

THE SHAKESPEAREAN STAGE 1574-1642

For almost forty years *The Shakespearean Stage* has been considered the liveliest, most reliable and most entertaining overview of Shakespearean theatre in its own time. It is the only authoritative book that describes all the main features of the original staging of Shakespearean drama in one volume: the acting companies and their practices, the playhouses, the staging and the audiences. Thoroughly revised and updated, this fourth edition contains fresh materials about how specific plays by Shakespeare were first staged, and provides new information about the companies that staged them and their playhouses. The book incorporates everything that has been discovered in recent years about the early modern stage, including the archaeology of the Rose and the Globe. Also included is an invaluable appendix, listing all the plays known to have been performed at particular playhouses and by specific companies.

ANDREW GURR is Emeritus Professor of English at the University of Reading. As chief academic advisor, he was a key figure in the project to rebuild Shakespeare's Globe Theatre in London. His many publications include *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge, third edition 2004) and *The Shakespearean Playing Companies* (1996). Professor Gurr regularly contributes articles on Shakespeare to publications ranging from *Shakespeare Survey* to the *Times Literary Supplement*.





THE SHAKESPEAREAN STAGE 1574–1642

FOURTH EDITION

ANDREW GURR

Professor of English Emeritus University of Reading





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University s mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521729666

© Andrew Gurr 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009 5th printing 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by CPI Group Ltd, Croydon CRO 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Gurr, Andrew.

The Shakespearean stage, 1574–1642 / Andrew Gurr. – 4th ed. p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-50981-7

Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616 – Stage history – To 1625.
 Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616 – Stage history – 1625–1800.
 Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616 – Stage history – England.

4. Theater – England – History – 16th century. 5. Theater – England – History - 17th century. I. Title.

PR3095.G865 2008 792'.0942–dc22 2008049137

ısвn 978-0-521-50981-7 Hardback ısвn 978-0-521-72966-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Illustrations page Preface Acknowledgements I Introduction I Then and now Original staging practices The London focus Life in London Social divisions The poets The City and the Court The Companies I The laws of playing The early boy companies The strong companies The strong companies The later boy companies	ix xiii 1 1 6
Acknowledgements I Introduction I Then and now Original staging practices The London focus Life in London Social divisions The poets The City and the Court The Companies The laws of playing The early boy companies The early adult companies The strong companies	I I
 Then and now Original staging practices The London focus Life in London Social divisions The poets The City and the Court The Companies The laws of playing The early boy companies The early adult companies The strong companies 	I
 2 Original staging practices 3 The London focus 4 Life in London 5 Social divisions 6 The poets 7 The City and the Court 2 The Companies 1 The laws of playing 2 The early boy companies 3 The early adult companies 4 The strong companies 	
3 The London focus 4 Life in London 5 Social divisions 6 The poets 7 The City and the Court 2 The Companies 1 The laws of playing 2 The early boy companies 3 The early adult companies 4 The strong companies	6
4 Life in London 5 Social divisions 6 The poets 7 The City and the Court 2 The Companies 1 The laws of playing 2 The early boy companies 3 The early adult companies 4 The strong companies	
 5 Social divisions 6 The poets 7 The City and the Court 2 The Companies 1 The laws of playing 2 The early boy companies 3 The early adult companies 4 The strong companies 	13
6 The poets 7 The City and the Court 2 The Companies 1 The laws of playing 2 The early boy companies 3 The early adult companies 4 The strong companies	21
7 The City and the Court 2 The Companies 1 The laws of playing 2 The early boy companies 3 The early adult companies 4 The strong companies	24
 The Companies The laws of playing The early boy companies The early adult companies The strong companies 	28
 The laws of playing The early boy companies The early adult companies The strong companies 	33
 The early boy companies The early adult companies The strong companies 	38
The early adult companiesThe strong companies	38
4 The strong companies	45
	47
5 The later boy companies	55
, The fact boy companies	66
6 The later adult companies	71
7 Company structure	85
8 Government control	91
3 The Players	00
I The social status of players	00
2 Famous clowns	105
3 Famous tragedians	109
4 Styles of acting	113
5 The repertory system	124
6 Acting quality	136
4 The Playhouses	139
1 Mobile players	139
2 The history of playhouse-building	145



vi		Contents	
		 Early amphitheatre design Later amphitheatre design The hall playhouses Court theatres 	150 168 190 203
	5	The Staging Mobile staging Hall and amphitheatre staging Stage realism Stage properties Stage costumes Court staging Directing performances	209 209 215 221 229 238 246 253
	6	The Audiences 1 Social attitudes to playgoing 2 Social divisions in the playhouses 3 Audience behaviour 4 Changes in fashion	258 258 264 275 282
	No Se	opendix: A Select List of Plays and their Playhouses otes lect Bibliography dex	286 299 320 332



Illustrations

I.	Giles Brydges, the third Lord Chandos, wearing the kind of hat that Osric flourished.	<i>b.aga</i> 2
_		page 2
2.	A vignette from the titlepage of <i>Roxana</i> (1632) by William	
	Alabaster, showing hangings (an 'arras') behind the players	0
	with audience in the pit and on the balcony above.	8
3.	A triumphal arch depicting London, built for King James's	
	entry into London in 1603. Edward Alleyn can be seen speaking	
	from the central niche.	20
4.	Alleyn as the 'Genius of the City'.	21
5.	The Children of the Chapel Royal as choristers in 1603.	47
6.	Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon and first patron of the	
	Shakespeare company.	48
7.	A detail from the plot for 2 The Seven Deadly Sins.	51
8.	The 'procession' portrait, showing Charles Howard and	
	George Carey.	56
9.	Edward Alleyn, the official portrait at his foundation, Dulwich	•
	College.	58
10.	Richard Burbage, possibly a self-portrait.	62
	John Lowin as Falstaff.	73
12.	Nathan Field.	78
13.	Richard Perkins.	80
آ 4 .	William Davenant.	85
•	Richard Tarlton dressed as a clown.	106
	Will Kemp dancing a jig.	108
	Robert Armin in the long coat of a 'natural' fool.	109
	A portrait of John Lowin in 1639–40.	II2
	Gestures for miming in John Bulwer, Chirologia.	120
-	A section from the 'part' of Orlando.	130
	Travelling players in Holland, at a kermesse.	140
	O I,	-70

vii



VIII	List of Illustrations	
22.	A panorama of London (1572), showing the location of the playhouses.	I4 4
23.	A photograph taken from above of the Rose foundations as uncovered in 1989. Photographer: Andrew Fulgoni.	
	Copyright: Fulgoni Copyrights Ltd © 1989–2009.	152
24.	A diagram of the Rose foundations.	156
25.	A conjectural elevation of the Rose by Jon Greenfield.	160
26.	De Witt's drawing of the Swan, made in 1596.	163
27.	A perspective drawing of the second Globe made by Wenceslas Hollar.	175
28.	A plan of the lobby and gallery walls of the Globe uncovered	-//
20.	in 1989.	177
2.9.	The foundations of the Globe in relation to Anchor Terrace.	179
-	A performance of <i>Twelfth Night</i> at Middle Temple Hall in	
	2002.	186
	Richard Hosley's diagram of the Blackfriars in its setting.	193
	The roof of the Blackfriars from Hollar's 'Long View'.	194
33.	The stage, perhaps of the Cockpit, by Inigo Jones.	198
34.	The floor plan of the Cockpit drawn by Inigo Jones.	199
	The Banqueting House interior by Inigo Jones.	209
36.	The Cockpit at Court, John Webb's copy of the original	
	design by Inigo Jones.	206
37.	An illustration from Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft	
	showing a design for a beheading.	225
38.	The chair of state from Wenceslas Hollar's 1641 engraving of	
	Parliament.	236
	A miniature of a young gallant by Nicholas Hilliard.	242
	A drawing by Henry Peacham of the 1594 <i>Titus Andronicus</i> .	243
	A blackamoor, from Vecellio's <i>Degli Habiti</i> (1590).	245
42.	The costume for a Daughter of Niger, as designed by Inigo	
	Jones.	250
43.	Lucy Countess of Bedford wearing a costume for a masque.	253



Preface

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The term 'Shakespearean' is used to cover what are normally called the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline periods — that is, the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, from the 1570s to 1603, the whole of the reign of James I, 1603—25, and the period of rule (as distinct from reign) of Charles I, 1625—42. Shakespeare's own contact with the London theatre world extended only from about 1590 to 1616, but he stands on its highest peak, and his name if anyone's has to be given to the period. The theatre conditions that supplied Shakespeare with the venue for his plays came into existence in the 1570s, and disappeared abruptly in 1642. The first official recognition of the London-based commercial acting companies was given in 1574; a total ban on playing was imposed in 1642, and was thoroughly enforced for the next eighteen years, long enough to destroy almost all traces of Shakespearean theatre conditions and traditions. The seventy years of play-acting in which Shakespeare's career was embedded needs to be seen as a whole, and the best single word for it is Shakespearean.

A number of the variables of the Shakespearean period have been regularised for convenience. The old-style system of dating, which began the calendar year in March instead of on I January, has been silently adjusted to the modern dating. The titles of plays and the names of players, which were spelt in various ways even by their owners, have been regularised in the forms adopted by Chambers and Bentley. On the other hand money is recorded in the old form of pounds, shillings and pence. That is, the 'penny' mentioned in this book is one two-hundred-and-fortieth part of a pound, one-twelfth of a shilling, not the one-hundredth part of a pound that is the modern value for a penny. The quotations use the old denotation of the penny as 'd.', not the modern 'p.'. In accordance with the same principle of supplying an authentic picture of the Shakespearean background, quotations are given wherever possible in the original spelling,



x

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-50981-7 - The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642: Fourth Edition Andrew Gurr Frontmatter More information

Preface

except that the Elizabethan typographical conventions of i for j, initial v and medial u have been altered to the modern usage. And to be consistent in the same principle, actors are normally called players, theatres are playhouses, playwrights (a term which crept into favour along with 'actors' in the 1630s) are given their own name for themselves, poets. Their product is the unserious business of playing.

FROM THE NOTE FOR THE THIRD EDITION

In this third edition some, though small, account has been taken of the shifts in priorities which have appeared in the last decade, under the pressure of new theories about the heuristic and self-reflexive nature of this game of studying Shakespeare's working conditions. The Appendix listing the plays and their circumstances of performance, for instance, is now arranged in the alphabetical order of the plays themselves, not their dead authors. But for the most part the revision simply seeks to incorporate the new evidence that has appeared since 1980. The groundplan of the Rose playhouse and a few of its implications, the Globe's entrance lobby, a better translation of Orazio Busino's Italian, some recent conjectures about the staging of the plays, revised datings and related information about particular plays, these and other details have been inserted in the relevant chapters. There is even a small attempt in Chapter 2 at humanising the old picture of Philip Henslowe as a tight-fisted theatre impresario. Chapter 4, on the design of the different kinds of playhouse, has had the most additions. For different reasons Chapter 6, on the audiences, has had the least. Subheadings have been added to each chapter to clarify the organisation of the material.

A FOURTH PREFACE

It is now forty years since as a junior university teacher I felt the need to provide my students with an accessible summary of useful information about Shakespearean theatre. Having struggled through the eleven packed volumes of Chambers and Bentley, I felt attracted to their hardnosed pursuit of material evidence but appalled at the sheer quantity of minutiae they accumulated. To pick out exemplary events and anecdotal stories long before New Historicism's elevation of the anecdote as good history and to focus them on the plays seemed like a good idea at the time. The result was the first rather tentative version of this book. Since then I have returned again and again to the book's subject-matter, making several



Preface xi

of its chapters whole books, and for one a physical reconstruction of the original playhouse. Revising and augmenting all the bits of evidence now, for this fourth and probably final edition, it seems only a little surprising that so many of the 'hard' facts and anecdotes still stand up from the fog of theory that has clouded the subject so intensely in recent years.

For this revision I have stuck by most of the earlier principles, such as reproducing all quotations in the original spelling and relying very largely on illustrations from the time. It is regrettably true that the preference for modernised spelling still dominates reading texts – in, for instance, almost all editions of the plays and even in scholarly source books like *English Professional Theatre*, 1530–1660, which reprints many of the documents quoted here, but all in modernised spelling. When we modernise the original spelling we all too readily conceal the differences between then and now, and those differences are the basic subtext of this book.

Its essential justification stays the same: to provide a material basis for understanding what evoked that unique florescence of plays created through those years. Materialism of this kind can produce some intriguingly fresh insights into what went on in the Shakespearean theatre. I am still teased, for instance, by the nature of the actor-audience relationship that provoked one extraordinary simile set down in a Shakespeare play of 1596. În 1 Henry IV, 1.3.186–91, Worcester tries to tell the furious Harry Hotspur about the plot to take the crown from King Henry. It is, he says, 'a secret book', its 'matter deep and dangerous, / As full of peril and adventurous spirit / As to o'erwalk a current roaring loud / On the unsteadfast footing of a spear'. Spears were for throwing at boars or deer when hunting. Their handles were round, light in weight and flexible, unlike the heavy square or bevelled fixity of a pikestaff. To use such a fragile rod for a bridge would undoubtedly be perilous. Editors link the simile to medieval chronicles such as Erec and Enid, where a gleaming sword appears as a bridge over troubled waters. A spear bridging a gulf would certainly make an 'unsteadfast footing'. But why a spear rather than a sword, the symbolic bridge of the romances? We might remember that when Shakespeare's company first set his name to his plays, in 1598 with Richard II and Richard III, and a year later for I Henry IV, in each case they presented his name with a hyphen, as 'William Shake-speare'. Knowing this little joke about the author as an actor playing huntsman or soldier enhances the likelihood that Worcester's peculiar simile was set down as an in-joke among the players, perhaps even that the speaker of the lines about the shaky spear was the author himself. Such a reading tells us a lot about the quality of intimacy shared not only by the players amongst themselves but with their regular audiences, and the



xii Preface

expectation on both sides that even the tensest or most portentous moment in a play could be broken easily and harmlessly with a metatheatrical in-joke. What was in Shakespeare's mind when he composed the joke? Was he saying that his company could not trust him to carry them over their obstacles? Perhaps the simile was a quiet admission of the lack of trust between them. Some failure of confidence certainly led the company to revise his second sequel to *I Henry IV*, as the first quarto in 1600 of *Henry V* shows, a point made in Chapter 3 of this edition. Such features of early playing brighten the complex and collaborative business of staging that our modern reverence for Shakespeare all too readily obscures.



Acknowledgements

The author and publisher would like to thank the following for permission to reproduce the illustrations: the Marquess of Tavistock and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates (for Nos. 1 and 43); the British Library (2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 16, 17, 19, 22, 37, 41); the Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute of Art (6, 8); the Governors of Dulwich College (7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 20); the Folger Shakespeare Library (14); the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge (15); the Ashmolean Museum (18); the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunsweig (21); Andrew Fulgoni Photography (23); the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht (26); the Mellon Foundation (27); Richard Hosley (31); the Guildhall Library, City of London (32, 38); the Museum of London (24, 28, 29); Jon Greenfield (25); Shakespeare's Globe (30); the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford (33, 34, 36); the Department of the Environment (35); the Victoria and Albert Museum (39); the Marquess of Bath (40); the Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement (42).