers as Panders' in *Thunder at the Playhouse*, ed. Peter Kanelos and Matt Kowsko (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont, 2010), pp. 97–115; Johnston, 'Bearded Women in Early Modern England', *SEL, 1500–1900* 47:1 (2007), 1–28; Johnston, 'Playing with the Beard', *ELH* 72:1 (2005), 79–103; Johnston, 'Prosthetic Absence in Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, *The Alchemist*, and *Bartholomew Fair*', *ELR* 37:3 (2007), 401–28. Cf. William Andrews, *At the Sign of the Barbers' Pole* (Cottingham: J. R. Tutin, 1904) which is a collection of cultural tropes, but resists formal argument.
5. Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006).
6. Laurie Maguire, 'Cultural Control in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *RD* 26 (1995), 83–104; Maguire, 'Petruccio and the Barber's Shop', *Studies in Bibliography* 51 (1998), 117–26.
7. Patricia Parker, 'Barbers and Barbary', *RD* 33 (2005), 201–44. Later in this Introduction I will say more about how *Civic and Medical Worlds* draws on gender theory in touching on the ambiguous gender and sexual politics of barbers/surgeons/barber-surgeons.
8. See for example, Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot* (London: Longman, 1998); Pelling (with Frances White), *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality' in *London 1500–1700*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 82–112.
9. David F. Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (London and Toronto: AUP, 1992); William Kerwin, *Beyond the Body* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); Todd H. J. Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007). Earlier studies in the twentieth century placed little emphasis on the distinction between types of medical practitioner in the period: Philip C. Kolin, *The Elizabethan Stage Doctor* (Salzburg: Institut fur Englishe sprache und Literatur, Universitat Salzburg, 1975); Herbert Silvette, *The Doctor on the Stage*, ed. Francelia Butler (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1967); Paul G. Brewster, 'Physician and Surgeon as Depicted in 16th and 17th Century English Literature', *Osiris* 14 (1962), 13–32.

10. Pettigrew, see pp. 133–7.
11. On the plurality of medical discourse see Thomas Rütten, 'Early Modern Medicine' in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine*, ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 60–81 (p. 63).
12. Rütten, p. 71.
13. Middleton was a London lad with a longstanding if eventually strained relationship with the city's civic centre; he would have been familiar with the rivalries and difficulties of the guilds.
14. Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: Blades, 1890), p. 24.
15. See Peregrine Horden, 'Medieval Medicine' in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine*, ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 40–59 (esp. p. 42).
16. Young, p. 66.
17. Young, p. 67.
18. Barbers' Archive, 'Inspeximus and Confirmation of charter of 1462', A/1/2, a parchment now displayed in Company's Charter Room.
19. Barbers' Archive, 'Ordinances examined and approved pursuant to Act of Parliament of 1504', A/3/1.
20. Barbers' Archive, 'An Act Concerning Barbers and Surgeons to be of One Company', *Charter Act and Ordinance Book* (1540), A/6/1. A painting (undated) by Hans Holbein the Younger, which commemorates the occasion, currently hangs in the Company Hall in Monkwell Square. Historical outlines of events leading to the union and further details on the Holbein are in Young, pp. 51–92.
21. John Stow and Anthony Munday, *The Survey of London* (1633), p. 623.
22. The charters and ordinances are all readily available in Barbers' Archive.
23. See Kerwin, pp. 133–64; Hoeniger, pp. 17–31; Pelling, 'Trade or Profession?' in *The Common Lot* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 230–59; Pettigrew, pp. 61–91.
24. Francisco de Quevedo, *Visions, or Hels Kingdome* (1640), pp. 45–46. This is the translation of the lengthiest part of de Quevedo's dreams and discourses, *Los Sueños* (1627).
25. Pelling discusses the inadequate medical services available to the proletariat in *Common Lot* and 'Appearance and Reality'. See also *Medical Conflicts*.
26. Galen, *Certaine Workes of Galens*, trans. Thomas Gale (1586), Aiiiv of Gale's opening address to Sir Henrie Nevell.
27. Anon, 'The Rimers New Trimming' (c.1614), stanza 7, lines 3–4.
28. Thomas Freeman, *Rubbe* (1614), B3v-B4r.
29. Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), B3r.
30. Cf. Sivqila and Omen's dialogue in Thomas Lupton *Too Good, To Be True* (1580), which criticizes surgeons for money grabbing and holding the sick to ransom.
31. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/4, p. 54.
32. William Salmon, *Ars Chirurgica* (1698), p. 1266.
33. John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London: A & C Black; New York: W W Norton, 1997), FN to II.i.164.
34. Thomas Middleton, *Hengist*, ed. Grace Ioppolo in *Collected Works*, FN to III.iii.61 (p. 1468).
35. Kerwin, p. 98.
36. Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 4, 42, 57.
37. Peter Ackroyd, *London* (London: Vintage, 2001), p. 209.
38. See Young, pp. 66–8 (p. 66).
39. Stow and Munday, p. 623.
40. A person's membership of a guild did not always mean that they practised the occupation for which the guild stood, although this was more prevalent from

the mid-seventeenth century. I have not come across literary references to freemen barber-surgeons who are not characterized as barber/surgeon practitioners. On 14th April 1629 The Company minutes note that 'Walter Clinche useing Barbarye … free of the merchantailors … had order to forbeare that trade untill he were translated into our Companie' (Barbers Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/5, p. 90).

41. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 25v.
42. John Webster, *The Tragedy of the Duchesse of Malfy* (1623), L3r. Cf. Thomas Dekker, *Match Me in London* (1631), G2r; Dekker, *A Knights Conjuring* (1607), C3r; Dekker, *Ravens Almanacke* (1609), B1r-v.
43. John Smith, *An Accidence* (1626), B2v.
44. *The case of the barbers of London*, Early English books tract supplement interm guide (1745?), E7: 1[18].
45. As we will find in Chapter 4, ear-cleaning also fell within the regular practice of a barber.
46. 'Barbery' (and equivalent spelling) is commonly used in this sense in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript documents from Barbers' Hall. See also Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French & English Tongue* (1611): the entry on 'Barbarie' has 'the trade of a Barber' as one definition.
47. See lists in John Marston, *Dutch Courtezan* (1605), A2v, and in the collection, *The Workes of Mr. John Marston* (1633), Z3v.
48. Crane amends the script: '*Enter Holifernes the Barber['s boy]*' (s.d. II.i.162).
49. See David Kathman, 'Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers', *RQ* 55:1 (2004), 1–49, in which Kathman describes two Barber-Surgeon freemen, Thomas Go[ugh]e and Henry Totnell (both barbers), who performed at court (pp. 24–5, 28, 39).
50. Quotations are taken from John Lyly, *Midas* in *Galatea/Midas*, ed. George K. Hunter and David M. Bevington (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000).
51. Hunter and Bevington FNs to III.ii.64–65/III.ii.2.
52. Compare these numbers with the number of plays which include characters of other trades, ones that were high in contemporary Lists of Precedence in the civic system: Mercers (11), Grocers (8), Drapers (11), Fishmongers (3), Goldsmiths (17), Skinners (0), Tailors (60, and 3 'Botchers'), Haberdashers (8), Salters (1), Ironmongers (1), Vinters (25), Clothworkers/Clothiers (4), Brewers (4), Leathersellers (0), Pewterers (2). (In 1604, the Company of Barbers and Surgeons was positioned sixteenth in the list of guild precedence, an all-time high. For additional information on Precedent listings see Young, pp. 195–197.) Physicians or Doctors, named interchangeably and without the complications of barber/surgeon naming, are abundant on the early modern stage, featuring respectively in 66/107 plays; and there are 22 plays which include an Apothecary. These numbers reflect the number of plays, and not the number of characters. Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter* and George Peele's *Edward the First* stage two barbers and fairly frequently a barber's boy accompanies a barber on stage; there are two surgeons in Philip Massinger's *A Very Woman* and John Webster's *The Devil's Law-Case*.
53. Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford, and Sidney L. Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 22, 94.
54. Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Michael Hattaway, 2nd edn (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2002); William Cartwright, 'The Ordinary' in *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, With Other Poems* (1651), E4v.
55. Thomas Middleton, *Any Thing for a Quiet Life* (1662), A2r. On authorship of *Quiet Life* see *Collected Works*, p. 1593.
56. Anon, 'The Northern Ladd' (1670–1696), stanza 1, line 1.
57. James Wright, *Sales Epigrammatum* (1663), p. 20.

58. Richard Head, *The Canting Academy* (1673), p. 159.
59. Martial, *Epigrams of Martial* (1695), pp. 266–7.
60. See Simon Palfrey, *Shakespeare's Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014).
61. See Margaret Pelling, 'The Body's Extremities' in *The Task of Healing*, ed. Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 1996), pp. 221–51.
62. See Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, ed. David McLinktock and Hugh Haughton (New York; London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 124, 141–2.
63. This idea of 'pressure points' is used by Jean E. Howard in her reaction to a collection of essay on 'working subjects' in early modern drama: 'Early Modern Work and the Work of Representation' in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Natasha Korda (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 243–50 (see p. 245).
64. David Hillman, *Shakespeare's Entrails* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (eds), *The Body in Parts* (New York; London: Routledge, 1997); Richard Sugg, *The Smoke of the Soul Mummies, Cannibals and Vampires* (London: Routledge, 2011); Sugg, *Murder After Death* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP; Bristol: University Presses Marketing, 2007); Sugg, Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1993); Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Passions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Susan Zimmerman, *The Early Modern Corpse and Shakespeare's Theatre* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2005); Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women* (New York: Zone Books, 2006); Hillary Nunn, *Staging Anatomies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Mary Ann Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine and Religion in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).
65. Maurizio Calbi, *Approximate Bodies* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), xiii. Cf. Rütten, pp. 67–8.
66. See Simon Smith, Jacqueline Watson and Amy Kenny (eds), *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558–1660* (Manchester: MUP, 2015), Katharine Craik and Tanya Pollard (eds) *Shakespearean Sensations* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), and David Howes (ed.), *Empire of the Senses* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005).
67. On gender and social performance, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York; London: Routledge, 1999); also see Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996); Bruce R. Smith, *Shakespeare & Masculinity* (Oxford: OUP, 2000); Celia Daileader, *Eroticism on the Renaissance Stage* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).
68. See Gary Taylor, *Castration* (New York; London: Routledge, 2000).
69. See Eve Keller, *Generating Bodies and Gendered Selves* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 2007).
70. See Deborah E. Harkness, 'A View from the Streets', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 81:1 (2008), 52–85; M. A. Katritzky, *Women, Medicine and Theatre, 1550–1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). See also Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester; New York: MUP, 2007).
71. In Chapter 4 I engage with Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2007) and Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet* (Oxford; New York: OUP, 2003).
72. Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England* (Manchester; New York: MUP, 2006); Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

73. See various edns of Shakespeare by Foakes, and Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2002); Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1992); Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: OUP, 2000); Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009); Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984); Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000); Stern, *Making Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2004); Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009); Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare's Theatre* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2013); Simon Palfrey, *Possible Worlds*; Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).
74. W. W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931); Bernard Beckerman, *Shakespeare at the Globe* (New York: Collier Books; London: Collier-Macmillan, 1962), pp. 101–8, 157–68. For an overview see Stern, 'Re-patching the Play' in *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 151–77 (pp. 151–4). Cf. *Documents of the Rose Playhouse*, ed. Carol Chillington Rutter (Manchester: MUP, 1999), pp. 1–35.
75. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (eds), *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002); Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
76. Sofer, p. 7. Cf. Stern (*Making Shakespeare*, pp. 92–100) and Gurr (*Shakespearean Stage*, pp. 187–193) who discuss props' to-and-fro movements.
77. Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999). This publication, however, does not discuss or catalogue stage business implicit in dialogue.
78. See Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds), 'Introduction' in *Everyday Objects* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1–23 (esp. p. 2).
79. See Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (Oxford: OUP, 2011); Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England* (Manchester; New York: MUP, 2006); David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (eds), *Staging the Renaissance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991); Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (eds), *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996); Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000). For a comparative study, see *The Material Renaissance*, ed. Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester: MUP, 2007), which investigates 'production [in Renaissance Italy] from the viewpoint of demand' (p. 2) through a collection of essays on the shifting values of basic as well as luxury goods.
80. Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 5.
81. Sue Wiseman, 'Popular Culture' in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England,* ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 15–28 (p. 26).
82. In *Domestic Life* Richardson highlights early modern conceptions of objects as simultaneously practical and symbolic.
83. Janet Clare, *Art Made Tongue-Tied By Authority* (Manchester: MUP, 1990), p. 1.

1 'Settinge up a shoppe': Inventories and Props

1. Sidney Young, *Annals* (London: Blades, 1890), pp. 192, 191.
2. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 28. A practitioner could only keep shop (just one) after the completion of his apprenticeship and at least one year in service as a Journeyman.
3. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 81.
4. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 4v.
5. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 4r. Fining for this offence was common; numerous cases are recorded in 1598, for example (*Court Minutes*, B/1/3, pp. 9–16).
6. *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 19.
7. Rowan Cerys Tomlinson, 'Thinking with Lists in French Vernacular Writing, 1548–1596' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2008), p. 2. I quote Tomlinson's unpublished work with her kind permission. A published version of her thesis, *Inventive Inventories*, is forthcoming with OUP.
8. Tomlinson, pp. 19, 27.
9. William N. West, *Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 1, 41.
10. See West, pp. 14–78 (esp. pp. 19–23, 43–9). Cf. Peregrine Horden's depiction of the Middle Ages with 'no schools, no canonical texts, and no encyclopaedic reference works' in terms of medical fragmentation and mutability ('Medieval Medicine' in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine*, ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 40–59 (p. 51)).
11. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 187.
12. See James Watt, 'John Woodall' in *Notable Barber Surgeons*, ed. Ian Burn (London: Farrand Press in association with The Worshipful Company of Barbers, 2008), pp. 153–77.
13. John Woodall, *The Surgions Mate* (1617); Woodall, *The Surgeons Mate* (1639); Woodall, *The Surgeons Mate* (1655).
14. *Mullets* pincers or tweezers for hair, *OED*, n. 5.
15. *Gravers* could be a general cutting tool, but more than likely a specific instrument for scraping plaque from teeth (could also be referred to as a 'scraper'), *OED*, 3.a.
16. *Flegme* a type of watery distilled liquid that was used as a cleaning substance, *OED*, n, 2. However, more likely is that '*Flegme*' is a variant spelling of 'fleam[e]', a type of lancet used on human gums and here logically included after another piece of dentistry kit ('*Gravers*'), *OED*, n. 1.
17. *Paring Knives* a variety of long-bladed knives.
18. *Hoanes* types of whetstone with a very fine edge, *OED*, nn. 1, 7.
19. Sandra Cavallo re-evaluates the position of Italian barbers in relation to surgeons by asserting their independent knowledge-base of the body (*Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester; New York: Manchester UP, 2007), pp. 38–63).
20. Richard Huloet, *Huloets Dictionarie* (Oxford, 1572), Div.
21. Randle Holme was one of four Chester-based Randle Holmes from the period. The author of *Armory* is the third.
22. See 'Introduction', Randle Holme, 'The Manuscript of the Third Book of *The Academy of Armory* as it was for the Printing' in *Academy of Armory or a Storehouse of Armory and Blazon*, ed. I. H. Jeaynes, Vol II (London: Roxburghe Club, 1905), pp. v–xii. The collection of Holme's manuscripts is held at the British Museum (Harl. 2026–2035).
23. Randle Holme, *Academy of Armory* (Chester, 1688), pp. 420–38.

24. Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 4–7.
25. Holme (1688), pp. 127–9.
26. Holme (1688), pp. 127–8.
27. Holme (1688), pp. 438, 433.
28. Charles Whyte, City of London (14th February 1545), PROB 11/30.
29. John Vigures, Westminster (1699), PROB 4/13107. (Records at the National Archives show that very few inventories survive between 1583 and 1640.) Cf. the inventory of Stafford Tyndall which includes 'Five box combs two raisors one paire of sisers two beard irons and one little silver plate Item one … one steele instrument for cleaning the teeth … two hones a beard brush and some hair powder … a looking glass foure combs for the haire' (Stafford Tyndall, Lambeth (1665), PROB 4/7218).
30. Korda, *Domestic Economies*, pp. 1–14.
31. Thomas Dekker, John Ford and William Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton* (1658), E1v.
32. Phillip Stubbes, *The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses Conteining the Display of Corruptions* (1583), G8r.
33. On the barber's shop as a social centre, see Margaret Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality' in *London 1500–1700*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 82–112 (p. 85).
34. Contemporary literature satirizes the working, available language of the trade (see Chapter 5).
35. See Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1542), Ffiiir, Llviir; Huloet, see Div, Iiiv.
36. John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), H4v-I1r. Holme does not cite Eliot although we know that it was a popular text seen as a source for Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost*, *Henry V* and even *King Lear*.
37. Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, trans. Charles Hoole (1659), pp. 154–5.
38. Charles Hoole, *An Easie Entrance to the Latine Tongue* (1649), pp. 299–300.
39. See in John Ford, *The Fancies*, *Chast and Noble* (1638), s.d. on I4r and Secco's mock definition of his tools on K1r.
40. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 163–200 (pp. 163, 173, 198–9).
41. John Lyly, *Midas* in *Galatea/Midas*, ed. George K. Hunter and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000).
42. See Elizabethan and modern translation: Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, trans. Arthur Golding (1567); Ovid, *Metamophoses*, trans. A. D. Melville (Oxford, New York: OUP, 1998).
43. Mark Albert Johnston, 'Playing with the Beard', *ELH* 72:1 (2005), 79–103 (p. 91).
44. Johnston 'Playing with the Beard', pp. 91, 96.
45. See Hunter and Bevington, FN to III.ii.25–8.
46. Tomlinson, p. 10.
47. Volpone recognizes that he enjoys 'More in the cunning purchase of [his] wealth/ Than in the glad possession' (Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, ed. Robert N. Watson, 2nd edn (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2003), I.i.31–2).
48. Carla Mazzio, 'The Senses Divided' in *Empire of the Senses*, ed. David Howes (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), pp. 85–105 (p. 86).
49. Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p. 3.
50. On music and the barber's shop see Chapter 4.
51. John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London: A & C Black; New York: W W Norton, 1997).

52. Henry Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Willes* (1591), 217r and 218r. This work survives in nine editions from 1591 to 1803.
53. Korda, *Domestic Economies*, pp. 2–3.
54. Hunter and Bevington's FN to V.ii.23.
55. Despite our contemporary predilection to see women characterized primarily in terms of property in early modernity, domestic subjects (wives, children and servants) were not conventionally classified in probate in the period.
56. Swinburne, 218r.
57. Moreover, 'tongues' are notoriously an ambivalent part of a bodily whole.
58. William Rowley, *A Search for Money* (1609), B3r.
59. Douglas Bruster, 'The Dramatic Life of Objects in the Early Modern Theatre' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 67–96 (pp. 74–5).
60. Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann, *Prologues to Shakespeare's Theatres* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), see pp. 117–34 (p. 121).
61. Bruster and Wiemann, p. 119.
62. Mazzio, p. 87.
63. Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*, ed. Roger Holdsworth (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2002).
64. Barbers' Archive, *Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 30r.
65. lotium 'stale urine used by barbers as a "lye" for their hair', *OED*, *obs*.
66. This 'playful reminder' is also in 'The Rimers New Trimming' (c.1614), an anonymous ballad in which a rhymer mocks the barber's trade. The balladeer incorporates an inventory of barbery objects ('Sissors', 'Rasor', 'Combes', 'Ball' (also 'Balles' and 'Musk-ball'), 'Bason', 'Cloths' (also 'Cloaths' and 'Clothes'), 'Pan', 'Chair' (three times) and 'Glasse') which paints a picture, through song, of predictable practice and a battle of social precedence between barber and rhymer.
67. Juana Green, 'Properties of Marriage' in *Staged Properties*, pp. 261–87 (p. 284).
68. The word is 'poulder' in Folio/quarto edns (*Epicoene* in *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (1616), p. 561; *Epicoene* (1620), G4r), which, according to the *OED*, is found in forms of 'pewter' as well as 'powder'. The association with pewter is befitting of barbery for which equipment was often made of the metal alloy.
69. Cf. *Fancies*, B1r.
70. Bruster, 'Life of Objects', p. 74.
71. Tomlinson, p. 35.
72. Cf. Carol Chillington Rutter's analysis of Trevor Nunn's 1989 production of *Othello* which celebrates the familiar and 'unique privacy of [the] women's scene', where Emilia (Zoe Wanamaker) attends on Desdemona (Imogen Stubbs) (*Enter the Body* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 142–77 (pp. 144–5)). Significantly, Desdemona's mother's maid, whose story Desdemona shares with Emilia, is called 'Barbary' (IV.iii.25).
73. Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 35.
74. Barnabe Barnes, *The Divils Charter* (1607), s.d. H1r.
75. See Sandra Cavallo, 'Health, Beauty and Hygiene' in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: V&A Publications, 2006), pp. 174–87.
76. For a discussion of the substances (rather than the tool-sets) women used in cosmetics, see Karim-Cooper, pp. 34–63. Cf. Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary,* ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 146.

77. William Kerwin discusses (barber-)surgery's work on the body's surfaces in early modernity which caused, he argues, anxiety about their role in socioaesthetics, 'particularly [in] narratives about faces that present themselves as readable and unreadable in various culturally inflected ways' (*Beyond the Body* (Amherst and Boston: University of Manchester Press, 2005), pp. 97–129 (p. 100)).
78. Cf. Mark Albert Johnston, 'Bearded Women in Early Modern England', *SEL* 47:1 (2007), 1–28 (p. 6).
79. The remaining quotations in this paragraph are taken from G1v/G2r.
80. Karim-Cooper, pp. 112–8.
81. Gordon Williams, *A Glossary of Shakespeare's Sexual Language* (London: Athlone, 1997), pp. 89–90, 192.
82. Mazzio, p. 90.
83. The only barbery tool Tryphon retains for his mistress are 'the Crisping-Irons'.
84. See Thomas Gale, 'An Institution of a Chirurgian' in *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563), 4r; Gale's introduction to his translation of *Certaine Workes of Galens* (1586), Bv*v*; Plinio Prioreschi, *Roman Medicine*, vol 3 (Omaha, NE: Horatius Press, 1998), pp. 175, 285; and William Bullein, *Bulleins Bulwarke of Defence* (1579), 4r, 5v.
85. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie* Queene, ed. A. C. Hamilton, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), Book III, canto iv, from stanza 43; Book IV, canto x, from stanza 6.
86. Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (1612), R2r. Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island* (Cambridge: 1633), see Eclog. III, stanza 5; Eclog. V, stanzas 6, 19; and Eclog. VI, stanzas 18, 25.
87. In George Chapman's *All Fools*, the surgeon offers to treat Darioto's wound: 'if you please to come home to my house till you be perfectly cur'd, I shall have the more care on you' (*Al Fooles* (1605), G1v).
88. Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 135.
89. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. George Darley, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1840) II.
90. See *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Ccccccccc4r.
91. Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), B3v. The 'instruments of metal', according to Gale, could be of 'Iron, leade, tynne, copper, silver & gold' (12v).
92. Horden, p. 46. A variety of unusual substances were collected by surgeons in their expeditions, noted by the authors of *Before the Mast* (pp. 219–23). In 1597, a herbalist, John Gerarde, suggested to the Company that a 'peece of ground' by the Hall should be set aside 'for to plant all kinde of herbes in route plants' (*Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 63v).
93. Bullein, 14r, 17r, 32v.
94. Cf. Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), H6r, on branding whores.
95. Robert Armin, *The History of Two Maids of More-Clacke* (1609), C4v.
96. See Kerwin, pp. 100–1, who gives an overview of Lanfrank's and later Thomas Ross's insistence on the 'symbolic importance of the [surgeon's] hand' (p. 101). Although Kerwin rightly insists that much happened in early modernity to help overturn the image of the surgeon as the artisan, the legacy of their practice was strong.
97. Most surgical textbooks begin by stating the etymology of 'surgery'/'surgeon'. One such example is in Gale's translation of Galen, pp. 11–12.
98. Bullein, 5r. Cf. the surgeon should 'have a good hand, as perfit in the left as the right … [and] that he tremble not in doing his operations' (Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), B3v).
99. Horatius Morus, *Tables of Surgerie*, trans. Richard Caldwall (1585).

100. Bullein, 7v.
101. Chapman, *Eastward Hoe* (1605), E1v.
102. See Ambroise Paré, *The Workes*, trans. Th[omas] Johnson (1634); and Jacques Guillemeau (Paré's pulpil and son-in-law), *The Frenche Chirurgerye* (1598), which includes ten plates of diagrams. I refer to Paré's works a number of times in this book. We know that The Company had access to his works in translation from at least 1591 (only a year after his death), and it must be assumed that several surgeons would have owned copies of his works owing to the following entry in surgeon Robert Balthropp's will of 1591: 'the chirurgerie of the expert and perfect practitioner Ambroise Parey … I have written into Englishe for the love that I owe unto my brethren practisinge chirurgerie and … [I have given] unto the hall for theire Daylie use and Readinge' (Robert Balthropp, Saint Bartholomew the Less (16th December 1591), PROB 11/78).
103. François Tolet, *A Treatise of Lithotomy*, trans. A. Lovell (1683), see E4v-E7v and E8v-F2r for inventories, descriptions and diagrams.
104. Thomas Churchyard, 'In Praise of the Author and his Worke' in Lowe's *Chirurgerie*, ¶3r.
105. Lowe, B4r. In the margin of this copy the owner of the book has written 'probe'.
106. See Lowe, B4r. Cf. 13r-14r of Gale in which he distinguishes between general and particular instruments.
107. Barbers' Archive, *Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 29v.
108. Thomas Rütten, 'Early Modern Medicine' in *History of Medicine*, pp. 60–81 (p. 69). Cf. wills and inventories which name instruments collectively, being too long to list: Edward Piper, Dorking (1662), PROB 4/3176; William Worland, Dorking (1690), PROB 4/2817; Richard Gunning, Dorking (1677), PROB 4/6693. Cf. George Laye, New Windsor (1684), PROB 4/8380.
109. See Holme (1688), pp. 420–38, including over 80 illustrations.
110. Holme (1905), pp. 235–7.
111. See Holme on the 'An Instrument to be put into an handle to press down the *Dura Mater*', (1905), p. 236. And compare with Paré, p. 373 [misnumbered 323]. Paré writes that this instrument should 'have the end round, polisht and smooth as it is here exprest', and Holme (1905) writes that 'this Instrument must have the end round, smooth and polished'.
112. Lowe, B4r-v.
113. Lowe, B4v.
114. John Cotta, *A Short Discoverie* (1612), D2v.
115. John Banister, *A Needefull, New and Necessarie Treatise of Chirurgerie* (1575); Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), Preface.
116. Woodall (1617), B2r. On the invention of midwifery's technical instruments see Eve Keller, *Generating Bodies and Gendered Selves* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 2007), pp. 158–65: 'Chapman [a surgeon] announces his wondrous ability to extract obstructed infants alive with the use of the fillet but, it being an instrument of his own invention, he refuses to divulge the details of its construction or the manner of its use' (p. 165).
117. Gale's trans. of Galen, p. 17.
118. Rütten, p. 62.
119. Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), C4r.
120. 'Barbars care' in Samuel Pick, *Festum Voluptatis* (London: 1639), F2*v*.
121. Thomas Lupton, *Too Good, To Be True* (1580), Siir.
122. See Lupton, *A Thousand Notable Things* (1579), Kiir.
123. Francisco de Quevedo, *Visions, or Hels Kingdome* (1640), p. 46.

124. Gatien Courtilz de Sandras, *The Memoirs of the Count de Rochefort* (1696), p. 356.
125. Woodall (1639), Cc1r; Bullein, 14r.
126. Woodall (1617), C1v.
127. Pierre Dionis, *A Course of Chirurgical Operations* (1710), p. 6. Cf. the 'Situation of the Patient' before an operation: 'The instruments are to be prepar'd in an adjoining Chamber … that [the patient] may not be affrighted by the sight of them' (Dionis, p. 282).
128. See William Davies, *A True Relation of the Travailes and Most Miserable Captivitie of William Davies* (1614).
129. Woodall, *Viaticum* (1628), A2*v*.
130. Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1993), p. 24.
131. Karim-Cooper, p. 37.
132. Paster, p. 25.
133. Cf. Salerio in *Merchant of Venice* who describes a 'miscarrièd … vessel of our country' (II.viii.29–30).
134. Richard Sugg, *Murder after Death* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press; Bristol: University Presses Marketing, 2007), p. 2. In his study of *Sejanus*, William W. E. Slights is struck by Jonson's 'total absence of the anatomist's systematic and orderly presentation of the human body and its parts' ('Bodies of Text and Textualized Bodies in *Sejanus* and *Coriolanus*', *MaRDiE* 5 (1991), 181–93 (p. 185)).
135. *OED*, 'fiddlestick, *n*', 2: '*humourously*. Something insignificant or absurd'.
136. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (1632).
137. Holme (1688), p. 426.
138. In *Troilus and Cressida*, Patroclus asks, 'Who keeps the tent now?' (V.i.10) to which Thersites responds, 'The surgeon's box, or the patient's wound' (V.i.11) and Middleton describes 'a proud match at football shall send many a lame soldier to your tent' in reference to the surgeon (*Owl's Almanac*, 2017–2018).
139. Holme (1688), p. 434.
140. Sugg, pp. 36–7.
141. Sugg cites William Harvey's reference to the '3rd divide banquet of the brain', which, he asserts, is the 'last seemingly cannibalistic presentation of the anatomized body' in anatomical tracts (p. 36).
142. William Clowes, *A Prooved Practise* (1588), D1r.
143. The four-cornered cap was a common symbol of divine office, a symbol satirized throughout, for example, the Marprelate tracts. It was often interpreted as a sign of pomposity in ecclesiastical office.
144. Patricia Parker, 'Cutting Both Ways' in *Alternative Shakespeares 3*, ed. Diana E. Henderson (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 107.
145. 'Introduction' in Barnabe Barnes, *The Devil's Charter*, ed. Ronald Brunless McKerrow (London: David Nutt; Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1904), p. x.
146. Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. John D. Jump (London: Methuen, 1968), see V.49–65.
147. Parker, pp. 97–104 (p. 97).
148. Mary Rose Trust, Portsmouth, 'Fleam Wallet' (MR 80 A 1564).
149. Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (1677).

2 'Lend me thy basin, apron and razor': Disguise, (Mis)Appropriation, and Play

1. Gary Taylor, 'Divine [ ]sences' in *Shakespeare Survey Volume 54: Shakespeare and Religions*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 13–30, p. 15.

2. See Christian Billing, 'Modelling the Anatomy Theatre and the Indoor Hall Theatre: Dissection on the Stages of Early Modern London', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13: Special Issue (2004), 1–17.
3. Hilary Nunn, *Staging Anatomies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), see esp. Introduction and Chapter 1.
4. See Jean Elizabeth Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994); Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York; London: Routledge, 1999).
5. Peter Hyland, *Disguise on the Early Modern English Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 111.
6. Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 128 (see pp. 117–28).
7. Lopez, p. 119.
8. See Peter Stallybrass, 'Worn Worlds' in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp. 289–320; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 182, 197; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), pp. 187–200. For discussions on the early modern circulation of costume/clothing and Henslowe's costume department accounts see Natasha Korda, 'Household Property/Stage Property', *Theatre Journal* 48:2 (1996), 185–95 (esp. pp. 188, 194–5); Korda, 'Women's Theatrical Properties' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 202–29; Stallybrass, 'Properties in Clothes' in *Staged Properties*, pp. 177–201; Will Fisher, 'Staging the Beard' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama,* ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 230–57. On early modern costume see Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Occupational Costume* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1967). On the technology of disguise, see Hyland's second and third chapters of *Disguise on the Early Modern Stage*.
9. Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009); Victor Oscar Freeburg, *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965), pp. 121–2. [Freeburg's monograph was first published by Columbia University Press in 1915.]
10. Cf. Michael Hattaway's analysis of Tamburlaine and the dangers of self-fashioning in terms of investiture and disinvestiture ('Playhouses and the Role of Drama' in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 133–47 (p. 138)).
11. Douglas Bruster, 'The Dramatic Life of Objects in the Early Modern Theatre' in *Staged Properties*, pp. 67–97 (pp. 75, 67). 'The change in costume is always a change of identity' (Stallybrass and Jones, p. 198). See Tiffany Stern's discussion on changes of clothes and clothes as visual props in *Making Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 105–7, pp. 103–5. Cf. Fleir describes a city of actors: 'for hee that yesterday played the Gentleman, now playes the Beggar … Then for their apparell, they have change too: for shee that wore the Petticote, now weares the Breech' (Edward Sharpham, *The Fleire* (1607), D1v); and Truewit's observation in *Epicoene* when setting up a mock court scene: 'I have fitted my divine and my canonist, dyed their beards and all; the knaves do not know themselves, they are so exalted and altered. Preferment changes any man' (Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*, ed. Roger Holdsworth (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2002), V.iii.2–5).
12. Samuel Rowlands, *Humors Looking Glasse* (1608), A2v. On the glass, self-reflection, and refashioning, see Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2006), pp. 37–9.

13. Anon, 'The Rimers New Trimming' (c.1614), stanza 18, line 3.
14. Edward Phillips, *The New World of English Words* (1658); Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (1677).
15. See Richard Perceval, *Dictionarie in Spanish and Enlish* (1599), p. 10.
16. Richard Head, *The English Rogue* (1688), p. 10.
17. Douglas Biow, 'Manly Matters', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40:2 (2010), 325–46, p. 334.
18. Ben Jonson, 'Epilogue at Windsor' in *A Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies* in *Works*, ed. William Gifford (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company; New York: J. C. Derby, 1855), line 7 to the end.
19. See *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I.ii. On Bottom's beards, see Fisher, pp. 243–4. Cf. Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2011), pp. 86, 120. And reference to 'Gentleman-like-beards or broker-like-beards' in George Wilkins, *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage* (1607), D4v.
20. Fisher, pp. 238–41 (Cf. pp. 240–1).
21. Thomas Nashe directs the barber, 'Wherefore (good *Dick*) on with thy apron' (*Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596), A3v.). Middleton refers to 'a lick with the barber's apron' (2053) in *Owl's Almanac*.
22. See the comparisons drawn by Johnston, 'Playing with the Beard', *ELH* 72:1 (2005), 79–103 (pp. 82, 88).
23. Richard Edwards, *Damon and Pithias* (1571), Eiiiir.
24. Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: Blades, 1890), p. 260.
25. See Janette Dillon, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early English Theatre* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 4–16 (pp. 4–5).
26. See Lloyd Davis, *Guise and Disguise* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 3–18. For Davis, 'Dis-guise … suggests a doubled guise, which exceeds a "usual manner" of self-presentation' (p. 11).
27. Hattaway, 'Playhouses and the Role of Drama', p. 142.
28. M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1984), pp. 371–81 (pp. 372–3, 380).
29. Cf. 'the tantara flash sea-coal' (*Owl's Almanac*, 2049–2050).
30. See George Whetstone, *The Right Excellent and Famous History, of Promos and Cassandra* (1578), Fiiiv; John Day, *The Knave in Graine* (1640), I1v-I3r.
31. Thomas Randolph, *Aristippus* (1630), D1v.
32. Darryll Grantley regards Cocledemoy's trickery 'more purely as exemplification of the skills required in an urban context'; 'skilful deception', he concludes, 'ha[s] become a dramatic trope' (*London in Early Modern English Drama* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 134).
33. See discussion of Holifernes's name in my Introduction of this book.
34. See John Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605), C2v; 'The Dutch Courtezan' in *The Workes of Mr. John Marston* (1633), Aa4r-Aa4v.
35. See Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 181–91.
36. See Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp. 14–30.
37. In quarto, this second reference is abbreviated to 'the 3.razers' (C2r).
38. Young, p. 432. Cf. George C. Boon, '*Tonsor Humanus*', *Britannia* 22 (1991), 21–32.
39. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 17.
40. See Crane's FN to II.i.204.
41. See John Vigures (1699), PROB 4/13107.

42. See Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 22–3; Fisher, pp. 243–4 when he speculates on blatant artificiality of beard wearing on the early modern stage and the difference between beard prostheses; Johnston, 'Prosthetic Absence in Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, *The Alchemist*, and *Bartholmew Fair*', *ELR* 37:3 (2007), 401–28.
43. A 'sharking "Andrew"' is 'a cheating Scot', Crane (FN to II.iii.15).
44. Jonathan Hope, *Shakespeare and Language* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010), pp. 99–113 (p. 106). Cf. Nashe's description of the 'rude simple countrey' of the North (*Terrors of the Night* (1594), Eir).
45. Anon, 'The Northern Ladd' (1670–1696), stanzas 9–10.
46. See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1950), p. 29; Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols (London; Atlantic Highlands NJ: Athlone, 1994), I, p. 70. Cf. 'some Whores … with their fained teares/will you deceive:/And yet as common be/as a Barbers chaire' (Robert Guy, 'A Warning for All Good Fellowes to Take Heede of Punckes Inticements' (1615?), 'The Second Part', stanza 7, lines 2–6).
47. *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 42.
48. Young, p. 24.
49. Cf. 'The play … link[s] the Mulligrubs to the Family of Love and the Family of Love with the bawdy house' (Majorie Rubright, 'Going Dutch in London City Comedy', *English Literary Renaissance* 40:1 (2010), 88–112, p. 109).
50. Sensing that the barber has tried to get the better of him, Spadone calls him 'a drie shaver' (*Fancies*, B1r), insulting his occupational identity. Spadone merely reflects what is already implicit in Ford's choice of the barber's name: Secco means dry. Complaining of her barber husband, Morosa refers to when he 'lies by [her] as cold as a dry stone' (H1r).
51. The comment refers to the fact that barbers were not permitted to practise on Sundays.
52. Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing,* p. 205. The authors explore how certain objects (fragments, usually) have the power to haunt on stage and shift from 'neuter' to 'haunting'. 'Material memories' in the examples these authors investigate are solemn reminders; in *Dutch Courtesan*, they are comic.
53. Crane, FN to IV.v.9.
54. Thomas Freeman, *Rubbe, and the Great Cast* (1614), B4r.
55. *Saffron-Walden*, A3v [margin].
56. Davis, p. 8.
57. Simon Palfrey, *Doing Shakespeare* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2005), p. 199.
58. Palfrey similarly refers to the fact that 'the usefulness of disguise … can … challenge … the very idea of coherent individuality' (p. 200).
59. Cf. James Berg on the reliance of character on properties which shape the person ('The Properties of Character in *King Lear*' in *Shakespeare and Character*, ed. Paul Yachnin and Jessica Slights (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 98–116).
60. Palfrey, p. 199.
61. Francis Kirkman, *The Wits* (1673) [Vol II], see pp. 58–80; Kirkman, *The Wits* (1672) [Vol I]; Henry Marsh, *The Wits* (1662).
62. *Wits* (1673), Preface: A2r-A3r.
63. *Wits* (1662), pp. 121–33. Robert Cox, *Acteon and Diana … Followed by Several Conceited Humours* (1656), E2r-v. It is not clear whether Cox is author or adaptor.
64. See *Wits* (1662), pp. 124–7.
65. *Wits* (1662), pp. 93–7.

66. See Grantley, p. 96; Lucy Munro, '*The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Generic Experimentation' in *Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr, Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield (New York; Oxford: OUP, 2006), pp. 189–99 (p. 190); Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 121–4.
67. See Dillon, *Early English Theatre*, pp. 16–23. Most early plays (pre-1580), Dillon asserts, 'had to be adaptable to a number of different performance locations' (p. 3).
68. In *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998) Susan Wiseman argues that much more than the 'cavalier' productions prevailed throughout the interregnum, and asserts that there was 'no singular "Puritan" politics of theatre' (p. 7). Assuming reciprocity between political and cultural spheres she recognizes the potentially democratizing effects of public performance and print culture. Cf. Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632–1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), esp. pp. 181–250: 'It is helpful to see the open-air stages as catering for older tastes rather than merely as backward' (p. 183).
69. Wiseman, see pp. 6, 54, 83–4, 210–2.
70. Wiseman, pp. 86–7.
71. Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Michael Hattaway, 2nd edn (London: A & C Black, New York: WW Norton, 2002). See Ronald F. Miller, 'Dramatic Form and the Dramatic Imagination in Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*', *ELR* 8:1 (1978), 67–84; Lee Bliss, '"Plot me no Plots"', *MLQ* 45:1 (1984), 3–21; Glenn A. Steinberg, '"You Know the Plot/We Both Agreed On?"', *MaRDiE* 5 (1991), 211–24. Bliss comments of George and Nell, 'They remain comic in their mistaken self-assurance, but as dramatists they begin to charm us; through them we reexperience the theater's seductive magic' (p. 9), while Miller sees Beaumont's dramatic worlds 'hopelessly scrambled' in the play in 'its mix of literalism and mad fancy' (pp. 74–5). Munro oversimplifies the generic substance of the play, although she refers to its 'generic experimentation par excellence' ('*The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Generic Experimentation' in *Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr, Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield (New York; Oxford: OUP, 2006), pp. 189–99 (p. 190)); and while Steinberg paints a somewhat arbitrary battle between *The London Merchant* and *Burning Pestle*, he lucidly describes the interplay between plot and improvization.
72. Miller, pp. 77–8.
73. Hattaway, *Burning Pestle*, FN to III.213.
74. Miller, p. 77. Cf. 'the "gentle souls" that Rafe rescues from Barbaroso represent venereal disease' (Steinberg, p. 219).
75. Todd H. J. Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p. 137.
76. Patricia Parker, 'Barbers and Barbary', *Renaissance Drama* 33 (2005), 201–44.
77. See J. R. R. Christie, 'The Paracelsian Body' in *Paracelsus*, ed. Ole Peter Grell (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 269–92 (p. 274)).
78. Steinberg, p. 218; Dillon, 'Is Not All the World Mile End, Mother?', *MaRDiE* 9 (1997), 127–48 (p. 130).
79. Grantley, pp. 94–5.
80. Bord referring to thinly hammered metal. 'Bord' is unusual as it more commonly refers to wood; possibly Beaumont intends a pun on 'bord', or 'bourd', 'an idle tale, a jest, a joke', *OED*, *obs*, n.
81. In *Fancies*, Secco declares, 'My Razer shall be my weapon, my Razer' (F1v).

82. See Perceval, p. 122. Cf. 'with my launce in my hand to tortour thee … I shall carrie on my launce-pointe thy bones to hang at my shop windowe' (Richard Lichfield[?], *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe Gentleman* (1597), E1v).
83. Spectacle was common in early modern pageantry in the city, but so were special effects on the stage. See Gordon Kipling, 'Wonderfull Spectacles' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), pp. 153–71; Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage*, pp. 180–7, who discusses the 'hell-mouth' in the 1616 text of *Faustus* (p. 185); and Karim-Cooper who underlines the period's 'pathological addiction to display' (p. 74).
84. Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).
85. Tony Hunt, *The Medieval Surgery* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), p. 68.
86. See Andrew Sofer's comparison between Frances Teague's definition of stage properties' 'dislocated function' and the Russian formalist concept of '*ostranenie* (making strange), which defines the "poetic" function of language' (*The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 12–13).
87. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, dir. Adele Thomas (Shakespeare's Globe Theatre: Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, 2014).
88. Margaret Pelling, 'Public and Private Dilemmas' in *Medicine, Health and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1600–2000*, ed. Steve Sturdy (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 27–42 (p. 36); see pp. 36–38 on 'contractual medicine'.
89. The barber-surgeon's tub, evoked in this scene (III.418, 443–4) and also in the background of *Aristippus*, is never seen on stage and is not referenced in non-fictional texts begging the question whether it is an invention of fictional sources to suggest another disguised, irregular working space for the barber-surgeon or whether it was a historical part of their equipment. Cf. Munro, p. 197.
90. Grantley, p. 96.
91. *Wits* (1673) includes the rehearsal passages from *Midsummer Night's Dream* (pp. 29–40).
92. Richard Whitlock, *Observations* (1654), p. 93.
93. William Salmon, *Ars Chirurgica* (1698), p. 5.
94. Phillip Stubbes, *The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses Conteining the Display of Corruptions* (1583), H3v-H4r.
95. Julie Gardiner, Michael J. Allen, and Mary Anne Alburger (eds), *Before the Mast* (Portsmouth: Mary Rose Trust, 2005), p. 198.
96. William Bullein, 'Dialogue' in *Bulleins Bulwarke* (1579), 5v.
97. For commentary and satire on surgery's fiscal abuses, see Stubbes (H2r-H2v) and Thomas Lupton (*Too Good, To Be True* (1580), Riiv-Siiijv).
98. John Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas* (1639), H2r.
99. On the name Lancelot/Lancelet and its association with incisions and conversions, see Patricia Parker, 'Cutting Both Ways' in *Alternative Shakespeares 3*, ed. Diana E. Henderson (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 95–118. *Monsieur Thomas* parodies social – rather than religious – conversion with the eponym attempting to reform his wild self and become a gentleman under the eyes of his man, Launcelot.
100. Deborah E. Harkness, 'A View from the Streets', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 81:1 (2008), 52–85. Cf. D. A. Evenden, 'Gender Differences in the Licensing and Practice of Female and Male Surgeons in Early Modern England', *Medical History* 42:2 (1998), 194–216; A. L. Wyman, 'The Surgeoness', *Medical History* 28:1 (1984), 22–41; Margaret Pelling, 'Compromised by Gender' in *The Task of Healing*, ed. Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 1996),

pp. 101–33 (pp. 112–4, 119–20); Pelling (with Frances White), *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), pp. 189–224; M. A. Katritzky, *Women, Medicine and Theatre* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), esp. pp. 135–50. William Kerwin's third chapter in *Beyond the Body* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), pp. 62–96, joins revisionist historians in highlighting women's ubiquitous presence in medical practices throughout the period, although his focus is on 'wisewomen', or 'woman healers' rather than the domestic pursuits of females of the household.

101. M. P. [Martin Parker], 'The Married-Womans Case' (c.1625), stanza 5, lines 3–7.
102. James Primerose, *Popular Errours*, trans. Robert Wittie (1651), pp. 19–21 (p. 20).
103. Young, p. 72.
104. Young, p. 260. Harkness, pp. 56–9. Pelling, 'Compromised by Gender', p. 103.
105. Katrikzky, p.137.
106. See Caroline Bicks, *Midwiving Subjects in Shakespeare's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 42–59.
107. John Donne, 'The Relic' in *John Donne: The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 75–6 (line 6).
108. Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), Ee1r.
109. Lowe stipulates instruments necessary to the surgeon as 'some … to sow wounds, and knit veins & arters as needles' (B4r).
110. Quotations are taken from Thomas Heywood, *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*, ed. Richard Rowland (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005).
111. Stubbes, H3v.
112. See Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 79–106, for a discussion of early moderns' view of Jews' interaction with poisons and remedies.
113. Lee Bliss, 'Destructive Will and Social Chaos in "The Devil's Law-Case"', *MLR* 72:3 (1977), 513–25, p. 518.
114. Bullein, 13r.
115. Anon, *2 Return from Parnassus* [*The Scourge of Simony*] in *The Three Parnassus Plays*, ed. J. B. Leishman (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1949).
116. Stubbes, H3r.
117. John Cotta, *A True Discovery of the Empericke* (1617), G1v.
118. John Cotta, *A Short Discoverie* (1612), G1v-G2r.
119. Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 81.
120. Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 99.
121. Henry Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (1631). For an account of the play's manuscript and printed history, see Gurr, *Opposites*, pp. 115–9.
122. Richard Sugg, *Murder after Death* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press; Bristol: University Presses Marketing, 2007), pp. 19–31; Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned* (London: Routledge, 1996).
123. Sugg, p. 13. Cf. Susan Zimmerman, *The Early Modern Corpse and Shakespeare's Theatre* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2005), who explores the paradoxical nature of the 'dynamic' cadaver in early modern England and discusses the unsteady boundaries between life and death, which are examined with reference to the problematic vitality and sexuality of the staged corpse (pp. 1–23; 130–3).
124. Gurr discusses the poor state of the play's manuscript and remarks on the 'sloppy presswork' in the one surviving quarto (*Opposites*, p. 116).
125. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 25v.
126. For descriptions of contemporary transportation of cadavers by the Company Beadle, see Young, p. 301.

127. Otho is also referred to as Charles on occasion in the printed text. Gurr explains these variant names (*Opposites*, pp. 117–8). Although Charles is the original name given to this character (which is preferred in the play's metre) I will refer to the character as Otho because the printed 1631 stage directions and prefixes refer to him as such in the passage in which I am most interested.
128. Flea flay.
129. Sugg, p. 27.
130. See Ian Burn, 'John Caius' in *Notable Barber-Surgeons*, ed. Ian Burn (London: Farrand Press in association with The Worshipful Company of Barbers, 2008), pp. 59–80 (esp. pp. 68–70)). Indeed Caius seems to have a presence in *Hoffman* which is reminiscent of the 'by [or be] gar[ring]' Dr Caius of Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: Lorrique disguises himself '*like a French Doctor*' in *Hoffman* and also adopts the tag expression, 'By gar', when employed by Sarlois to distribute poisons to Jerome and Stilt and trick them into thinking they will poison Prince Otho (Hoffman) (F4r-v). Cf. Anon, *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600) in which the eponym is also characterized by his 'by garr[ing]'.
131. Sugg, p. 26.
132. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 3r.
133. Barbers' Archive, *Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 32v. In 1737, Young notes that Mr Babbidge (a surgeon and company member) was paid for 'making a skeleton of Malden's Bones' (p. 418). Malden was a criminal hung at Tyburn.
134. Dekker, *A Knights Conjuring Done in Earnest* (1607), H2r.
135. See Florike Egmond's argument on the transcendence of honour over death in her re-evaluation of the place of pain in punishment in 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy' in *Bodily Extremities*, ed. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnonberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 92–127.
136. Marlowe, 'The Massacre at Paris' in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), vol 1.
137. Henry Goodcole, *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry* (1615), C3*r*.
138. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 24v.
139. Barbers' Archive, *Inventories Book* (1711–1745): F/11. The first entry from which this quotation is taken is not dated, the second entry being dated 1711. Because this is Book 5 of Inventories taken (the four before this one being missing), the first entry in F/11 is probably from 1710.
140. *Court Minutes*, B/1/5, p. 204.
141. Young, p. 486.
142. Gurr, *Opposites*, p. 116.
143. John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie* (1628), see Character 19.
144. A tooth pick is a prop to Tryphon in *Herod and Antipater* and in George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) barber Rowke declares, 'Heare's the toothpick', and leaves Rosko to pick Grimball's teeth on stage (Fiiiv-Fiiiir).
145. Gurr, *Opposites*, see pp. 116–19.
146. Cf. John Day, *The Knave in Graine* (1640), I1v-I3r, for a similar sequence involving a 'withdrawing Room' (I2v).
147. Michela Calore, '*Enter Out*', *MaRDiE* 13 (2001), 117–35 (esp. pp. 128–30). Cf. Alan C. Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 164–8 on the '"inside" scene'.
148. William Gruber, *Offstage Space, Narrative, and the Theatre of the Imagination* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
149. Thomas Kyd, *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda* (1592), B4v.
150. Richard Rowland, 'Introduction' to *King Edward IV*, p. 51.

151. See Introduction by Stanley Wells in *Collected Works*, pp. 452–4.
152. Anon, *Two Most Unnaturall and Bloodie Murthers* (1605). Catherine Richardson argues that *Yorkshire Tragedy* 'lacks any kind of particularity' to the historical events of the case (*Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England* (Manchester; New York: Manchester UP, 2006), p. 180).
153. George Wilkins, *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage* (1607), see E4r-v. The butler paraphrases his attack by saying his master 'sent me to the Surgeons' (E4v).
154. Wells, Introduction to *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, p. 454.
155. Richardson, pp. 185, 183–5, 186.
156. Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 88.
157. See Gruber, pp. 1–2.
158. Gruber, p. 6.
159. Celia R. Daileader, *Eroticism on the Renaissance Stage* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 23 (see pp. 23–50).
160. Daileader, pp. 24, 50. For a discussion on what may or may not be seen on stage, see Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), pp. 130–55, where he examines differences in and absence of stage directions and draws on the imagist's receptiveness to combined visual and verbal motifs.
161. Palfrey, pp. 195, 191.
162. Daileader, p. 25.
163. Taylor, 'Divine [ ]sences', p. 30.
164. Taylor, 'Divine [ ]sences', p. 29.
165. Nathaniel Field, *A Woman Is a Weather-Cocke* (1612), see G4r and I1r-I2v.
166. Jean Elizabeth Howard, 'Early Modern Work and the Work of Representation' in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Natasha Korda (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 243–50 (p. 247).
167. See Tanya Pollard, '"No Faith in Physic": Masquerades of Medicine Onstage and Off' in *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 29–41 (pp. 34–5).
168. Pollard, p. 38.
169. Taylor, 'Divine [ ]sences', p. 13.

3 Semiotics of Barber-Surgery in Shakespeare: Chair and Basin

1. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes,* B/1/3, p. 41.
2. *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 65.
3. Gary Taylor, 'Divine [ ]sences' in *Shakespeare Survey Volume 54*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 13–30 (pp. 17–18, 27–8).
4. Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things' in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp. 64–91. Cf. David K. Anderson's exploration of the presentation of persecutory violence in *King Lear* that 'reflects perhaps the most significant crisis of conscience of the English Reformation' and latches onto the idea that 'theological concepts gave writers "a repository of rhetorical triggers"' ('The Tragedy of Good Friday', *ELH* 78:2 (2011), 259–86 (pp. 260–2)).
5. Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 6–11.
6. Alessandro Serpieri, 'Reading the Signs', trans. Keir Elam, in *Alternative Shakespeare*, ed. John Drakakis, 2nd edn. (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 121–46 (pp. 124, 123).

7. Taylor, 'Divine [ ]sences', p. 22.
8. Jean E. Howard, 'Figures and Grounds', *SEL* 20:2 (1980), 185–99 (p. 186).
9. Simon Palfrey, *Shakespeare's Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014): 'I want to hypostasise the quotidian stuff of theatre, in the sense of recover *its multiple nodes of substance*: not to wash everything in the bland light of the divine, or still less do service to a centralising or centripetal ideologeme. Rather, I want to give what often seem to be merely "accidents" – figurative ornaments, necessary tools of the trade, serviceable instruments of the craft – their own substance, their own reality' ([italics mine], p. 146).
10. 'Forfeits' denote the teeth hanging in the barber's shop window. Laws/teeth are equally a source of amusement as a source of warning.
11. John D. Staines, 'Radical Pity' in *Staging Pain*, ed. James Robert Allard and Mathew R. Martin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 75–92 (p. 85).
12. Sasha Roberts, 'Let Me the Curtains Draw' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama,* ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 153–74 (p. 153).
13. William N. West, *Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 46.
14. See Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 10; Kathleen E. McLuskie, 'The Shopping Complex' in *Textual and Theatrical Shakespeare*, ed. Edward Pechter (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), pp. 86–101.
15. Quotations from the play are from a conflated text (unless otherwise indicated), but I will highlight any significant departures between quartos and Folio: *King Lear*, ed. R. A. Foakes (London: Thomas Learning, 1997).
16. Foakes (ed.), *King Lear*, p. 61.
17. Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1590), from 142r. The *King Lear* subplot, of course, was not developed in *The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his Three Daughters* (1605).
18. See Jonathan Bate's argument about Shakespeare's sheer receptiveness and peculiarity with regard to his handling of sources, and his innate sense of what works on stage, which dismisses the need for persistently authorized motivation in favour of the theatrical event (*The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), pp. 133–53).
19. For an account of the quarto and Folio options in performing III.vii, see Thomas L. Berger, 'The (Play) Text's the Thing' in *Teaching Shakespeare through Performance*, ed. Milla Cozart Riggio (New York: MLA, 1999), pp. 196–219.
20. Cf. Richard Strier's reading of the servants' revolt in *King Lear* for a political account of the 'Lower Orders' in *Resistant Structures* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 189–99.
21. George Peele, *Merrie Conceited Jests* (1627), C3r-C3v.
22. John Ford, *The Fancies, Chast and Noble* (1638), K1r.
23. On late medieval surgeons' attempts to alleviate pain and the common practice of restraining patients, see Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 108–11.
24. François Tolet, *A Treatise of Lithotomy*, trans. A. Lovell (1683), G5v.
25. Tolet, G4r.
26. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Guy De la Bédayère (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), p. 71.
27. Horatius Morus, *Tables of Surgerie*, trans. Richard Caldwall (1585), p. 28.
28. See Richard Thorowgood, Southwark (1671), PROB 4/7382; Richard Gunning, Dorking (1677), PROB 4/6693.

29. Ambroise Paré, *The Workes*, trans. Th[omas] Johnson (1634), p. 653.
30. Paul Barbette, *Thesaurus Chirurgiae*, trans. out of *Low-Dutch* into *English*, 3 vols (1687), I, p. 63.
31. Jacques Guillemeau, *A Worthy Treatise of the Eyes*, trans. into English (1587), p. 22.
32. Guillemeau, p. 149.
33. Alan C. Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 59–63.
34. Cf. Andreas Höfele, *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 208–10.
35. Sofer, p. 7.
36. Sidney, *Arcadia*, 144r.
37. Andrew Gurr distinguishes 'chairs' from 'Benches and stools' (*The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), pp. 191–2).
38. Foakes (ed.), *King Lear*, p. 5. Cf. Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), p. 53.
39. Barnabe Barnes, *The Divils Charter* (1607), C1v.
40. See 'Introduction' in Barnabe Barnes, *The Devil's Charter*, ed. Ronald Brunless McKerrow (London: David Nutt; Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1904), VIII.
41. Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage*, p. 191.
42. Höfele, pp. 204, 208.
43. Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), p. 46. Cf. Dessen, 'Sick Chairs and Sick Thrones' in *Recovering*, pp. 109–26. In his catalogue of household stuff in the unpublished part of his *Armory*, Randle Holme lists different types of chairs, including a kind 'called Twigges chaires … These are principally used by sick and infirm people, and such women as have bine lately brought to bed; from whence they are generally termed, Growneing chaires, or Child-bed chaires' ('The Manuscript of the Third Book of *The Academy of Armory*' in *Academy of Armory*, ed. I. H. Jeaynes, Vol II (London: Roxburghe Club, 1905), p. 14).
44. George Chapman, *The Gentleman Usher* (1606), F1r.
45. Philip Massinger, *The Emperour of the East* (1632), I1r.
46. Editor E. A. J. Honigmann retains Johnson's s.d., '[*A chair is brought in.*]' (s.d. V.i.97).
47. Medico is a satirical characterization of Richard Lichfield, the Barber-Surgeon figure who pamphleteered against Thomas Nashe (see Chapter 5).
48. Thomas Randolph, *Aristippus* (1630), D1v-D2r.
49. Cf. t.p. of Thomas Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, 2nd edn (Goricom [Gorinchem, i.e. London]: 1624) which illustrates Count Gondomar's chair of ease for his fistula. Taylor concludes in *Collected Works* that 'Gondomar's actual litter and special chair were brought on stage' in Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (p. 1775).
50. Tally Abecassis and Claudine Sauvé, *Barbershops* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2005). The collection of photographs captures the modern barber shop as a celebrated feature of our urban heritage.
51. Ben Jonson, *A Description of Love* (1629), B3v.
52. Charles Whyte, City of London (14th February 1545), PROB 11/30.
53. Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*, ed. Roger Holdsworth (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2002).
54. Anon, 'The Rimers New Trimming' (c.1614), stanzas 7, 8 and 15. Here, 'chaire'/'chayre' is named three times, whilst matters relating to the chair ('rising', 'became empty', 'turne taking', 'under', 'up rose') number five.
55. Richard Lichfield, *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1597), B4r.
56. Lichfield, B1r.
57. Thomas Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596), B1v.

58. Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Michael Hattaway, 2nd edn (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2002).
59. John Day, *The Knave in Graine* (1640), I2v.
60. Alan C. Dessen, 'Recovering Elizabethan Staging' in *Textual and Theatrical Shakespeare*, pp. 44–65 (p. 49).
61. Höfele, p. 199 (see pp. 194–228). Seeing the animal imagery as another sign of the trial context, Höfele argues against Gary Taylor and Michael Warren's reading of III. vi which, they suggest, 'never settles into the clearly fixed shape of a trial' (p. 198).
62. See Dorothy C. Hockey, 'The Trial Pattern in *King Lear*', *SQ* 10:3 (1959), 389–95. Hockey senses the perversion of a trial motif in III.vii, but does not explore how that perversion is characterized (see p. 393).
63. See Foakes (ed.), *King Lear*, pp. 102–4; Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 94–128; Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books* (London: Athlone Press, 2001), pp. 228–35.
64. Samuel Harsnett, *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1604), pp. 27, 40, 218; 30; 39 [pagination in error numbers this page 30].
65. Randle Holme, *Academy of Armory* (Chester, 1688), p. 127; John Woodall, *The Surgions Mate* (1617), A4r.
66. Holme (1688), p. 128
67. John Jones, *Adastra* (1635), s.d. I1r.
68. See Henry Hutton, *Follie's Anatomie* (1619), C6v (Epi. 32).
69. Höfele, p. 207.
70. Samuel Rowlands, *The Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vaine* (1611), A7v (Epi. 13). In Middleton's *Hengist* the barber is 'A corrector of enormities in hair' (III.iii.46–7).
71. Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, *A Looking Glasse, for London* (1598), B2v.
72. Berger, p. 202.
73. Dekker, *Guls Horne-Booke* (1609), F2r.
74. See my discussions in Chapter 5.
75. John Lyly, *Midas* in *Galatea/Midas*, ed. George K. Hunter and David M. Bevington (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000).
76. Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), p. 245 (see pp. 240–65, esp. pp. 244–6).
77. Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), p. 121.
78. Although 'lances' refers to soldiers' weapons, it has phonemic correspondence with 'lancets'. See Patricia Parker, 'Cutting Both Ways' in *Alternative Shakespeares 3*, ed. Diana E. Henderson (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 95–118.
79. *King Lear*, dir. Bill Alexander (Theatre Royal: RSC, 2004).
80. Bill Alexander, 'The Director', *RSC* (2004) <www.rsc.org.uk/lear/current/director.html> [accessed 13th January 2010] (para. 14 of 15).
81. Paré, p. 653.
82. Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 59.
83. George Chapman, *The Widdowes Teares* (1612), L1v.
84. Höfele, p. 203.
85. Paré, p. 1111.
86. Paré, p. 4.
87. Thomas Dekker [S. R. initials on t. p., quarto], *The Noble Souldier* (1634), C4v.
88. Barnabe Rich, *Greenes Newes both From Heaven and Hell* (1593), H2r.
89. John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London: A & C Black; New York: W W Norton, 1997).

90. George Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra* (1578), Fiiiv.
91. Lichfield stresses that 'None but Barbers meddle with the head' and in the main text that 'a mans face (the principall part of him) is committed onely to Barbers' (B4v).
92. Margreta de Grazia, 'The Ideology of Superfluous Things' in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp. 17–42 (p. 28).
93. Ulpian Fulwell, *Like Will to Like* (1587), Ciiiv.
94. Staines, p. 86.
95. de Grazia, p. 29.
96. Characters 'Shortyard' and 'Shortrod' (a jealous husband) are in Middleton plays (*Michaelmas Term/A Mad World My Masters*).
97. See Gary Taylor, *Castration* (New York; London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 56–7. Dympna Callaghan investigates the practice of castration in early modernity but conflates advanced surgical procedures in the period with rough barber-surgeon work (*Shakespeare Without Women* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 53–8, 62–4). Sigmund Freud discusses the long association between the fear of going blind and the fear of castration (*The Uncanny*, ed. David McLinktock and Hugh Haughton (New York; London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 139–40).
98. Thomas Fuller, *Andronicus* (1661), p. 78.
99. David Hargreaves, 'The Actors', *RSC* (2004) <www.rsc.org.uk/lear/current/actors.html> [accessed 13th January 2010] (para. 5 of 7).
100. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the beard's unstable relationship to corporeality.
101. See Staines, p. 90; Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichiwaka, *Staging Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), pp. 115–7; Michael Warren, 'Quarto and Folio *King Lear* and the Interpretation of Albany and Edgar' in *Shakespeare's Tragedies*, ed. Emma Smith (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 289–302 (pp. 298–300); Foakes, *Hamlet Versus Lear* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 59, 63–5, 71.
102. The absence of this stage direction in quarto does not contradict my reading of IV.vii. Common sense tells us that Lear must enter carried, because he is 'In the heaviness of sleep' (IV.vii.21); the most likely prop available in early modern theatre was the *sick chair*, discussed earlier. Folio direction suggests what was typical in production at the time.
103. Sofer, p. 2.
104. Cf. Jean Howard's exploration of the fluid structures in *King Lear* that produce meaningful visual continuity and (orchestrated) design in the play, reinforced by dialogue (*Shakespeare's Art of Orchestration* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 119–32).
105. In quarto, Cordelia and Gentleman are accompanied by a Doctor. In Folio, this character is cut and Gentleman speaks the lines. Perhaps, as in the cut from the end of III.vii discussed earlier, the Folio text stripped obvious allusion to medical cure.
106. On the 'doubleness of traumatic narratives' and how that relates to the theatre, see the Introduction to *Staging Pain* by Martin and Allard, pp. 1–14 (pp. 6–8).
107. Staines, p. 78.
108. Quotations in this paragraph are taken from John Ford, *The Lovers Melancholy* (1629), E4r-E4v.
109. Shakespeare, *The Most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus* (1594), E2r. Quartos of 1600 and 1611 are consistent with the text of 1594, although their page signatures are out by one. Future quotations from this play are from *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate (London: Routledge, 1995) unless otherwise

indicated. Cf. Mary Laughlin Fawcett, 'Arms/Words/Tears', *ELH* 50:2 (1983), 261–77; Gillian Murray Kendall, 'Lend Me Thy Hand', *SQ* 40:3 (1989), 299–316.

110. James Calderwood refers to the play as a 'rape of language' (p. 29) and identifies the instances of tongue-truncation in *Shakespearean Metadrama* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), pp. 30–1.
111. The actions on the stage appear to take place in a hall of the Andronicus house outside Titus's '*studie doore*', specified in quarto ((1594), I3r) and Folio stage directions. This space might logically yield chairs, tables, stools. Bate highlights the quality of the stage directions in quarto and Folio versions of *Titus*, pp. 105–8, 111.
112. Titus refers to 'thy chariot wheels' (V.ii.47), 'thy vengeful waggon' (V.ii.51), 'thy car' (V.ii.53), and 'thy wagon wheel' (V.ii.54). Chariots were evidently popular on stage at this time at the Rose, used in Christopher Marlowe, *The Second Part of Tamburlaine* (1590), J3r, and George Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594), B1r.
113. Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Eugene M. Waith (Oxford: OUP, 1984), FN to V.ii.0.1-3.
114. Tamora is hardly careful with her disguises, and it is difficult to argue that she would not have left her chariot for the sake of her camouflage.
115. Bate, FN to V.ii.47; Frederick Kiefer, *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 44.
116. Cf. Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage* (Ann Arbor: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 128–9. Mullaney likens the theatre stage to the public scaffold when discussing the effect of Macbeth's severed head.
117. Stage directions stipulating '*bason*' are consistent in quarto ((1594), K1r) and Folio texts. Titus also refers to the 'basin' (V.ii.83) in dialogue.
118. Katherine Rowe, *Dead Hands* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1999), pp. 73–80.
119. Cf. analyses of bloody stage incidents in Leo Kirschbaum, 'Shakespeare's Stage Blood and Its Critical Significance', *MLA* 64:3 (1949), 517–29; Richard Sugg, *Murder After Death* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2007), p. 17; Gurr and Ichikawa, pp. 61–2; Lucy Munro, '"*They Eat Each Other's Arms":* Stage Blood and Body Parts' in *Shakespeare's Theatres*, ed. Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2013), pp. 73–93 (see pp. 80–81).
120. Martius and Quintus fall into a 'blood-drinking pit' (II.ii.224) and are dragged from it covered in blood, Marcus comments on 'all this loss of [Lavinia's] blood' which 'spouts' (II.iii.29, 30), and Aaron '*cuts off Titus' hand*' (s.d. III.i.192).
121. Simon Harward, *Harwards Phlebotomy* (1601), I7v.
122. Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1950), p. 157 (D335).
123. Woodall, F1v, F2r.
124. Holme (1688), p. 438.
125. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 4v.
126. Dessen notes that early modern dramatists used vials, urinals, and basins to represent characters' sickness on stage (*Recovering*, p. 112).
127. In Chapter 5 I return to this scene when thinking about how a basin is part of the conceptual framework for representing a vomit of speech and language.
128. Bate comments on the tragedy's 'relentless play on the word "hands"' (p. 11–12).
129. See Margaret Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality' in *London 1500–1700*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 82–112 (p. 89); Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: Blades, 1890), p. 119.
130. Barbers' Archive, *The Charter, Act and Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 28v.
131. Tilley, p. 643 (S1012).

132. Thomas Gale, *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563), 8r. Peter Lowe similarly explains the need for ambidextrous surgeons (*The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), B3v). Memnon warns against his surgeon's 'hand shak[ing]' in Fletcher's *Mad Lover* (C2r).
133. Woodall, A1r.
134. James Primerose, *Popular Errours*, trans. Robert Wittie (1651), p. 37.
135. Nicholas Gyer, *The English Phlebotomy* (1592), O5r. Woodall (1617) warns of the dangers of phlebotomy, insisting on the specificity of the lancet. He remarks, 'it is not amisse to advise [the apprentice surgeon] that he cary … at least sixe of the best sort [of lancet], besides sixe more common ones' (E2v). Cf. J. S. [John Shirley] M. D., *A Short Compendium of Chirurgery* (1678), I7r-v; Parker, 'Cutting Both Ways', pp. 95–104.
136. Thomas Geminus, 'A Table Instructive' (1546), para. 2, left-hand column.
137. Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1993), p. 83.
138. Nashe, *Saffron-Walden*, B1v. In the margin, Nashe refers to 'a la[n]ce an instrume[n]t to let bloud with'.
139. Cf. 'the spider shall intercept something of you again. He shall be phlebotomist to the fly if she come in his net' (Middleton, *Owl's Almanac*, 2033–5). The spider was the symbol of touch.
140. Harward, H7v.
141. Gale, 6v.
142. Richard Brome, *The Sparagus Garden* (1640), D3v-D4r.
143. Cf. Catherine Belling, 'Infectious Rape, Therapeutic Revenge' in *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 113–2.
144. Gyer, Q7v.
145. See, for example, entry on Chiron in Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1542), xviii*v*. Also Galen on Chiron in Thomas Gale, *Certaine Workes of Galens* (1586), Aiiir-v.
146. Louise Christine Noble, 'And Make Two Pasties of Your Shameful Heads', *ELH* 70:3 (2003), 677–708.
147. Sugg, 'Good Physic but Bad Food', *Social History of Medicine* 19:2 (2006), 225–40. Sugg also investigates the attitudes towards a variety of forms of Renaissance medicinal cannibalism in *Murder After Death* (pp. 40–49). David Hillman reflects on the figurative and rhetorical construction of 'biting appetites' in Shakespeare (*Shakespeare's Entrails* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 66–79).
148. See Noble, pp. 684–5. Cf. Sugg, *Murder After Death*, pp. 40–42. Sugg also explores the trade in *mummia* and its lucrative counterfeits (pp. 47–9).
149. Cf. Old Carter's reference to supper and anatomies in Barber-Surgeon's Hall in Dekker, Ford, W. Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton* (1658), B4v.
150. *OED*, 'temper', *v*, 11. a.
151. Gervase Markham, 'The Second Booke' in *Markhams Maister-Peece* (1610), p. 270.
152. *OED*, 'cullis', n. 1.
153. Cf. Margaret Pelling, 'Compromised by Gender' in *The Task of Healing*, ed. Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 1996), pp. 101–33, where she examines physicians' connection – from the classical period – with cooks, demonstrating that in early modernity, '"cookery" and "cooks" became terms of abuse with both status and gender implications' (p. 104).
154. *Court Minutes*, B/1/5, p. 200.
155. See Young, pp. 443–67. For details about the regulated use of the company hall, see the seventh clause of the 1566 ordinances in *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 2r.

156. Wendy Wall, 'Blood in the Kitchen' in *Staging Domesticity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 189–220 (esp. p. 196).
157. Sugg, *Murder After Death*, p. 37. I say a 'form of' because Titus does not actually eat the bodies.
158. Noble, p. 698.
159. Barbers continued to let blood despite warnings. In barber Stafford Tyndall's inventory 'a fleame for letting blood' is included (Stafford Tyndall, Lambeth (1665), PROB 4/7218).
160. See George Thompson, *Aimatiasis* (1670).
161. *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, pp. 23, 65.
162. See the woodcut of the *Titus* story which accompanies seventeenth- and eighteenth-century broadside ballads, 'The Lamentable and Tragical History of Titus Andronicus' (for example 1658–64 [1661] (Wing L252A) and 1674–79 [1677] (Wing L252)) and which centralizes and makes its kinetic focus the bloodletting sequence showing Lavinia with her basin. A ballad does not need a prop, but the receptacle is visually and linguistically referenced (as a 'pan' in the lyrics, for metrical logic) suggesting its indebtedness to the play's striking motif. On the ballad as a source see Bate, pp. 83–5; Stern, pp. 101–2; Richard Levin, 'The Longleat Manuscript and Titus Andronicus', *SQ* 55:3 (2002), 323–40 (esp. pp. 334–7); M. Mincoff, 'The Source of "Titus Andronicus"', *N&Q* 18:4 (1971), 131–4; Ralph M. Sargent, 'The Source of *Titus Andronicus*', *SP* 46:2 (1949), 167–83.
163. Lichfield, B4r-v.
164. *Court Minutes*, B/1/3, p. 238.
165. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 4r.
166. *Court Minutes,* B/1/5, p. 200.
167. William Rowley, *A Search for Money* (1609), B2v-B3r.
168. Holme (1688), p. 438. John Webster (a seventeenth-century medical figure, not the playwright), describes the pan in which miners sift for gold in a text dedicated to the knowledge and science of minerals and metals: 'being round and hollow in the middle, like unto a Barbers Basin' (*Metallographia* (1671), p. 160).
169. Holme (1688), p. 128.
170. John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), I1r.
171. Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), C3v.
172. Rowlands, A8v (Epi. 13).
173. Dekker, *Jests to Make You Merie* (1607), C2r (jest 35).
174. Anon, 'Merry Tom of all Trades' (1681–84), stanza 10, lines 3–6.
175. Patricia Parker, 'Barbers and Barbary', *RD* 33 (2004), 201–44 (p. 201).
176. Calderwood, p. 29. The *Titus* references are: 'barbarous Goths' (I.i.28), 'Was never Scythia half so barbarous!' (I.i.134), 'be not barbarous' (I.i.383), 'barbarous Moor' (II.ii.78), 'barbarous Tamora' (II.ii.118), 'barbarous, beastly villains' (V.i.97), and again 'barbarous Moor' (V.iii.4).
177. See Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 35–55 (pp. 37–8, 44).
178. Simon Palfrey, *Doing Shakespeare* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2005), pp. 134–67 (p. 159).
179. Lopez, p. 48.
180. Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols (London; Atlantic Highlands NJ: Athlone, 1994), I, pp. 357–9.
181. Bate, FN to V.i.95. Bate retains this footnote for his later edition of *Titus* in *The RSC Shakespeare*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007).

182. See Holme (1688), pp. 87–8; *OED*, 'trimming, *vbl. n.*', 1.c. *pl.*
183. Anon, *Temporis Filia Veritas* ([S.I.: s.n.]: 1589), Aijr.
184. Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-Light* (1609), B3v.
185. Cf. Grimball's bawdy dialogue – on the subject of washing – with Dalia, a prostitute (*Promos and Cassandra*, Eiiiv [sig. Eiiii is missing from the text]).
186. Sugg, *Murder After Death*, p. 56.
187. Williams, I, pp. 69–70.
188. Phillip Stubbes, *The Second Pat of the Anatomie of Abuses Conteining the Display of Corruptions* (1583), G8v.
189. See Bate (ed.), *Titus*, pp. 8–9; Laurie Maguire, *Helen of Troy* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 83–4.
190. Williams, I, pp. 300–01. See the anonymous ballad 'A Pleasant New Song Called the Cony Barber' (1680–85 [1683]) which tells of a girl whose pubic hair is trimmed while she sleeps. Lopez gives examples of 'coney' puns (p. 43). Cf. barber Secco's description of being cuckolded in *Fancies*: 'this sucking Ferret hath been wrigling in my old Coney borough' (G4v).
191. Rowlands, A7v (Epi. 13). In *The Humorous Courtier* (1640) by James Shirley, Crispino (the ex-barber) remarks on his short-lived run as a judge: 'Eare I've made my cushion warme!' (K1v).
192. Holme, p. 127.
193. Gurr and Ichikawa conclude that 'With very few exceptions … scenes were fixed by word-painting rather than scene-painting' (p. 62), and Stern argues the important absence of realistic stage scenery on the Shakespearean stage with reference to *Tempest*, explaining that 'when a place is envisioned only verbally, the depiction given is not always supposed to be understood in a straightforward fashion' (*Making Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 92–3 (p. 92)).
194. On barbers and sweet waters, see Stubbes, G8v, and *Horne-Book*, F2v. Compare this with the dumb show in the anonymously written, *A Warning for Faire Women* (1599) in which Tragedie '*Enter[s] with a bowle of bloud in her hand*', referring to the 'deadly banquet' and 'bloudy feast' at hand which includes 'wine … [in] dead mens sculles' (C4v-D1r). The bowl appears then to be taken from Tragedie by Murther (although nothing is cued in the script) and '*Murther settes downe her blood and rubbes [Brown's, Roger and Drury's and Anne's] hands*', preparing the path for terrible crimes (D1v-D2r). Lady Macbeth knows the futility of trying to wash away a crime.
195. William Averell, *A Dyall for Dainty Darlings* (1584), Biiir.
196. See *The Staple of Newes* in *Bartholmew Fayre/The Divell is an Asse/The Staple of Newes* (1631), H1r.
197. Jokes on the smell of barbers and the herbs they use to cover the stench of human bodies are a commonplace. To Francisco's question in Robert Daborne's, *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (1612), 'How do you know hee is a Barber?', Ranshake responds, 'He smels strong of Rose-water' (G3r). In the opening *Preist the Barber, Sweetball his Man*, Preist asks ambiguously, 'What Sweetball where are you?', to which his apprentice responds, 'Under yo^{r} nose Sir' ('Preist the Barbar, Sweetball His Man' in *Collections*, ed. Suzanne Gossett and Thomas L. Berger (Oxford: Malone Society, 1988), XIV, lines 1–2 (also lines 52–72)). Cf. the barber's discussion of the 'composition of a ball' in Ford's *Fancies* (I4v). Because of scents' cosmetic associations this makes symbolic the dangers of misshapen identities: writers' reversing of scents feeds into contemporary commentary on the superseding of vanity over religious effort which results in a stinking soul. Cf. Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 2007), p. 63; Farah

Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2006), pp. 41–3, 126–9.
198. See Belling (p. 126) who registers the onomastic implication but does not elucidate its implication.
199. Sofer, p. 11.
200. E. A. M. Colman, *The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare* (London: Longman, 1974), p. 60.
201. Bate (ed.), *Titus*, p. 10.

4 'And pleasant harmonie shall sound in your eares': Ballads, Music and Groans, Snip-snaps, Fiddlesticks, Ear-picks, and Wax

1. William Kerwin, *Beyond the Body* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), pp. 126–7.
2. Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 106–30 (pp. 109–10).
3. Sounds other than the human voice offend Morose, including bearward's dogs, a fencer's drum, bells, snoring, and creaking shoes. Some tradesmen ('chimney-sweepers', 'broom-men', 'any hammerman', 'brazier[s]', and 'pewterer[s]'s prentice[s]' (1.1.146–53)) are particularly irksome to him because of the tools or street cries they employ. (Quotations are taken from Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*, ed. Roger Holdsworth, New Mermaids (London: A & C Black, 2005)).
4. Michael Flachmann, '*Epicoene*: A Comic Hell for a Comic Sinner', *MaRDiE* 1 (1984), 131–42 (p. 131).
5. On Jonson's 'utilitarian approach' to character in *Epicoene* see Kate D. Levin, 'Unmasquing *Epicoene*' in *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, ed. James Hirsh (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP; London: Associated UP, 1997), pp. 128–53 (p. 130).
6. Kerwin, p. 126. Cf. Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh UP, 2006), pp. 111–26.
7. See Laurie Maguire, 'Cultural Control in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Renaissance Drama* 26 (1995), 83–104 (pp. 92–3).
8. R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape* (Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books, 1994), p. 272.
9. The term soundmark is 'derived from *landmark* to refer to a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded' (see Schafer pp. 271–5).
10. See Barry Truax, *Acoustic Communication* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2001) and the Special Issue of Landscape Ecology: Soundscape Ecology (11/2011).
11. Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Emily Cockayne, 'Cacophony, or Vile Scrapers on Vile Instruments', Urban History 29 (2002), 35–47; Wes Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2002); David Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City', *Urban History* 30 (2003), 5–25; Bruce Johnson, '*Hamlet*: Voice, Music, Sound', *Popular Music* 24 (2005), 257–67; Allison K. Deutermann, '"Caviare to the general": Taste, Hearing, and Genre in *Hamlet*', *SQ* 62 (2011), 230–55. Cf. Matthew Steggle, 'Notes towards an Analysis of Early Modern Applause' in *Shakespearean Sensations*, ed. by Katharine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), pp. 118–37.
12. John Woodall, *The Surgions Mate* (1617), A4r; Randle Holme, *Academy of Armory* (Chester, 1688), pp. 127, 427.

13. John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), I1r.
14. Phillip Stubbes, *The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses Conteining the Display of Corruptions* (1583), H1r.
15. Woodall, D1r-v.
16. Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp. 64–91 (pp. 77–8).
17. London, Wellcome MS 213, fo. 33–5. Cf. Emily Cockayne, 'Experiences of the Deaf in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal* 46 (2003), 493–510 (esp. p. 498).
18. Wellcome, MS 213, fo. 33–4.
19. Stubbes, H1r.
20. *OED*, 'pick, v.[1]', I.2.a, I.1.c.
21. See Jennifer Rae McDermott, '"The Melodie of Heaven": Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England', *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 181.
22. Thomas Dekker, *Blurt Master-Constable* (1602), G3r.
23. Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579), C1v. See *OED*, 'masking, n.[2], †1'.
24. Gervase Markham and William Sampson, *Herod and Antipater* (1622), G2r.
25. Michael Flachmann, '*Epicoene*: A Comic Hell for a Comic Sinner', *MaRDiE* 1 (1984), 131–42, see pp. 132–4 (esp. p. 132).
26. Hudson D. Hallahan, 'Silence, Eloquence, and Chatter in Jonson's *Epicoene*', *HLQ* 40 (1977), 117–27 (pp. 120–1).
27. Richard Dutton makes the same comment in his earlier edition for The Revels Plays (Manchester: MUP, 2003), 1.1.170–71n. See *OED*, † resty, adj.[1]. A variant of 'resty' is 'reasty', which also is etymologically linked to 'reasy' and 'rusty'. Looking collectively at the critical works of Gail Kern Paster, Patricia Fumerton, and Bruce Thomas Boehrer, Julian Koslow summarizes that Jonson was 'constantly pushing the physical, the bodily, the grotesque to the fore, requiring us to confront embodied experience as an inescapable resource of social and literary significance' ('Humanist Schooling and Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*', *ELH* 73:1 (2006), 119–59 (p. 121)). Cf. Anne Lake Prescott, 'Jonson's Rabelais' in *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, pp. 35–54; Andrew McRae, '*On the Famous Voyage*' in *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 181–203, in which McRae explores Jonson's 'filthiest poem' with its mock-heroic journey through London's back alleys and waterways which, in the poem, are a means of 'spatial cognition' for the author and reader in conceptualizing the city as a squalid bodily system.
28. George Peele, *The Old Wives Tale* (1595), s.d. E1r.
29. See Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), p. 576; Walter Charleton, *Natural History of Nutrition* (1659), p. 97.
30. Scipion Dupleix, *The Resolver* (1635), P2v. Cf. Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (1618) p. 127.
31. See Crooke, pp. 66–70.
32. Will Fisher, 'Staging the Beard' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama,* ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 230–57 (p. 234).
33. Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The Second Part of the French Acadamie* (1594), p. 127.
34. *The Noble Souldier* was authored, according to the Stationers Register by Thomas Dekker, but with the initials S. R. [Samuel Rowley] on the title page of the quarto, 1634.
35. Grey Brydges Chandos, *A Discourse Against Flatterie* (1611), C2r-v.
36. Jeremy Taylor, *XXV Sermons Preached at Golden-Grover* (1653), p. 312 (Sermon XXIV, Part III).

37. Primaudaye (1618), p. 399.
38. Dupleix, p. 316. Cf. Ambroise Paré, *The Workes*, trans. Th[omas] Johnson (1634), p. 190.
39. Richard Brome, 'The Love-Sick Court' in *Five New Playes* (1659), sig. I6r.
40. John Ford, *The Fancies, Chast and Noble* (1638), D3r. Spadone again calls Nitido 'eare-wig' in a later scene (G3v).
41. Homer, *The Odyssey*, ed. Robert Squillace, trans. George Herbert Palmer (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2003), Book XII, p. 148. Cf. p. 151.
42. Cockayne 'Experiences of the Deaf', pp. 495–7; Wes Folkerth, pp. 44–51.
43. Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 111–59. Cf. Keith M. Botelho, *Renaissance Earwitnesses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); McDermott, pp. 177–97.
44. Thomas Adams, *The Happiness of the Church* (1619), p. 266. Cf. Thomas Taylor, *Peter His Repentance Shewing* (1653), I2r; Robert Wilkinson, *A Jewell for the Eare* (1610); William Harrison, *The Difference of Hearers* (1614); Stephen Egerton, *The Boring of the Eare* (1623).
45. See Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Crockett, '"Holy Cozenage" and the Renaissance Cult of the Ear', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993), 47–65.
46. Wilkinson, p. 34.
47. Smith, p. 206.
48. Lucius Plutarch, *The Philosophie*, trans. by Philemon Holland (1603), see pp. 966–7.
49. See Smith, pp. 63–70. Cf. Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627), G2r (138): 'A very great *Sound*, neare hand, hath strucken many *Deafe*; And at the Instant they have found, as it were, the breaking of a Skin or Parchment in theire Eare: And my Selfe standing neare one that *Lured* loud, and shrill, had suddenly an Offence, as if somewhat had broken, or beene dislocated in my *Eare*'.
50. Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Michael Hattaway, 2nd edn, New Mermaids (London: A & C Black, 2002).
51. Thomas Middleton, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, ed. Leslie Thomson in *The Collected Works*, general editors Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).
52. Schafer, pp. 10, 275.
53. See also on barbers' basins signalling whorish behaviour: George Whetstone, *The Right Excellent and Famous Historye, of Promos and Cassandra* (1578), L3r; Ben Jonson, *The New Inne* (1631), F2v-F3r; Middleton, *Fair Quarrell*, IV.iv.174–83.
54. See Maguire, 'Cultural Control', pp. 88–93.
55. Music in Lyly's plays has been the subject of debate since the early twentieth century. The quartos of his dramatic works include stage directions for singing but song lyrics are absent. These were not published until Edward Blount's edition of Lyly's plays, *Sixe Court Comedies* (1632). Cf. Anon, 'The Rimers New Trimming' (c. 1614), a ballad.
56. Richard Lichfield, *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1597), B4v. On authorship, see Benjamin Griffin, 'Nashe's Dedicatees', *Notes and Queries* 44 (1997), 47–9; Charles Nicholl, *A Cup Of News* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 233–6.
57. Stubbes, H1r.
58. Henry Bold, *Latine Songs with their English* (1685), M4v-N1r; Patricia Parker, 'Barbers and Barbary', *RD* 33 (2005), 201–44.
59. Smith, p. 56.
60. Anon, 'A Merry New Catch of All Trades' (c. 1620), stanza 5, line 2.
61. *Before the Mast*, p. 217.

62. George C. Boon, '*Tonsor Humanus*', *Britannia* 22 (1991), 21–32 (p. 27). *OED*, 'strop, *v.*1: To sharpen or smooth the edge of (a razor) with a strop. Also *transf.* and *fig.*'
63. Hoole, p. 299.
64. Smith, p. 47.
65. Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), C3v. Cf. Sweetball's exclamation in *Quiet Life*: incensed by Franklin's pranks, the barber declares, 'To him boldly; I will spend all the scissors in my shop, but I'll have him snapped' (3.2.15–16).
66. Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 36.
67. Quotations are from Samantha Ellis writing for *The Guardian*, 25th June 2003, on the production of *Titus Andronicus*, dir. Peter Brook for the RSC (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre: 1955).
68. *Sylva Sylvarum*, K3r (275).
69. Stubbes, G8v.
70. Thomas Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596), A3v; Lichfield quotes directly from Nashe ('I espied *barbers knacking of their fingers*' (B3v)).
71. John Bulwer, *Chirologia* (1644), M8v, H3r (also N1r).
72. Bulwer, N1r.
73. Bulwer, part two, G1r.
74. Laurie Maguire, 'Petruccio and the Barber's Shop', *Studies in Bibliography* 51 (1998), 117–26 (esp. pp. 117–18). Editor Barbara Hodgdon, for The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: A & C Black, 2010), adopts Maguire's emendation.
75. Richard Edwards, *Damon and Pithias* (1571), F3v.
76. Stubbes, G8v.
77. Bulwer, part two, H1r, K8r.
78. *Upstart Courtier*, C4r.
79. James Shirley, *The Humorous Courtier* (1640), I3r.
80. Lichfield, G4v.
81. Italicization of '*snip snaps*' in the printed text highlight its performative role.
82. Nashe, *Saffron-Walden*, B2r.
83. *Quiet Life*, 3.2.136–7.
84. John Ford, *The Fancies, Chast and Noble* (1638), B1r.
85. Anon, 'The Northern Ladd' (1670–1696), stanza 10.
86. Perhaps the capitalization suggests the proper noun.
87. In this instance that remark is bawdy with its innuendo, 'he would prick my master-Vein' (stanza 8, line 4).
88. *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, F4v. Cf. Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* (Artisan, 1992) when Mr Blonde cuts off Marvin's ear using a straight razor. The choreography of the scene, which centrally depicts a chair, strikingly resembles Gloucester's enucleation in *King Lear*.
89. *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, G1r.
90. Crooke, p. 573.
91. Figureheads such as Paré (1510–1590), Vesalius (1514–1564), Bartolomeus Eustachius (1520–1574), Volcher Coiter (1534–1600), and Crooke (1576–1648) diagrammatized and referenced auditory systems throughout the period.
92. Jacques Guillemeau, *The Frenche Chirurgerye* (1598), Fiiv.
93. Scultetus, p. 33. Scultetus explains that this syringe if effective 'whereby liquors are injected into the organs of hearing, to cleanse and heal ulcers there'.
94. Holme, p. 427.
95. *Sylva Sylvarum*, K4r (285).
96. Todd H. J. Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p. 135.

97. Galen, *Certaine Workes of Galens*, trans. Thomas Gale (1586), p. 17.
98. Marston, *The Malcontent* (1604), s.d., D3v.
99. Crooke, p. 629. On Oedipus, David B. Morris: 'When [blind] Oedipus finally speaks, what we hear is not words but only a single, repeated cry of agony: speech rolled back into mere sound and torment. This is the stark revelation toward which every act and speech of the entire drama have been relentlessly aiming: a frozen moment of pain that contains nothing except the mutilated human body and its wordless suffering' (*Culture of Pain* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 248).
100. Smith, pp. 13–22 (p. 15).
101. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (New York; Oxford: OUP, 1985), p. 4.
102. Erving Goffman, 'Response Cries', *Language* 54:4 (1978), 787–815 (see p. 804).
103. Robert Armin, *The History of Two Maids of More-Clacke* (1609), C4v.
104. Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö, *Early Modern English Dialogues* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), pp. 199–305 (p. 283).
105. John Marston, *The Insatiate Countesse* (1613), s.d. E1v.
106. Anon [Thomas Heywood], *A Warning for Faire Women* (1599), A2r.
107. Mathew R. Martin and James Robert Allard (eds), *Staging Pain, 1580–1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 3.
108. Lisa Silverman explains that pain (and a patient's expression of pain) was essential to surgeons for diagnostic purposes (*Tortured Subjects* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 133–51 (esp. p. 143)).
109. Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 98–9.
110. Cohen, p. 257.
111. *Before the Mast*, p. 214.
112. No bird cage was discovered on the wreck. For a discussion about instruments in early modern England that mimicked birdsongs, see Philip Butterworth's 'Magic Through Sound' in *Magic on the Early English Stage* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 98–112 (esp. pp. 110–11).
113. *Sylva Sylvarum*, G2r (138).
114. Crooke, p. 605.
115. François Tolet, *A Treatise of Lithotomy*, trans. A. Lovell (1683), F5v.
116. Paré, p. 1053.
117. Crooke, 'The Preface to the Chyrurgeons'.
118. John Securis, *A Detection and Querimonie of the Daily Enormities and Abuses Committed in Physick* (1566), A6v.
119. William Bullein *The Government of Health* (1595), 6v.
120. Securis, A4v.
121. Crooke, p. 180.
122. 'Charles Limb: Your Brain on Improv', TEDx Mid Atlantic Presentation (November, 2010).
123. Cf. Maguire's discussion of the bawdy association between fingering and fiddling ('Cultural Control', pp. 91–2).
124. John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge* (1602), s.d. F3v.
125. William Bullein, 'Dialogue' in *Bulleins Bulwarke* (1579), 7v.
126. John Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas* (1639), H1r.
127. Kerwin, p. 129.
128. Its implication of secrecy in relation to surgical procedures, however, relates to the subject of my first chapter in which I discuss the concealment of the surgery's materiality.

129. William Clowes, *A Prooved Practise* (1588), I3v.
130. Florike Egmond, 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy' in *Bodily Extremities*, ed. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 92–127 (p. 119).
131. Sheila Barker explores the ancient notion of artistic creation (including music as well as art) as a means of restoring the balance of the humours in 'Poussin, Plague, and Early Modern Medicine', *The Art Bulletin* 86:4 (2004), 659–89. Jeanice Brooks examines the synthesizing effect music has on medicine, alchemy, the occult, and romance, particularly under the figure of Apollo ('Music as Erotic Magic', *RQ* 60:4 (2007), 1207–56). Smith discusses restful music but not healing music (p. 219). Crooke explores why when children 'heare musicke [they] doe first ceasse their crying and after fall asleepe' and relates Platonist arguments about music's powerful capacity to soothe (p. 699).
132. Peregrine Horden, 'Medieval Medicine' in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine*, ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 40–59 (pp. 54–5).
133. Edwin S. Lindsey, 'The Music of the Songs of Fletcher's Plays', *SP* 21:2 (1924), 325–55 (p. 347).
134. Lindsey, p. 346.
135. Gosson, A8r.
136. Later in *Chances* s.d.'s call for '*A noise within like* horses' (Bbb4v). Cf. Stern's examination of music from under the stage (*Making Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 25).
137. Paré, p. 49.
138. Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 32. Cf. Smith who explores the different acoustic spaces of indoor and outdoor theatres (pp. 206–17).
139. See Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 186.
140. Clowes, O2r.
141. See Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives, Opinions, and Remarkable Sayings of the Most Famous Ancient Philosophers* (1688), pp. 142–69.
142. Thomas Randolph, *Aristippus* (1630), B1v.
143. Martin W. Walsh, 'Thomas Randolph's *Aristippus* and the English Mummers' Play', *Folklore* 84:2 (1973) 157–9.
144. Walsh, p. 158.
145. Nashe, *Saffron-Walden*, A2r, A2v.
146. Griffin, p. 48. See chapter five.
147. Cockayne associates drunkenness and ill health with bad playing in the period ('Cacophony', p. 43).
148. This follows an extended conceit that teeth are like musical instruments. Various from *Midas*: 'All my nether teeth are loose and wag like the keys of a pair of virginals' (III.ii.92–3), 'your mouth [is] the instrument' (III.ii.94–5), 'Thou bitest. I cannot tune these virginal keys' (III.ii.97–8).
149. Crooke, p. 29.

5 'An unnecessary flood of words'?

1. Neil Rhodes, 'Orality, Print and Popular Culture' in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 29–44 (p. 40).
2. Carlo Mazzio, *The Inarticulate Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 167. Also see Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare*

(London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 137–58, who traces the stages of theatrical production and discusses the issues of stage and page.

3. Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).
4. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), see pp. 39–41.
5. Thomas Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596), A4r.
6. See Neil Rhodes, *The Power of Eloquence and English Renaissance Literature* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 41–50.
7. John Lyly, *Midas* in *Galatea/Midas*, ed. George K. Hunter and David M. Bevington (Manchester: MUP, 2000).
8. William C. Carroll, *The Great Feast of Language in Love's Labour's Lost* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), p. 63.
9. Later generations of English humanists were increasingly writing in English. See Mary Thomas Crane, 'Early Tudor Humanism' in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 13–26 (pp. 16, 25). On 'textualizing the body' as a political motif in dealing with rebellion and subversion, see William W. E. Slights, 'Bodies of Text and Textualised Bodies in *Sejanus* and *Coriolanus*', *MaRDiE* 5 (1991), 181–93.
10. Ong writes, 'Though words are grounded in oral speech, writing tyrannically locks them into a visual field forever' (p. 12).
11. David Hillman, *Shakespeare's Entrails* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 34.
12. See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 159–60.
13. The reeds speak (IV.iv.64 and V.i.23).
14. On the voice and its history, as a material site of agency, of production, ownership and exchange, see Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). For discussions of theatrical representations of credit relations, debt, and capitalism in the period (and theatre's own participation in the early modern economy), see Theodore B. Leinwand, *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).
15. Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*, ed. Roger Holdsworth (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2002).
16. Cf. Carol Clark's explorations of commoditized speech associated with mountebanks who competed orally for customers and were described as faux-Ciceronians ('The Onely Languag'd-Men of All the World', *MLR* 74:3 (1979), 538–52).
17. *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, ed. F. W. Fairholt, vol 27 of *Early English Poetry, Ballads and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages*, ed. for the Percy Society, 30 vols (London: Percy Society by C. Richard, 1849), pp. 121–4. Cf. 'The very quaik of fashions, the very *hee* that/Weares a *Steletto* on his chinne' (John Ford, *The Fancies, Chast and Noble* (1638), E1v).
18. On the tongue as an ambivalent member in early modernity, see Carla Mazzio, 'Sins of the Tongue' in *The Body in Parts*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York; London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 53–79. Also see later in this chapter on the tongue in *Titus*.
19. In *The Owl's Almanac*, Middleton refers to 'The picke-devant … and a pair of muchatoes that will fence for the face' (2047–9). The author characterizes the barber's trade in Richard Lichfield, *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1597) as a process which 'shap[es] … faces to more austeritie', meaning that the barber gives them given a stern, sharp complexion (B4v). [Hereafter, *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* is abbreviated to *TTN*.]

20. Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 29.
21. See Hunter and Bevington, 'Characters in Order of Appearance', p. 150.
22. See Peter G. Platt, 'Shakespeare and Rhetorical Culture' in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. David Scott Kastan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 277–96 (p. 292).
23. John Barton, *The Art of Rhetorick* (1634), A8r. On ornament and rhetoric – 'To adorn or not to adorn' – see Platt, pp. 291–4 (p. 291). Cf. Carroll on the ending of *Love's Labour's Lost* which is not simply a forswearing of 'taffeta phrases' and 'silken terms': 'we should recall the impressive range of possible attitudes towards language, no one of which is wholly sufficient in itself' (p. 62); and Mazzio, *Inarticulate Renaissance,* pp. 162–71.
24. Cf. Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes* (1606), F1r-F2v, in which he describes the prevalence of 'shaving' in the vice-world of early modern London: his opening of the section on the 'Sixt days Triumph' initially addresses barbers with whom the semantic of 'shaving' is firmly associated.
25. Dekker imagines a time 'when none but the golden age went current upon the earth, it was high treason to clip haire, then to clip a money … he was disfranchized for ever, that but put on a Barbers apron' (*The Guls Horne-Booke* (1609), D1r).
26. Phillip Stubbes, *The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses Conteining the Display of Corruptions* (1583), G8r.
27. Stubbes, G8v.
28. Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579), C1v.
29. Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), C3v. Cloth-breeches then lists an assortment of cuts offered by the barber for velvet-breeches's beard, akin to Motto's list in *Midas*.
30. *Upstart Courtier*, C4r.
31. Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 234–5.
32. Truewit makes the 'gravest lawyer' (IV.vii.39) out of the barber in *Epicoene*: 'The barber smatters Latin, I remember' (IV.vii.48–9), Truewit understates. Earlier in the play, Clerimont observes of Cutbeard's language, 'How the slave doth Latin it!' (II.vi.25).
33. *Deadly Sinnes*, F1r.
34. See reference to 'six barbours basons of latyn' in the will of Barber-Surgeon Warden, Charles Whyte, City of London (14th February 1545), PROB 11/30. The other material they used for basins was pewter.
35. See Licio's and Petulus's response to Motto: 'Melancholy? Marry gup, is "melancholy" a word for a barber's mouth? … Belike if thou shouldst spit often, thou wouldst call it the rheum' (V.ii.107–8, 114–15).
36. Cf. Caroline Bicks's study of the sloppy speech of the 'gossip's bowl' used collectively by women at the bedside of a labouring woman (*Midwiving Subjects in Shakespeare's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 22–59). Fleir quips to Felecia in Edward Sharpham's *The Fleire* (1607) that he will be as secret 'As your Midwife, or Barber Surgeon' (D1r) [NB the quarto in error attributes this and one other subsequent line on the page to Florida rather than to Fleir].
37. Ben Jonson, *Poetaster* (1602), M1v-M2r.
38. Bicks discusses the image of 'incontinent mouths' in relation to the gossip's bowl (p. 31).
39. John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London: A & C Black; New York: W W Norton, 1997).
40. Julian Koslow, 'Humanist Schooling and Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*', *ELH* 73:1 (2006), 119–59 (p. 120).

41. In *Staple* barber Tom is described as 'a nimble fellow/And alike skill'd in every liberal science,/As having certain snaps of all' (I.v.130–2) where the soundbite for the barber (snap) characterizes his 'bits and pieces' collection (scraps) of knowledge.
42. Ambroise Paré, *The Workes*, trans. Th[omas] Johnson (1634), pp. 873–4.
43. Dekker [S. R. initials on t. p., quarto], *The Noble Souldier* (1634), F1v.
44. A choke-pear is also a type of unpalatable fruit. Although this reading of the noun is less successful in the passage, it nevertheless reinforces the point that a choke-pear prevents materials or matter (in this example, voice and therefore money) from filling a space. The choke-pear fruit cannot be swallowed. Cf. *Owl's Almanac*, 2024–6.
45. Robert Balthropp, *Saint Bartholomew the Less* (16th December 1591), PROB 11/78.
46. Cf. 'The *Uvula Spoon* … is applyed to the Uvula that is fallen … this Spoon being filled with Pouders … and put under the Uvula relaxed, the Surgion takes the lower end of the Pipe in his mouth, and by blowing, scatters the pouder all about upon the Uvula, and the Palate' (Randle Holme, *Academy of Armory* (Chester, 1688), pp. 426–7).
47. Cf. '*I aske nothing else always: but health and a purseful of monie*', in John Eliot's entry on barbers in *Ortho-epia* (1593), H4v.
48. Mazzio, 'Sins of the Tongue', p. 108.
49. *TTN*, C1v. In the margin, the author instructs, 'Mark this secret allegorie', indicating the theme of censorship in the text.
50. *TTN*, C1r.
51. Mazzio, 'Sins of the Tongue', p. 67.
52. See Janet Clare *Art Made Tongue-tied by Authority* (Manchester; New York: MUP, 1990). Cf. Richard Dutton, 'Licensing and Censorship' in *Companion to Shakespeare*, pp. 377–91.
53. Cf. 'A Womans tongue I see, some time or other/Will prove her Traytor' (*Fancies*, G2r).
54. Dello shares a joke with the audience in the line before saying, 'you know I am a barber and cannot tittle-tattle' (III.ii.53).
55. Richard Hart, 'Jonson's Late Plays' in *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 90–102 (p. 91).
56. Hart, p. 93. Ben Jonson ridicules the notion of 'legitimate gossip' in *Staple of News* where the output of information for the buying customer corresponds to fiscal themes in the play, embodied in the character of Pecunia and her women.
57. Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1600), M1r.
58. Thomas Elyot, *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knyght* (1538), Viir.
59. I do not discuss the art of periwig making because the production of wigs was not remarked upon in literary representations of barbery much before the mid-seventeenth century (see Chapter 2).
60. Gosson, A2r-A2v.
61. Adam Foulweather, *A Wonderful, Strange and Miraculous Astrologicall Prognostication* (1591), B1v.
62. Lording Barry, *Ram-Alley* (1611), D4v. Cf. *Deadly Sinnes*, D3v; John Ford, *The Lovers Melancholy* (1629), E4r; *Much Ado*, III.ii.43; *Staple* II.iv.179–81; *Guls Horne-Booke*, C4v.
63. Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), p. 66 (on hairs, see pp. 66–70).
64. Crooke, p. 69.
65. Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), D1v.
66. See Crooke, p. 70.
67. Paré, p. 160.
68. Crooke, p. 66.

69. Will Fisher, 'Staging the Beard' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 230–57 (p. 234).
70. Bruce Thomas Boehrer, 'The Ordure of Things' in *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, ed. James Hirsh (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP; London: Associated University Presses, 1997), pp. 174–96 (pp. 177, 191).
71. Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 34–61.
72. Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett, The Arden Shakespeare (London: A & C Black, 2011), p. 392.
73. Critics hypothesize that the play never made it to stage (see Stern, p. 36).
74. Jowett, Introduction to his edition of *Sir Thomas More*, pp. 1–129 (pp. 61–3)
75. See Jowett, p. 393.
76. See Charles Clay Doyle, 'The Hair and Beard of Thomas More', *Moreana XVIII* 71–72 (1981), 5–14.
77. Jowett, FN to 8.290.
78. Hart, p. 93.
79. Critics regularly cite Jonson's masque, *News from the New World* (1620), as the dramatic precursor to *Staple*, but it does not contain a barber (see Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: MUP, 1988) p. 9, and Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 247–52). On Jonson's engagement with the development of news media, see Mark Z. Muggli, 'Ben Jonson and the Business of News', *SEL* 32:2 (1992), 323–40.
80. William Andrews, *At the Sign of the Barber's Pole* (Cottingham: J. R. Tutin, 1904), p. 8.
81. *TTN*, B4v.
82. John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* in *Three Plays*, ed. Keith Sturgess (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).
83. Thomas Nashe, *Quaternio* (1633), Gg2r-v.
84. Anon, 'West-Country Tom Tormented' (1664–1703), stanza 1, lines 4 and refrain.
85. Cf. McKenzie's discussion of Jonson's 'calculatedly complex nest of successive audience-actor creations' (p. 97).
86. Catherine Rockwood, 'Know Thy Side', *ELH* 75:1 (2008), 135–49 (p. 135).
87. Cf. Parr's discussion of the practicalities of staging the office (pp. 50–52).
88. *Horne-Booke,* F4r.
89. Rockwood argues that Jonson objects on stylistic grounds to Middleton's *Game of Chess* in which sides are black and white and she highlights his 'mockery of journalistic impartiality': 'each of the Clerks … has been assigned a particular set of sources' (p. 140) and the knowledge that they regurgitate is far from speculative.
90. McKenzie, p. 97. McKenzie examines the 'antimasque' elements of the jeerers (pp. 98–101).
91. Jonson, 'An Expostulation with Inigo Jones' in *Ben Jonson* ed. Charles Harold Hertford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925–1952 [1947]), VIII, pp. 402–6, lines 85, 17–18, 96.
92. See Jeremy Wood, 'Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing', *The Art Bulletin* 74:2 (1992), 247–70; John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones as a Figurative Artist' in *Renaissance Bodies*, ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp. 154–79.
93. Muggli terms it 'an alchemical dissolution' (p. 336).
94. Don E. Wayne, 'Pox on Your Distinction!' in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 67–91 (pp. 69, 71, 86).
95. McKenzie, pp. 94, 97.

96. Muggli, p. 332.
97. 'In no other [play] does Jonson offer to relate in such a penetrating and cohesive way economics and language as forces for binding or disrupting community …. Only in *The Staple* … are the social uses of language fully explored' (McKenzie, p. 105).
98. Cf. McKenzie, pp. 97, 102–4. McKenzie concludes that 'The dramatic poet, as rhetor in the truest sense, has lost his vocation to a journalist' (p. 126).
99. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/5, p. 404.
100. Coarse speech was implicit too in the convoluted etymology of 'Barber'. In the French '*Un mot barbare*' is 'an uncouth word', '*Barbarie, à l'égard du langage*' refers to the 'uncouthness of ones speech', and '*Barbarsime'* is an 'improper expression'. See Guy Miege's *New Dictionary* (1677).
101. Cf. 'prentis not to were [*sic*] a bearde past xv days growing' the clerk writes of an order on 27th April 1556. Minutes pre-1557 were written retrospectively, and most, including this one, were crossed out. If beard growth was never made into a fixed rule, the Company could treat unruly apprentices to the same treatment as Mr Heydon's apprentice as occasion required.
102. *Saffron-Walden,* A2r.
103. John Jones, *Adrasta* (1635), B3v.
104. On the beard as an 'Ensigne of Manhood', see Fisher, 'Staging the Beard', esp. 233–4. On the length of women's hair and its ornamentation, see Kate Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 129–58.
105. Stubbes, H1v.
106. Joseph Martyn, *New Epigrams* (1621), B2r.
107. Lines are from Folio (1623) text. The exchange is almost identical between Corambis and Hamlet in the First Quarto, 7.360–61, also from this edition.
108. George Chapman, *May-Day* (1611), E2r. Cf. Petulus's observation in reference to hunting techniques, 'Remember all? Nay, then had we good memories, for there be more phrases than thou hast hairs' (*Midas*, IV.iii.59–60), indicating the number of oral expressions as a measurement of hairs.
109. *Damon and Pithias*, E4v.
110. *Saffron-Walden,* A2v.
111. After his initial address of Nashe in the opening of *TTN*, the author acknowledges his own aposiopesis: 'but to leave these parergasticall speeches and come to your trimming' (B3v).
112. *Saffron-Walden,* A2r.
113. See Benjamin Griffin, 'Nashe's Dedicatees', *N&Q* 44:1 (1997), 47–9; Nicholl, pp. 233–6.
114. The suggestion of castration here also befits the barber-surgeon setting, as I explored in relation to *Lear*, *Quiet Life*, *Knave in Graine* and *Ordinary*.
115. *TTN*, C2r, G1r.
116. *Saffron-Walden,* A2r. Nashe originally calls on the barber to 'correct' and 'supervise' the language of his Harvey rivals (Gabriel's brother, Richard, was also involved in the controversy).
117. *TTN*, C1r-C1v. 'Convicious' is not recorded in the *OED* but perhaps is a compound, neologized by the author, of 'convincing' and 'vicious', suggesting that despite its rottenness, Nashe's tongue has the ability to persuade.
118. *TTN*, D1r. See Rhodes on Nashe's simulation of oral techniques in *Literature and Popular Culture,* pp. 31–7.
119. *TTN*, C1r.

120. *TTN*, C2r. Cf. Mazzio for a discussion on the 'relations between the tongue and the penis' ('Sins of the Tongue', p. 59 (see pp. 59–60)).
121. *TTN*, B3v.
122. *Deadly Sinnes*, F1r.
123. Thomas Dekker, *A Knights Conjuring* (1607), C3r. (This reference is also in *News from Hell* (1606).)
124. Thomas Middleton, *The Phoenix* (1607), see K2r. Cf the description of a vomit for the Bishop by a doctor in the anonymous, *The Bishops Potion* (1641).
125. Marie Claire Randolph, 'The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory', *SP* 38:2 (1941), 125–57 (pp. 125, 145).
126. *TTN*, C4v. For discussion on 'reading' the anatomized body as text (primarily for religious and intellectual ritual) in early modernity, see Katherine Park, 'The Criminal and the Saintly Body', *RQ* 47:1 (1994), 1–33; Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 187–225.
127. *TTN*, G4r.
128. Rhodes, 'Popular Culture', pp. 41–4 (p. 44).
129. Cf. in the same work: 'He that writes/Such Libels (as you call'em) must lanch wide/The fores of men corruptions, and even search/To'th quicke for dead flesh, or for rotten cores:/A Poets Inke can better cure some sores/Than Surgeons Balsum' (D4r).
130. Richard West, 'To the pious Memory of my deare Brother-in-Law Mr Thomas Randolph' in Thomas Randolph, *Poems with Muses Looking-Glasse* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638), ***3r.
131. Barbers' Archive, *Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 33r.
132. Peregrine Horden, 'Medieval Medicine' in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine*, ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 40–59 (pp. 42–5).
133. François Tolet, *A Treatise of Lithotomy*, trans. A. Lovell (1683), D3r.
134. Tolet, G6r.
135. Bicks, p. 49.
136. Margaret Pelling, 'Compromised by Gender' in *The Task of Healing*, ed. Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 1996), pp. 101–33 (p. 109); Kate Giglio, 'Female Orality and the Healing Arts in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*' in *Oral Traditions and Gender in Early Modern Literary Texts*, ed. Mary Ellen Lamb and Karen Bamford (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 13–24.
137. Rhodes, 'Popular Culture', p. 34.
138. David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), see esp. chapt. 9 on 'Performance', pp. 301–34.
139. William Bullein, *Bulleins Bulwarke* (1579), 6v, 2v.
140. William Clowes, *A Prooved Practise* (1588), D1r.
141. Tolet, D2v.
142. Thomas Elyot, *Pasquil the Playne* (1533), D2r.
143. *TTN*, D3v.
144. See Hillary Nunn, *Staging Anatomies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 195–209.
145. Christopher Marlowe, 'The Massacre at Paris' in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), I.
146. The surgeon is not the only medical character in the play to be satirically represented. The Physician abuses his responsibility to protect his patient by making inappropriate advances on Jane and proclaiming her, against the discretion he promised, a whore.

147. Kate Fisher, 'Oral Testimony and the History of Medicine' in *History of Medicine*, pp. 598–616 (esp. p. 606).
148. Elyot, D2r.
149. John Securis, *A Detection and Querimonie of the Daily Enormities and Abuses Committed in Physick* (1566), Aiiiir.
150. John Cotta, *A Short Discoverie* (1612), E1r-E4r.
151. William Cartwright, *The Ordinary* in *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, With Other Poems* (1651), E4v.
152. Barbers' Archive, *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 3v.
153. 'it is ordayned that no…person of the said mysterye shall take any Sicke or hurte p[er]son … to his cure w[hi]ch is in p[er]ill of maym or Dethe But that he shall showe and present the same sick or hurte p[er]son within three dayes … unto the M[aste]r of the companye' (rules of 1566, *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 5r). It is uncertain how this decree could have been carried out, but evidently the Hall, as a place of learning for the surgeons, was also a centre in which specific patients were discussed. On revealers of secrets, see *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 67v.
154. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 71r.
155. Kerwin refers to surgery's affiliation with 'broader conflicts of authority within early modern culture' (p. 99). Cf. Lee Bliss, 'Destructive Will and Social Chaos in "The Devil's Law-Case"', *MLR* 72:3 (1977), 513–25: 'Around the central family whirls an assortment of … tainted relationships. In the widest sphere, the comically inverted health-giving functions of medicine and law reflect a deep-seated social malaise' (p. 517).
156. See A. K. McIlwraith, 'Did Massinger Revise *The Emporour of the East*?', *RES* 5:17 (1929), 36–42; Peter G. Phialas, 'The Sources of Massinger's *Emperour of the East*', *PMLA* 65:4 (1950), 473–82; J. E. Gray, 'The Source of *The Emperour of the East*', *RES* 1:2 (1950), 126–35.
157. Phialas, p. 474.
158. John Cotta aligns the 'unlearned Surgeon' with empirics (G1v).
159. Todd H. J. Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p. 133.
160. Philip Massinger, *The Emperour of the East* (1632), I1r. All quotations in this paragraph from this play are taken from this sig.
161. John Marston, *The Wonder of Women* (1606), B4v, C3v. In Marston's list of 'Interlocutores', Gisco is listed as 'A Surgeon of Carthage' (A2v).
162. Elyot, D2r.
163. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 3v. On examinations see clauses in *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 2v, and *Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 30v-31r [NB Barbers are not mentioned in these orders].
164. Stubbes, H3r. Cf. Cotta: 'our common and unlearned Surgeons, hav[e] neither letters nor humanity, nor ever [are] acquainted with the dialect and language of the learned' (F2v).
165. *Court Minutes*, B/1/2, 24v. The Ordinances of 1606 declare that 'Everie Surgeon [was] to be at Everie Lecture of Surgery' (*Ordinance Book*, A/6/1, 31r). In December 1627, an order declares that no one is to 'interrupt' or 'question the reader' until the end of lecture, preventing any attempt to go off text (*Court Minutes*, B/1/5, p. 70).
166. John Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas* (1639), F4v.
167. Carlino, p. 94.
168. Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, ed. Robert N. Watson, 2nd edn (London: A & C Black; New York: WW Norton, 2003).

169. Paré, p. 4.
170. Cf. Horden's commentary on medical history which 'has sometimes been diagnosed as liable to … swallowing and regurgitating its own narrow, self-imposed agenda' (p. 53).
171. *Court Minutes,* B/1/2, 14r. Cf. Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: Blades, 1890), p. 187.
172. See Florike Egmond, 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy' in *Bodily Extremities*, ed. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 92–3. Egmond finds evidence that the lay person might have had a view to anatomizations in other European countries than England. The 'publicity' argument, the cornerstone in her article, works for Tyburn-like crowds but is forced upon her discussion of dissections.
173. Eliot, L2v-L3r.
174. Securis, C6v.
175. Paré, pp. 1129–30.
176. Paré, p. 1121.
177. *OED*, I†5.*intr*.
178. Anon, 'The Return from Parnassus' in *The Three Parnassus Plays*, ed. J. B. Leishman (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1949).
179. John Davies, *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* (1625), A3v.
180. Cornelius Schilander, *Cornelius Shilander his Chirurgerie*, trans. S. Hobbes (1596), A2r.
181. Thomas Gale, *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563), Aiiv.
182. James Primerose, *Popular Errours* (1651), p. 39.
183. See Horden, pp. 44–5.
184. Galen, *Certaine Workes of Galens*, trans. Thomas Gale (1586).
185. Thomas Gale, *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563), Aiiiir.

Epilogue

1. Robert Weimann, 'The Actor-Character in "Secretly Open" Action' in *Shakespeare and Character,* ed. Paul Yachnin and Jessica Slights (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 177–93 (pp. 178–9).
2. Weimann, p. 185.
3. Alexander Read, *The Chirurgicall Lectures of Tumors and Ulcers* (1635), A8v.

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Index