The Shakespearean Blush
Body, colour, and emotion within material and dramatic culture

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Abstract

In this thesis I argue that the modern collocation - blush-pink-embarrassment - is not one that can be presumed to have made equal sense in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. This is because when Shakespeare was writing his plays, the word pink referred to a range of meanings that did not include colour, and the word embarrassment, as an expression of emotional feeling, did not enter the English vernacular until the later part of the seventeenth-century. The one constant in this triad of associative concepts between then and now is the blush. Using the blush as a lens and with Shakespeare as a major focus, I consider the difference that the absence of pink as a named colour, and embarrassment as a named emotion, makes to readings of selected episodes from drama produced for the early modern professional stage. In Chapter One, I present the blush as a mid-way agent for the body-mind equation and establish the blush as providing a method for exploring pink in its Shakespearean permutations in Chapter Two (cloth) and Chapter Three (a flower). In Chapter Four, I consider the gap that is left if we assume that a colour term was not yet coined yet I suggest that the 'birth' of pink-colour in drama may rest with John Marston and therefore I offer a pre-history for the colour pink. In the final chapter, I use the blush as a mode of enquiry for early modern embarrassment before the word entered the English vernacular in the Restoration. Overall, I adopt an anachronistic nexus of associations (blush-pink-embarrassment) to present a non-anachronistic study of distinct yet interrelated areas that are usually studied in isolation.

Contents

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Addendum (September 2018)

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This PhD has been delayed due to personal losses and is now dedicated to the memory of both of my parents, and to Nigel Timothy Charles (1961-2018) who encouraged me to start my academic journey. Despite losses there have been gains

and I welcome my two great nieces born in 2018, Lielle and Eloise, who I hope will enjoy Shakespeare one day.

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Introduction

Blush-pink-embarrassment: an early modern collocation?

There is none so lytell a parte in mannys body but it serueth for somwhat.

William Horman, *Vulgaria*, 1519.[1]

Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses, *circa* 1569[2]

Pallas was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might,
The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright,
Elizabeth then came.
And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took to flight;
Pallas was silenced; Venus blushed for shame.[3]

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[1] William Horman, *Vulgaria*, first printed by Richard Pynson in 1519, now reprinted with an Introduction by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Roxburghe Club, 1926), p. 45. Henceforth, *Vulgaria*, and page number.

[2] Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018. With thanks to Agata Rutkowska for granting permission to use this reproduction.

[3] The painting is attributed to Hans Eworth or Joris Hoefnaegel, *c.* 1569. Mary E. Hazard notes that the Latin verse (that I use below the above reproduction of the painting) was '[t]ranscribed by Baron Waldsten […] who noted the presence of the painting at Whitehall in 1600'; see Mary E. Hazard 'The Case for "Case" in Reading Elizabethan Portraits, *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 61-88, p. 62.The painting was used for the exhibition 'Elizabeth I and her People' at the National Portrait Gallery, London (December 2013) and was described as being on display at Whitehall during the Queen's lifetime and was therefore likely to have received her approval.

This thesis adopts a twenty-first century collocation of the associative words blush-pink-embarrassment to open up a small window onto the past by way of a non-anachronistic approach. I argue that a sentence containing pink blushes of embarrassment is likely to have puzzled William Shakespeare and his contemporaries because the word pink was not yet established as a colour term and the word embarrassment was not as yet coined as an expression of human feeling. In his work on *Othello* and skin colour, Michael Neill refers to the 'inward truths of emotion [that] reveal themselves in the pink blushes of embarrassment […]'.[4] This phrasing is fundamental to the work in this thesis because it serves to demonstrate that the anachronistic use of terms, whether intentional or not, can open up the possibility to think about what those words did *not* represent in the earlier period. Shakespeare would have been baffled by the phrase because the word pink at this time is more likely to have conjured up images of small cuts to the face rather than a flushing change of facial colour due to feelings of awkwardness. This is because for Shakespeare's drama, pink is a cloth-cutting term and a named flower but not a colour. The word 'emotion', too, had more to do with physical movement than the inner pangs that we feel today. This proves to be important for the thesis argument as I consider how embarrassment (again, a word not known to Shakespeare) might have been perceived by way of motion: that is, forwards, backwards, and staying put. The one word in the phrase 'the pink blushes of embarrassment' that Shakespeare is likely to have understood without difficulty is the word 'blushes'. It is the blush therefore that forms a linking thread in this thesis between the present and the past.

If the word pink in early modern terms refers to cloth and to a flower then we are invited into the earlier worlds of cloth cutting, fashion, and botany within material

[4] Michael Neill, 'The Look of Othello', *Shakespeare Survey 62*, Close Encounters with Shakespeare's Text, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 104-22, p. 115.

culture. If embarrassment is not yet coined, then we must enter the realm of the early modern passions (emotions) and conduct to see how men and women of the earlier period may have understood the way they behaved.

i. For more than blushing comes to: why the blush is useful in drama

The blush is fraught with issues of ambiguity as is evident from the above image of Elizabeth I where the legend beneath the painting informs readers that Venus was rosy-faced and that she blushed. No evidence of a colour change is indicated in the portrait, which could of course have faded over time as all materials do. But Venus's missing blush is important for the overall argument that I present because the blush of this thesis does not need to be seen and, in fact, is invisible on the stage and only given voice by the actor who speaks his or her blushing lines. The image is important too because of its link to Shakespeare who began his writing career with his narrative work *Venus and Adonis* and begins the poem with reference to what seem to be pink blushes of embarrassment. Here,

> Even as the sun with purple-coloured face
> Had ta'en his last leave of the weeping morn,
> Rose-cheeked Adonis hied him to the chase;
> Hunting he loved, but love he laughed to scorn.
>
> (*Venus and Adonis*, lines 1-4)

The current Arden editors of *Shakespeare's Poems* note of these opening lines that, 'purple coloured', may derive from the Latin '*purpureus'*, for which meanings included red (rosy) and the colour of blood, so that it [the sun] may be blushing with embarrassment at being caught leaving its lover - the weeping morn'.[5] This small

[5] See William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Poems: Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece and the Shorter Poems*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2007), n. 1-4.

extract raises some important questions for the study of pink and embarrassment before the words are coined. For the colour, a spectrum between red and white is introduced, with purple and rosiness both somewhere along that continuum (in other words, red and purple might equally be termed as shades of pink). Furthermore, who is the embarrassed subject: is it the (male) personified sun because he hastily leaves his lover on a daily basis; or the personified (female) dawn, humiliated at being left repeatedly as evidenced in her daily chores of gracing the morning with the rosy traces made by her fingers in a fused image of the body and nature known to literature since antiquity?[6] The way colour is described without the word pink, and the way embarrassment might have been experienced as a social event – both placed within early modern culture and drama – will be addressed in the following chapters. I will argue that the blush is its own collocation, containing its own colour and its own ability to trope embarrassment when the conditions are right.

Leaving poetry aside, the Shakespearean dramatic canon can be said to begin and end with blushes. It begins with a blush that marks the ending of what is generally taken to be Shakespeare's first play, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (*c*. 1589-91), in a scene that I cover fully in Chapter One of this thesis. Here a man (the Duke) is confused over whether the young person before him is a boy or a girl and settles on the former with, 'I think the boy hath grace in him. He blushes'(5.4.160-165).[7] The young woman is of course played by a boy in performance at this time and the blush itself is used rhetorically and does not have to be staged. But it is a blush that blurs the lines between boy and maid (or boy and boy on the all-male early modern stage). In the final play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, written in collaboration with John Fletcher (*c*.

[6] I am grateful to Anna Moraitis for discussions on the representation of the dawn in Greek antiquity.
[7] *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, Second Edition, eds. Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett and William Montgomery (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005): all citations from Shakespeare's plays are from this edition and referenced with act, scene and line number/s within the text, unless otherwise stated. I take dates for the plays from this volume but am aware that such dates are debatable.

1613), a blush opens proceedings as the Prologue announces that a good play might be compared to a blushing bride on 'his marriage day' (Prologue, line 4). Lois Potter has shown that 'his' was 'still the standard neutral possessive' form at the time.[8] But the fact remains that both men and women blush, as indicated by the criss-crossing between gender that these two small examples offer and the blush therefore opens up areas of discussion regarding gender that is implied throughout this thesis.

One other collaborative offering by Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *Henry VIII (All is True)* offers three examples of the range to which blushes may be put and also raises the question of authorship. Firstly, in a small bridging scene that is attributed to Shakespeare, the action starts *in medias res* with Anne's '[n]ot for that neither' creating a sense of intimate chit-chat between two women whose conversation soon turns to the king's interest in Anne and is marked by the Old Lady's obscure comment that, 'I would not be a young count in your way / For more than blushing comes to'; just a few lines later, Anne terms herself a simple 'blushing handmaid', unworthy of the title of Marchioness of Pembroke that has just been bestowed on her via King Henry by the Lord Chamberlain (2.3.1, 40). Further on in the play and in lines attributed to Fletcher, Cardinal Wolsey laments the the state of man where '[t]oday he puts forth / The tender leaves of hopes; tomorrow blossoms, / And bears his blushing honours thick upon him' (3.2.353-355). These three examples show that blushing is used to describe things that are ineffable ('for more than blushing comes to'); the state of maidenhood (the modesty topos) and the rise and fall of life (the mutability topos) through blushes that fuse with materials such as metals

[8] See William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Lois Potter (London: Thomson Learning, 1997), n. 4, p. 137.

and the trace of an idea of flowers that bloom ('blushing honours'). It also shows that Fletcher, too, called on the blush as a mode of dramatic expression.[9]

ii. Towards a blush model: eyes and ears

I will shortly be introducing what I have termed a 'blush model' for this thesis. Before then, I want to think a little about an etiology for blushing. As Michael C. Schoenfeldt observes in *Bodies and Selves*, '[b]odies have changed little through history, even though the theories of their operations vary enormously across time and culture.'[10] The way we blush, from a physiological point of view, has not changed, but the way blushing is understood and interpreted by society certainly has, as I will show in this thesis.

The blush arguably forms a thread of continuum between then and now. One early definition of the blush is a 'gleam' or a 'blink' (*OED* c. 1390); this is now considered obsolete, with the exception of the proverbial phrase 'at, on, etc. (the) first blush' or 'at the first glance.'[11] The vocabulary used here to describe the blush – gleam, blink – suggests the fleeting nature of blushing and one of the reasons why it is so puzzling and couched in ambiguity. Although the etymology of the verbal phrase 'to blush' is unclear, its provenance is ancient, with roots reaching back to Old Norse, as the *OED* informs us, with the soft 'sh' ending seemingly stemming from Middle

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[9] The Oxford editors of *The Complete Works*, cited above, observe that '[t]he passages most confidently attributed to Shakespeare are Act 1, Scenes 1 and 2; Act 2, Scenes 3 and 4; Act 3, Scene 2 to line 204; and Act 5, Scene 1. This means that the lines containing the phrase 'blushing honours' could be John Fletcher's. See *All Is True (Henry VIII)*, pp. 1247-1278; Introduction, p. 1247. For more on the 'old lady' scene, see Thomas Merriam 'The Old Lady, Or All Is Not True', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54: Shakespeare and Religions, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 234-245.

[10] Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 6.

[11] OED Online, blush, n. 1.; Jere Bartlett Whiting records '[a]t the first (sudden) blush' c. 1454. See *Proverbs, Sentences And Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), B385, p.49.

German usage.[12] The blush, then, is a mode of exploration in this thesis and the areas opened up by modern associations with the words pink and embarrassment permit us to foray into the world of daily early modern life. One major source for this subject is *Vulgaria* by William Horman, whose line about small parts having purpose graces the epigraph of this thesis and whose work encapsulates an ethos for the importance of small things within the quotidian. In his introduction to the work, Montague Rhodes James notes that:

> As one reads Horman's sentences – mostly extemporized, as he tells us, for the instruction of his pupils – we live again in the very human atmosphere of early Tudor times. The raciness of sentiment and the emphasis of speech conveyed by these detached sentences throw a more searching light upon the real temperament of those days than we can ever expect from the normal literature of the period – largely theological and political, with scattered remnants of more imaginative literature.[13]

Horman's phrases are scattered throughout the thesis because they illustrate the joy and the difficulty in finding the right word for the right moment. Two of Horman's adages serve to illustrate a point that is of fundamental importance to the blush discussed in this thesis: the blush does not have to be seen. Unlike paints that are self-consciously or determinedly placed onto the face to mimic a blush as a part of stagecraft – in Ben Jonson's plays for example – the blush of interest to me is silent on the page and spoken on the stage.[14] This means that the eyes and the ears are important for the blush: the blush is an audible one, 'seen' by the mind's eye in performance. Horman makes many references to the eyes, as in his touching, '[h]e

[12] OED Online, blush, v. 1.
[13] *Vulgaria,* Preface, pp. ix-x.
[14] For more on face-painting in Jonson's plays, see Annette Drew-Bear, *Painted Faces on the Renaissance Stage: The Moral Significance of Face-Painting Conventions* (London and Toronto: Bucknell University Press, 1994), pp. 79-92.

hath a webb in his yie' which suggests that a person has the beginning of a cataract.[15] In noting a sentence about what the eye cannot see, Horman in turn highlights the importance of sight at this time. But he also turns to the ears, as in '[a] worme is crept into myne eare'.[16] The early modern notion of the body's worrying apertures will be covered in the second chapter of this thesis but for now these two examples serve to render the blush of this thesis seen in the text but heard on the stage.

Having established that the blush does not need to be stage managed, how might the subject be approached in drama? The next part of this Introduction takes the form of a brief Literary Review by following a tripartite structure that mirrors the thesis's sub-title (body, colour, emotion). I define the blush largely by what it is not: the blush is not a stage property and yet it is important in dramaturgy, as I will show. The blush is not an emotion *per se* but appears in the wake of emotion. The blush is not a sense but can be affected by the senses of sight, hearing, taste, touch and smell. The blush is on a continuum of becoming – it is never static but is between colours and registers the transience of emotions. I demonstrate in this thesis that the blush offers its own collocation incorporating elements of body, colour, and emotion and for this reason the Literature Review combines references to all three areas of study.

iii. Blush-pink-embarrassment: A review of the field

The main introduction to this principal subject (the blush) is found in Chapter One and reference is made there to the major scholarly works that have helped to shape my approach. This thesis is singular yet plural in that it tries to bring diverse subjects together in the spirit of the blush's fluid nature. Because the blush is an elusive bodily

[15] *Vulgaria*, p. 46. Many writers of the period and after refer to the web and the pin or the pin and the web as a sign of deteriorating eyesight.
[16] *Vulgaria*, p. 47.

phenomenon (as I state more clearly in the Methodology section), it is challenging to find works that support the approach that I seek. The blush is perhaps defined best by what is not, which is the structure adopted in this broad review. The blush is not a stage property. In *The Stage Life of Props*, Andrew Sofer throws this point into focus by noting that:

> Enlivened by the actor's touch, charged by the playwright's dialogue, and quickened in the spectator's imagination, they [stage properties] take on a life of their own as they weave in and out of the stage action. Often invisible on the page, props are vital on the stage.[17]

The blush has the opposite trajectory: it is visible on the page but invisible on the stage and yet the blush forms an important 'role' in early modern dramaturgy, as the number of blush references in Shakespeare's plays testifies.[18] Sofer's work allows us to think about the motion of the body on the stage. An actor on the all-male early modern stage may well be blushing at certain points beneath his white painted face, but the real blushes below are irrelevant and would be a hindrance should they appear at the wrong moment. For example, in *Richard III*, Lady Anne charges Richard of Gloucester to '[b]lush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity'. (1.2.57). It is important that the player on stage does not blush at this point because the character of Richard (on his march to the throne by way of acts of increasing venery) is not supposed to have the conscience for blushing. As I will show in Chapter One, evidence suggests that the blush could be imagined physiologically as being the heart's helper and keeper of secrets.

The blush is today mostly studied within the social sciences and explanations found there do not explain the blush from an early modern perspective, when the body

[17] Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 2003), p. vi.
[18] Shakespeare's work shows a keen interest in blushes with 114 entries of the word 'blush' and its variants (blush'd, blushes, blushest, and blushing) - as listed by Marvin Spevack. See *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare* (Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), p. 135.

and mind were imagined to be more on a continuum in line with Pre-cartesian ideas, as I discuss in Chapter One. The social sciences seek to situate the blush as a problem to be solved.[19] The blush fits nowhere because it tends to be excluded from works that focus on the body and the mind, singly or together. Studies of the early modern body have paid little focused attention to the blush, although it appears sporadically in indices.[20] One major exception is Sujata Iyengar's *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England*; despite its title, Iyengar's scholarship here ranges beyond issues of race and skin colour and a third of the work is devoted to the stage blush.[21]

The blush of this thesis is not concerned with skin colour *per se* because I am more interested in the inclusive idea that, as Robert Edelmann confidently asserts - 'Everyone blushes [and] we can all no doubt recollect an embarrassing event or experience that has caused us discomfort.'[22] Modern notions of the blush as a sign of appeasement are as troubling as any early modern view on skin colour. I am assuming for the blush in this thesis the 'red and white hues [of the] Anglo-European feminine ideal' – noted by Farah Karim-Cooper in her important *Shakespeare and Cosmetics* as being 'red as roses and strawberries, and as white as the lily or as snow'.[23] However, I seek not this red-white dyad but a colour that is 'truly blent': somewhere between the

[19] A major work on the blush, published in 2013, draws together experts from the social sciences; and The Sciences – a new field for the blush that proves blushing to be a 'hot topic' of study and concern. See W. Ray Crozier and Peter J. de Jong, *The Psychological Significance of the Blush* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[20] This situation is beginning to change as the blush finds a place within the cognitive turn where the relationship between mind and body is considered.
[21] Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). See 'Part II : Whiteness Visible', pp. 103-140.
[22] Robert Edelmann, *Coping with Blushing* (London: Sheldon, 1990; repr. 2004), p. 1.
[23] Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 170-171.

two shades that might represent an early modern perception of the colour pink.[24] For Raymond Tallis the blush is a type of 'living rouge' – a dyad that may seem oxymoronic in that 'rouge' (make-up) is a dead material rather than 'living'; however, the description explains the blush in a way that embellishes the blush's natural ornamentation.[25] Tallis describes the blush that is living in the moment; it could be said that this is blushing in the present-continuous tense. By 'rouge' he means a tint to the face, rather than the rouge that is known as the name for a cosmetic or as part of a make-up palate. Tallis's rouge is formed by the body's blood that appears fleetingly within the grain of the skin, just under the skin's surface, and is therefore as changeable as a heartbeat and cannot be fixed in place - unlike manufactured rouge - or blusher that is chosen by the wearer and fixed onto the face for as long as the cosmetic tincture holds its colour.[26]

The real blush, then, is a natural form of ornament and not a cosmetic. Nor is the blush an emotion. Rather, the blush is an involuntary bodily response in the wake of an emotion – a point corroborated by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, editors of *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, who for the emotions in general state that, '[b]y the time a person consciously experiences an emotion – feels angry or fearful, perceives his heart to be racing or his face to be flushed – the physiological response triggered in his brain has already occurred.'[27] This point is particularly relevant to an attempt to access a perception of how embarrassment (an un-named early modern emotion/passion) might have felt for the early modern subject

[24] The phrase 'truly blent' is from *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* and occurs when Viola-Cesario comments that Olivia's beauty is 'beauty truly blent, whose red and white / Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on' (1.5.228-229).
[25] Raymond Tallis, *The Kingdom of Infinite Space: A Fantastical Journey Around Your Head* (London: Atlantic Books, 2008), p. 118.
[26] It is strange to note that make-up is used to cover an overly-rosy face but that a fake blush, one that cannot move, is placed on top.
[27] Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd Wilson, eds, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of* Emotion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 4.

in Chapter Five. The title of this collective work, *Passions*, also raises an important point with regard to any study of early modern emotions that hopes to be non-anachronistic: the word 'emotion' did not yet mean the inner feeling of awkwardness or discomfiture that is does today. Rather, as Katharine A. Craik explains in *Reading Sensations*, '[t]he etymology of the word 'emotion' comes from the Latin *emovere*, to move out or stir up' and therefore has more to do with physical movement'.[28] Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills corroborate this point in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine*, finding that the word 'was used figuratively to refer to an agitation or disturbance of the mind, that is passion, from the late sixteenth century, but was not in common use in this sense until the nineteenth century.'[29] It was an event that was kept outside of the body but had much to do with motion. As *Reading the Early Modern Passions* informs, 'when it comes to the emotions, a working vocabulary common to the disciplines involved in their study has yet to develop.'[30]

The fact that it is difficult for us today *not* to use the word 'emotion' shows how much we depend on the word as a kind of shorthand for a whole range of feelings that have developed over time. I will demonstrate that early modern playwrights deploy references to blushing as a way to describe a range of feelings. However, early modern embarrassment might present something of a caveat: because the term had not been coined when Shakespeare was writing his plays, I suggest that the subject of early modern embarrassment has the potential to be set free from

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[28] Katharine A. Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 5.
[29]Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills, eds, *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine* (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2005), p. 17.
[30] Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, eds, *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, pp. 5, 3.

worrying moorings regarding its use – as long as the acknowledgement is made that Shakespeare would not have known the term.[31]

In an approach to 'blush-pink-embarrassment (body, colour, emotion), two key works have proved to be not about the blush, pink colour, or embarrassment *per se* but highlight the ways in which materials are understood differently in the early modern period. The first is Bruce R. Smith's *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture*, where a blueprint is provided for examining a word that ostensibly seems to be a colour – green – but where the purview is widened to include the word's material concepts. For example, when Smith notes that green 'is not a thing; it is a relationship', it is possible to find a foothold for examining the colour pink but, more importantly (since pink, unlike green, is not officially named as a colour in the early modern period), the search for wider meanings around the word pink – for material pink - is justified.[32] If a whole world about the word green can be opened by the turn of a key (as Smith's title suggests), then perhaps a small but justifiable world can be opened too for the key of pink-colour.

The second work that has informed wider thinking in this thesis is Jonathan Gil Harris's *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*, because it offers unusual ways of considering the materials of the past that may not even be tangible ones. Harris's desire to pay 'a new attention to the palimpsests of matter in the time of Shakespeare' may offer a theoretical home for the blush – a visible but intangible bodily reaction that has hitherto been difficult to place because it is not an emotion,

[31] See Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993); in her seminal work on the body and the humours does not mention that the word had not yet been coined.
[32] Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 1.

not a sense, not an organ, and not a body part.[33] That the blush is not a body part is reinforced by the exclusion of both it and the cheek (on which the blush of this thesis sits) in the index of David Hillman and Carla Mazzio's wide-ranging *The Body in Parts* – where the body parts studied include:

> Ankles, anus (fundament), arms, belly, bones, bowels, brain, breast, clitoris, coccyx, ears, elbows, entrails, eyebrow, eyes, face/facial expression, feet, fetus, fingernail, forehead, gall, genitals, gorge, hair, hands, head, heart, ilium, joints, kidneys, knees, labia, lips, liver, lungs, mouth, muscles, nerves, nipples, nose, penis, shoulder blade, shoulders, skeleton, spleen, stomach, teeth, thigh, throat, toe, tongue, uterus, vessels (veins and arteries), viscera, womb, wrist. [34]

What the blush is not, therefore, helps in a way to reveal its potential as the following work hopes to demonstrate. In order to do so it is necessary to produce an unusual method for a blush that is studied alongside aspects of material culture and stagecraft and this is explained in the section that follows.

iv. Methodology

The Blush Model that I have created for this thesis is underpinned by the idea of the blush having a 'free-floating tenor with potential' (a phrase that is used throughout the thesis) and was stimulated by the contents of a letter from the princess Elizabeth to her brother (King Edward 1) in 1549; here, the young woman has included her own portrait with the letter and she writes: 'For the face, I grant, I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present.'[35] The future Queen's words

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[33] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 23. Harris's purview includes materials that 'are not even things as such but blur the boundary between subject and object [such as] the actor's histrionic body.' See p. 19. Harris's earlier work on unusual materiality has also informed my thinking for this project on the blush. See Jonathan Gil Harris, 'Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Winter, 2001), pp. 479-491.

[34] David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds, *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997). The blood is listed separately, under products and functions. Individual essays from this work will be footnoted in the thesis, as appropriate.

[35] See Letter 17, 'Princess Elizabeth to King Edward I, with a present of her portrait, May 15, 1549' in Leah S.Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, eds., *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), Letter 17, pp. 35-36.

bring to the fore the bridging connection between the blush of the body and the blush of the mind, with the blush acting as a kind of pivot between body and mind but being neither totally of one nor of the other. Elizabeth could be stating here that she cannot control the appearance of her face: her mind, however – an intangible entity that cannot be seen - will cause her no feelings of awkwardness because her thoughts will be the correct ones. The phrase indicates that blushing provoked an early, personal interest for Elizabeth which is ironic when her later renown as a wearer of heavy white face-paint is taken into account (paint that would, of course, conceal a real blush). What the extract from the letter helps to embellish is the fact that the blush of the body is difficult to pin down exactly with regard to provenance, locus, and form – aspects that inform the Blush Model that in turn forms the bedrock of this thesis.

The locus for the blush of this thesis is the facial cheek. However, even here, there is no set region for a blush that will not be confined between set lines such as those provided by the bright circles of the pantomime dame's cheek. The blush's provenance helps to reinforce its mystery – a mystery that continues to be a major feature surrounding the subject of blushing.[36] As for the root of the tongue, it is impossible to say exactly from where the blush emanates as the blood that forms it travels from the body's mysterious depths to just below the skin's surface. Not knowing, however, is an important part of the blush's mystery, one reinforced by the fact that the blush is involuntary, unbidden and beyond the control of the self.[37]

In order to explain more accurately the dichotomy between a blush being ineffable (abstract) and yet fleetingly visible (concrete) I have turned to the classical

[36] [36] Crozier and de Jong note that 'we do not yet understand which specific processes are involved in blushing as opposed to the other forms of circulation-induced reddening of people's skin'; see *The Psychological Significance of the Blush*, pp. 4-5.

[37] For recent work on the unbidden blush, see Nora Martin Peterson, 'Signs of the Self: Involuntary Confessions of the Flesh in Early Modern Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Brown University, 2012).

rhetorical device, *hendiadys*, to help explain the blush of this thesis – a device that is addressed fully in George T. Wright's seminal essay, 'Hendiadys and *Hamlet*'.[38] Despite this work's title, Wright considers Shakespeare's broad use of the term in many of his plays and notes that the rhetorical figure refers to a 'one through two' – in other words, it is formed by the joining of two concepts into one yet strangely retaining a little of the essence of each individual concept.[39] Wright notes, too, that Shakespeare's use 'does not follow exactly Vergil's usual pattern [and that] the second [term] may unfold the first […] or the first the second.[40] In an example of usage not recorded by Wright, Shakespeare deploys the blush and *hendiadys* at a moment of crux when Hamlet admonishes his mother for her relationship with Claudius, Hamlet's uncle: this is: '[s]uch an act / That blurs the grace and blush of modesty / Calls virtue hypocrite, takes off the rose / From the fair forehead of an innocent love / And sets a blister there […] (3.4.39-43) – lines that serve to anticipate an unexpected joining of psychological kinship between Hamlet and Gertrude at the scene's end.[41] As can be seen, the device offers a double blurring: the blur mentioned by Hamlet himself, and the blurring *per se* between blushing and grace that is offered by *hendiadys*.[42] Shakespeare therefore uses the blush within *hendiadys* to express a moment of great importance to the play.

More recently, Margaret Healy in her work on Shakespeare and alchemy comments on the playwright's 'frequent use of connecting figures [such as] *hendiadys*

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[38] See George T. Wright, *Hendiadys* and Hamlet, *PMLA*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (1Mar., 1981), pp. 168-193.
[39] Wright, *Hendiadys*, p. 168.
[40] Wright, *Hendiadys*, p. 169.
[41] I suggest here that Shakespeare is subverting the proverb, 'Blushing is virtue's colour (is a sign of grace), that I discuss in Chapter One. See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950), B480, p. 71.
[42] Wright notes only that the 'grace and blush of modesty' means '(blushing) grace of a young woman'; see Appendix, 46., p187. It could be that Hamlet is admonishing his mother for acting like a young girl in love, even though in his mind she is too old to act in this way.

(where two nouns are fused to produce a mysterious unity) […]'[43] The mystery surrounding blushing is reinforced in material ways that in turn cannot be pinned down exactly with regard to provenance: for example, in *The Boke of Saint Albans*, the collective term 'a blush of boys' offers an apt description for a group of boys who may all perhaps be of an age when boys blush profusely, in adolescence, yet the material reality on which a term is founded to date remains obscure.[44] Finally, the offer of strange joinings presented by *hendiadys*, and associations with the mystery of alchemy, act as a reminder that the blush of this thesis is imagined and not seen. Catherine Richardson's work on material culture bolsters this point when she writes that some of the most wonderful images in Shakespeare are described and not seen or used as stage properties, as in *The Merchant of Venice* where 'Shylock's ring does not even make an appearance [but comes] into being in the audience's imagination through the discourses with which they were surrounded.'[45] In a similar way, John Pitcher notes for *The Winter's Tale* that in Antigonus's dream, the 'spectre of Hermione' is spoken in the text but not seen; in this way, '[b]y describing it but not showing it, he [Shakespeare] kept the spectre's secret'.[46] The blush of this thesis is the blush of the stage and has importance to dramaturgy although unseen. The image of

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[43] Margaret Healy, *Shakespeare, Alchemy and the Creative Imagination: The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 63.
I suggest that the blush offers a successful example of alchemy in that transformation is not achieved. The blusher returns to normal, just as base metal is never turned into gold, despite the attractiveness of the idea of permanent metamorphosis for such metals. For early work on this subject generally, see Linda. L. Carney, 'Alchemy in Selected Plays of Shakespeare' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Drake University, 1977).

[44] Dame Juliana Berners, *The Boke of Saint Albans by Dame Juliana Berners containing treatises on hawking, hunting, and cote armour*, printed at Saint Albans by the schoolmaster-printer in 1486, reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by William Blades (London: Elliot Stock, 1881), fiii^{v}. The work is attributed to Berners but its authorship remains a mystery. However, bearing in mind that the classical Adonis loves hunting and is generally depicted as a blushing boy, the presence of the phrase in a work concerned with hunting is, I suggest, apt.

[45] Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 37.

[46] See William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by John Pitcher (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), introduction, p. 5. In modern productions of *Hamlet* for example, the ghost is always more 'realistic' the less *real* it is depicted.

the blush is created in the mind's eye and prevailing discourses about blushing help to colour-in the picture for the spectators.

This, then, is the 'blush model' that can be applied as an exploratory tool for accessing a Shakespearean use of the word, pink (as a part of cloth ornamentation, as a flower, and as a stimulus for discussions on emergent colour), and for an aspect of affect (embarrassment) that may be likened to modern day feelings of awkwardness. The blush presents not only a lens through which to view other items of seemingly small value, but can offer a representative exploratory space that can help to situate other aspects of the thesis that come to light with regard to cloth-cutting techniques, early modern gardening, and an emotion that might be something between shame and despair.

A discourse of the between as method

The tripartite methodology in this thesis is also augmented by the work of Valerie Allen's, 'Waxing Red: Shame and the Body, Shame and the Soul'.[47] Allen's keywords – red and shame – might seem misplaced in a thesis concerned with pink and embarrassment. However, although Allen focuses on an earlier period (Medieval), it is her blurring of the lines between blushing and blood and shame that informs work particularly in Chapter One of the thesis. Allen argues that '[t]he metonymic relations between cause and effect – between shame and the blush – tacitly lies within *erubescere* (to redden out). After Eden, the naked body is a blushing body.'[48] The phrase used here – to redden out – suggests a dilution from an intense colour to a paler hue, offering the potential to think more flexibly about shades of red that can also be shades of pink. Most important for my work is Allen's

[47] Valerie Allen 'Waxing Red: Shame and the Body, Shame and the Soul', in *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), pp. 191-210.
[48] Allen, Waxing Red, p. 191.

note that 'shame … belongs to a discourse of the in-between [and] circulates, like the rush of blood that it is […]'[49] If a rush of blood is a blush, then it is the blush of blood and the emotion (here, shame) that can be placed in discussions of the between; and it is here that I place pink blushes of embarrassment as my mode of enquiry. Although I attempt to disentangle early modern shame from what we might imagine to be early modern embarrassment (before the word was coined in 1675, as I discuss in Chapter Five of this thesis), Allen's use of the word 'waxing' permits the continuum for the blush in that it offers movement and becoming. The blush like the moon is always in a state between moving forward as it reaches the cheek, moving backward in retreat, or at a point of stasis and buried somewhere deep within the body. Allen's terminology supports the blush in the midway. This approach colours the thesis as I seek relationships between the three concepts of body, colour, and emotion (blush-pink-embarrassment). Interrelationships are revealed between early modern cloth cutting techniques, botanical references, and colour terms that are all, when Shakespeare was writing his plays and poems at least, in certain states of flux and transience but can be viewed through the lens of blushing.

As will become clear elsewhere in this thesis, the Blush Model's offer of a free-floating tenor with potential is applied to both body and mind, to the decoration of cloth that conceals as it reveals, to flowers that are confused and conflated, of colours that blend into each other, and of an early modern passion (embarrassment) that might draw somewhat from established early modern passions. The approach taken is iterative but each chapter has been written so that something of the individual subject matter can be gleaned independently from others.

[49] Allen, Waxing Red, p. 198.

This study is bounded roughly by the years 1590 and 1613, which form the span of time between Shakespeare's first play, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1589-91) and his last with John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613). I assume this position because I want to provide a 'snapshot' of a particular period in time within cultural and material history and within the history of the early modern stage when the twenty-first century collocation 'blush-pink-embarrassment' did not mean what it does today. The aim of this thesis is to re-imagine the dramatic tools that Shakespeare had to hand, taking into account the works of others that may have been known to him and may have informed his writing. Therefore, to take one example, when talking about the body and the passions, I do not refer to Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* – a work that would normally be assumed as a 'given' for any scholar writing on the body and the emotions in this period. This is because Burton's work was published in 1621, five years after Shakespeare's death in 1616: we cannot always be certain how many years earlier works may have been circulating in manuscript form. But, for the sake of this study, Burton is too late.

v. The structure of the thesis

Chapter One, 'Only constant in inconstancy: the Shakespearean blush in the midway', serves the dual function of being a chapter in itself and the main introduction to this topic where I introduce the blush as having a free-floating tenor with potential. Using the character of Perdita from *The Winter's* Tale as a linking thread throughout the chapter, I focus on the relationship between the blush and the blood, heart, and soul, and consider how the blush sits within discourses of the mind-body continuum, especially with regard to control of the self. I offer the blush as a form of contained release in that the blush is made of blood that does not spill. I then analyse three plays in light of these findings: *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Love's Labour's Lost* by

Shakespeare, and *The Tragedy of Mariam* by Elizabeth Carey. I suggest overall that the relationship between the blush and the body and the skin, as understood within broad lines of humoral theory, corresponds with early modern cloth cutting-techniques that offer surface and sub-surface level ornamentation.

Chapter Two charts an enquiry into what pink meant for Shakespeare within the worlds of cloth cutting, cloth ornamentation and the fashion world. If the blush provides a native and unbidden form of ornamentation, then pinks seem to occupy a similar position within early modern fashion techniques, offering just enough ruffling of the surface to suggest inner alteration, but not letting an alternative coloured cloth through from beneath. Pinks, too, it transpires, have a role to play in the early modern quest for the mean or mid-way between ostentation and thrift. I turn to *The Taming of the Shrew*, where I demonstrate that the Blush Model's free-floating tenor with potential can be applied to the pinking techniques used in the play. Shakespeare's sole use of the word for what pink is not - unpinked - provides a point of stasis in the play and allows a reading of Katherine that negotiates the space between surface-level obedience and sub-surface emancipation. Turning to *Antony and Cleopatra*, I place the rhetorical phrase, pink-eyed, within a play where people do not see clearly, and where things already done are undone, in the motion of an embroiderer's needle.

Chapter Three turns to Shakespeare's use of pink in the guise of a flower that is named a Pink for reasons other than colour. I consider the Pink and the Carnation as being a 'one through two' concept in that these flowers were (and still are) conflated and confused, often with a third flower, the Gillyflower. Analysis of entries in one of the most popular herballs of the period will demonstrate that the virtues of the flower can be applied to the character of Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet* where the space

occupied by what I call the Pink for Flower scene marks a span of maturation for Romeo between juvenility and maturing.

Chapter Four turns to the subject of colour. I consider what it means to be neither red nor white and argue for early modern descriptions and perceptions of colour that fall between the lines of this colour spectrum. I show that although there is no named pink colour in Shakespeare, there *is* pink-colour in a play by John Marston. By associating Marston's play *What You Will* with Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, I suggest that both playwrights were writing at a similar time and were writing similarly on small objects of clothing that may illustrate a strange alchemy regarding the colour dyad, pink-yellow.

Finally, in Chapter Five, I take aspects of the thesis - particularly from Chapter Four - to present an "embarrassment model" that I apply to Shakespeare's tragedy, *Coriolanus* as a test case. I discuss evidence that finds embarrassment to be a lesser form of shame but argue that embarrassment can kill when misappropriated. This chapter, too, considers the missing blush and what this can mean for the opportunity of appeasement.

In the Conclusion I discuss how the Blush Model's free-floating tenor with potential has been applied to each of the five chapters. This will demonstrate that an unusual and challenging Methodology - that has at its core a twenty-first century collocation of blush-pink-embarrassment and a tripartite approach of body, colour, and embarrassment - can prove successful in offering a non-anachronistic reading of an earlier period, and open up a new window on to studies of the early modern body, textile culture, garden history, the history of colour and mind-body relations. I will discuss the impact that it is hoped the work may have for theatre practitioners and the fields of early modern material, emotional and dramatic culture, and suggest some

areas of potential future work brought to light by lacunae that have emerged in the process of writing the thesis but that are beyond its present scope.

Chapter One

Only constant in inconstancy: the Shakespearean blush in the midway[50]

> He tells her something
> That makes her blood look out. Good sooth, she is
> The queen of curds and cream
>
> (*The Winter's Tale*, 4.4.159-161)

Introduction

In this first chapter of this thesis, I present the blush as a representative agent of the midway position in life and in drama. The early modern period was particularly concerned with maintaining the Aristotelian mean or midway in all things whenever possible.[51] Much happens 'in the midway'. In Biblical terms, the tree of knowledge was the middle tree: eating its fruit marked mankind's disobedience and the loss of Edenic prelapsarian privilege. Adam and Eve were left with the burden of knowledge, which in turn leads to self-knowledge and the difficulty of negotiating and presenting the self – to oneself, and to others. In early modern terms, the 'mean' covered all areas of life: eating, drinking, dancing, ornament (in speech, in face-paints and in intimate relationships).

In the Introduction, I presented a Blush Model with the blush being located somewhere in the midway between mind and body, abstract and concrete, but possessing what I call 'a free-floating tenor', due to the impossibility of pinning down a blush exactly with regard to provenance and locus. I will consider how the involuntary blush might sit within an early modern period concerned with personal conduct and the self-fashioning that we have come to understand as important. I will

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[50] The phrase 'in the midway' is from Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. by Robert S. Miola (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 124, (2.1.15).
[51] For an example of the allegory of 'the Aristotelian doctrine of the golden mean', see Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene: Book II*, ed. by P. C. Bayley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; repr. 1978), p. 284, n.13.

consider too the blush's relationship with the blood, the heart and the soul/mind, and how this relationship affects those who blush in drama and those who do not. Stimulated by the epigraph that begins this thesis I will consider the blush as a small part with purpose that sits in the mid-way and operates in the space of the between. In the process, gender will be addressed implicitly in the way that gender issues colour the whole thesis. I will suggest that the blush is a party to societal attitudes towards modesty and authenticity and that, within a predominantly patriarchal society, the blush may be favoured towards men. As an involuntary sign beyond one's control, the blush is essentially virtuous, but its hermeneutic can be at the mercy of others.

Blushing, then, might be read as neutral by nature but can be coloured by the opinions of others. Like an illustration of a flower that is yet to be coloured in, the blush's story in its transitory moment must be worked out by some kind of audience, be it the self, the other or others, or the playwright who creates a blush at that particular moment in the drama. The blush in life is seen and not heard: the blush on the stage, and of interest to this thesis, is heard but not seen. How the blush is described informs how it is interpreted. But real life – or early modern life – also informs how the blush from the page is heard from the stage and received by the spectator. In this chapter, I place the blush within the discourses of body, colour-as-rhetoric and emotion-as-opinion, driven by conduct that is informed by early modern ideology and by early modern physiology. Although medicine was on the cusp of great change at this time, such a physiology was still underpinned by the ideas of Galen. As Erica Daigle observes:

> The preponderance of Galenism in Renaissance everyday life, in both high and low literature, and in common language is proof of the ideological bond between physiology and self perception, and the regular mention of the

> period's most comprehensive view of the human body indicates that it cannot be ignored when considering Renaissance notions of identity.[52]

Galenic theory was largely concerned with encouraging the individual to control the body and maintain balance and yet the blush is involuntary and beyond the control of reason and the self. Writing on the subject, Lynette Hunter and Peter Lichtenfels comment that '[p]erhaps one of the most precarious humoral effects is that of blushing'; their use of 'precarious' glosses the scene that they describe, that of Juliet at her window being grateful that the night is covering her blushes as she confesses her love for Romeo, to him.[53] Juliet says, '[t]hou knowest that the mask of night is on my face, / Else would a maiden blush bepaint my cheek / For that which thou hast heard me speak tonight'. (*Romeo and Juliet*, 2.1.127-129). The blush is precarious, then, because it is unpredictable and unreliable and can catch us off-guard and try as we might, we cannot control it. Without the comforting mask provided by night (and even though the night cannot be controlled by the self), the blusher is at the mercy of a type of war within their own body as they fight a losing battle in trying to control a blush that will not obey command. If the body were likened to a garment, a coat perhaps, then something of the coat's inner lining has been revealed against the will in the moment of the blush's flush of blood to the cheek.

Rhetorical colours by way of the blush's notional poetic colours of red and white are deployed to convey inner conflict in Shakespeare's history plays where cheek 'roses' trope an external war, the Wars of the Roses. In *3 Henry VI* (c. 1592), the Earl of Warwick is known as '[w]ind changing' because he has been unable to

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[52] Erica Nicole Daigle, 'Reconciling matter and spirit: the Galenic brain in early modern literature', (University of Iowa: 2009, unpublished thesis), p. 21.

[53] Lynette Hunter and Peter Lichtenfels, *Negotiating Shakespeare's Language in Romeo and Juliet: Reading Strategies from Criticism, Editing and the Theatre,* (Farnham and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2009), p. 141. The authors use this phrase when commenting on a scene that they term as 'embarrassing' – when Juliet, at her window, needs the night to cover her blush. I refer to this scene in my Introduction and Literature Review.

decide on his colours, on red or white.[54] In *Richard II* (*c.* 1597), York, fearful at brewing contention – the result of Bolingbroke's rising popularity and King Richard's decline – declares diplomatically that he will for now remain 'as neuter' (2.3.158). Blush colours are also used here as colours in the rhetorical sense: as pretexts by which to confirm allegiance. But the association with wars might well describe the blush within the early modern body that is instructed by society to somehow maintain the midway position between too much and too little, whilst being a party to a bodily phenomenon (blushing) that cannot be controlled by the self.

The word 'colour' in its rhetorical sense can act as a gateway to demonstrate interconnections between blushing, the skin, and the pinks of cloth cutting. Valerie Allen notes that '[b]y a metonymic shift, color [sic], meaning dye, comes also to refer to the cloth it colors, and thus returns us to the sense of the blush as a garment or covering.'[55] This Russian Doll effect blends the blush with colour and clothing and the skin. Blushes can be worn and provide their own cloth and colour. There is an early modern correlation between the delicate skin (the skin that reveals inner conflict via outward blushes) and the clothing worn on the skin that I address fully in Chapter Two (Pink for Cloth). However, it is useful to acknowledge here the association between pinks to the body and the pinks of cloth cuttng. Clothing should offer protection but Susan Vincent notes that it could be dangerous at this time because of remnants of plague that may have seeped into the fabric worn by a previous owner; such an occurrence is heightened by the fact that 'the texture of cloth and its openness – like the pores of skin' rendered apparel open to contamination.[56]

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[54] This play's alternative title, *Richard Duke of York (3 Henry VI)*, is used by Oxford Complete Second Edition, see p. 91.
[55] Allen, Waxing Red, p. 203.
[56] Susan J. Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2009), pp. 154-155. For recent work on the interrelationship between

Shakespeare's contemporary, Ben Jonson explores the interplay between inner and outer body in his satirical comedies, where he uses the word 'pink' not as a colour term, but in a way that suggests the body's vulnerability. In *Every Man in His Humour*, Jonson allows us to think of access to the inner body from the outside when Bobadilla, challenging Giuliano, says, '[…] by my hand I will pinck thy flesh full of holes with my rapier for this, I will by this good heauen: nay let him come, let him come, gentlemen, by the body of S. *George* ile not kill him' (3.4.153-156). Rather than a death threat, the suggestion here is that Giuliano will be peppered with small holes that will merely ruffle his surface and suggest something of what lies beneath.[57]

In *Every Man out of his Humour* (a play more concerned with how outside appearances/clothes affect the inner person), Carlo Buffone says of Fungoso, 'O, he lookt somwhat like a spunge in that pinckt yellow doublet […](II.III.114-15).[58] Here, a man resembles a sponge both in the pocked appearance of his doublet, and in the idea of the body being porous and semi-permeable, as experts on the period confirm.[59] The use of 'pink' in both plays suggests negotiation between the two states of being in and out: like the motion of a needle embroidering cloth, the plays by their titles, dates and interplay seem to suggest a one through two in the spirit of *hendiadys* that I introduced earlier. Shakespeare never uses the word 'pink' in this way: in his own 'humour' play from the same period, *Henry V* (*c.* 1598-99), Nim tells Pistol, '[…] I

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pinked skin and pinked clothing, see Joel Konrad, ' "Barbarous Gallants": Fashion, Morality, and the Marked Body in English Culture, 1590-1660', *Fashion Theory*, 15 (2015), 29-48.

[57] Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, in *Ben Jonson*. Vol. III. *A Tale of a Tub, The Case is Altered, Every Man in His Humour, Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 191-289, p. 251 (3.4.153-56); this version is from the 1598 quarto, published in 1601. Despite making many changes to his 1616 Folio text, this line is retained.

[58] Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, in *Ben Jonson*. Vol. III. *A Tale of a Tub, The Case is Altered, Every Man in His Humour,* ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, p. 403, p. 469 (II.III.14-15).

[59] These plays cause contention and debate regarding issues and words; in a recent edited version, the word 'yellow' has been subsumed into the word 'pinked' and is lost to time. Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Helen Ostovich 2001 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 177, (2.1.295-296).

will scour you with my rapier […] I would prick your guts a little' – a pricking anticipated a few lines earlier in the veiled bawdiness of the Hostess's comment about their gentlewomen lodgers that 'live honestly by the prick of their needles' (2.1.54-6; 33).[60] The humour here (in the comedic sense) veils an unease over the body's vulnerable surfaces with implements that can attack the body from outside in.

The blush, however, is not a party to this kind of problem, as the blush does not leave the skin's surface but resides beneath it, offering the potential for contained release in the moment. The blush's uniqueness in this way is encapsulated in my chapter title, 'only constant in inconstancy' – a line spoken by Mendoza in John Marston's *The Malcontent* (*c*. 1604) which might, at first reading, seem to have little to do with blushing, as Mendoza rails against women in general:

> Women? Nay, Furies; Nay, worse; for they tor-
> ment only the bad, but women good and bad. Damnation of
> mankind!
> […] Oh,
> that I could rail against these monsters in nature, models of
> hell, curse of the earth – women that dare attempt anything,
> and what they attempt they care not how they accomplish:
> without all premeditation or prevention, rash in asking, des-
> perate in working, impatient in suffering, extreme in desir-
> ing, slaves unto appetite, mistresses in dissembling, only
> constant in inconstancy, only perfect in counterfeiting.
> Their words are feigned, their eyes forged, their sighs
> dissembled, their looks counterfeit, their hair false, their
> given hopes deceitful, their very breath artificial. Their
> blood is their only god. Bad clothes and old age are only the
> devils they tremble at. [61]

Mendoza's lines, albeit hyperbolic for comedic effect, and grounded in the anti-cosmetic debates of the time, encapsulate a commonplace fear of women in early modern patriarchal society, including a fear of passionate blood. According to Gail

[60] The play is generally accepted as a 'humour' play particularly in light of Nim's repeated use of the phrase, 'that's the humour of it'. See e.g., (2.1.57).
[61] John Marston, *The Malcontent*, in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, eds. David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Eric Rasmussen (London: W. W. Norton, 2002), pp. 545-613, p. 566, (1.6.83-97).

Kern Paster, 'Galenic physiology proposed a body whose constituent fluids, all reducible to blood, were entirely fungible'.[62] This might understandably instil a certain awe and wonder. As Mark Breitenberg explains in *Anxious Masculinity*, fungible fluids were 'transformable from one to another [through] degrees and propensities of the same materials'.[63] Gendered physiological differences could simply be a matter of degree. Both men and women blush, and the blush should be gender-less, but it is possible to 'gender' anything in this period. Mendoza's not mentioning a blush in his diatribe is telling because he is talking about ornamentation in the manufactured sense and the blush's omission confirms its authenticity. It is impossible to manufacture a blush at will. What Mendoza's lines provide is a way to think of the blush as constant, in that it is a constant potential in the body (all human animals can blush, regardless of natural hue); however, it is inconstant in that the blush cannot be relied upon to blush on cue. As Brian Cummings observes, '[n]othing is more impossible than the calculated blush, as it were the crocodile blush'.[64]

Being constantly inconstant suggests a continuum - one that chimes with a pre-Cartesian moment when this relationship is more seamless than later in the seventeenth century. As Gail Kern Paster argues, 'there was no way conceptually or discursively to separate the psychological from the physiological' at this time.[65] The blush finds its way into conversations about the body because, although the blush is not a body part in the sense of, say, a heart – that can be excised and anatomised or, metaphorically worn on the sleeve – the blush needs a body as a vehicle for its fleeting chromatics. The individual's relationship with their own body and Christ's

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[62] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 9.
[63] Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 38.
[64] See Brian Cummings, 'Animal Passions' in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 26-50, p. 33.
[65] Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 12.

'body' is explained by Susan Zimmerman: '[t]he central doctrines of Christianity – the Incarnation, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection – all proceed[ed] from the concept of a God whose redemptive function [was] imbricated in a human body'.[66] Jonson's references to pinking the body suggest an interest in what lay just below the skin's surface, the locus for the blush that, too, sits just below the surface, in the skin's underlay (rather than on its surface).

Although early modern anatomists may have been making inroads into accessing the body's insides, it seems that most interest stayed at surface leve, or just below the surface. Jonathan Sawday reminds us in this light of the importance of the eyes and the ears as portals through which 'the soul was allowed to experience, however imperfectly, the outward world'.[67] Much then was still left to the imagination, or spoken only: as David Hillman argues, such conversations stretched to the mysterious inside of Christ's body, where his 'wounds, blood, heart, and bowels [would] become a near-obsessive topic of sermons, poems and visual representations'.[68] In the manner of a lobster that wears its skeleton (its inner workings) on the outside, the blush carries something of the body's insides on the outside: like the promise of a small tear in material that reveals an idea of what lies beneath, but does not tell the full story (as when the lining is the same colour as the overlaying cloth). This idea is rendered in a fusion between the body and fashion (each supporting the other) in the example of a woman's linen coif (a scarf for the

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[66] Susan Zimmerman, *The Early Modern Corpse and Shakespeare's Theatre* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 25.
[67] Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995; repr, 1996), p. 21, 35.

Kevin Quarmby discusses the medical term 'to tent' as used by Shakespeare and John Marston, and correspondences between tenting and blushing, in *The Disguised Ruler in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), see particularly pp. 141-146.
[68] David Hillman, 'Visceral Knowledge' in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 80-105, p. 85.

head) where decoration is provided by way of the very hair that peeps through the cuts in the cloth, allowing just enough surface alteration, and just enough natural underlay to be displayed; as Catherine Richardson comments, fastenings, edgings, and coverings formed the focus of the ornamentation in a way which problematized the act of concealing'.[69]

One aspect of this mysterious human body was, and remains, the handling of the passions (our 'emotions'). For Sawday, the early moden body was 'a mystery capable of acting with its own will, and according to a set of rules of which the subject […] had little or no knowledge.'[70] It could be that the early modern blush falls within the purview of this account. This might explain why the blush is discussed in treatises such as Thomas Wright's *The Passions of the Minde* (1601) that are chiefly concerned with conduct and correct behaviour – aspects of an individual's life that can be controlled by the self. Despite the fact that the blush is beyond self-control, Wright begins his treatise with a reference to blushing as a way to explain 'a naturall inclination to vertue and honesty […] in our people.'[71] Shakespeare's Macbeth (albeit of bad intentions) sums up the situation with regard to the passions when he asks, '[w]ho can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious, / Loyal and neutral in a moment? No man' – an overload of inner conflict that causes him to '[o]utrun the pauser, reason' (2.3.108-111). Reason offers a pause for recalibration, if we can be calm enough to hear its voice. But it is a difficult request – not for 'an absence of passion' but for 'a mean between the passionate and the indifferent'.[72] Here he seeks a midway between the human equivalent of a Niobe-type weeping stone and a stone devoid of

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[69] Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, p. 23 (with illustration).
[70] Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 35.
[71] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde (1601)*, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), Preface, A3^{v}.
[72] Cummings, 'Animal Passions' in *At the Borders of the Human*, p. 39.

all feeling.[73] There were books to help achieve this aim. Andrew Wear explains that '[i]n the early modern period keeping healthy was also a matter of paying attention to how one lived' [and that books regarding correct regimen] -

> [w]ere usually organised according to the 'six non-naturals', which some time after Galen came to provide the canonical categories around which advice on the preservation of health was based. These were (1) air, (2) food and drink, (3) sleep and waking, (4) movement and rest, (5) retention and evacuation including sexual activity, and (6) the passions of the soul or the emotions.[74]

Wear elucidates that the 'mysterious' term, the 'non-naturals', was not coined by Galen but appears in his wake. One of the six non-naturals listed above – the final entry – is for 'the passions of the soul or the emotions' – sometimes called the affections or the passions of the mind. It does not seem appropriate to think of blush as one of the passions *per se* because the blush occurs in the wake of an event that causes intense feeling; blushing is often the reaction to an event, rather than its cause. But it is arguable that at this time it was difficult to know where to place the blush: was blushing of the mind or of the body or of both? It seems that the best recourse at the time was to place potentially unruly passions within an explanatory web that could hope to harness them, as the entry for the Passions at number six in the extract from Wear, above, suggests. Michael C. Schoenfeldt finds that Galenic medicine could 'explain those fascinating conjunctions of physiology and psychology that are blushing and blanching'.[75] This conjunction (with its alchemical undertones) is also a moment of disjunction that registers the quake and the wake of emotional turmoil and helps to resolve it in some way. In her extensive work on Galenic humoral theory, Noga Arikha observes that:

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[73] For the *Niobe* myth and transformation to stone, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, translated by David Raeburn with an Introduction by Denis Feeny (Penguin: London, 2004), Book 6, pp. 217-225.
[74] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 156.
[75] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, p. 6.

> [t]he basic humoural model revealed how the sight of a beautiful maiden could trigger desire, induce a rush of blood in the veins, and increase the heartbeat, or how the excessive ingestion of wine resulted in a wobbly step and an altered mood.[76]

It is a blush of blood that registers this rush of desire from an increased heartbeat and the change of mood that is caused by attraction. I now turn to some of the ways in which the blush was imagined to find its way to the face that it graces, beginning with the blood, then moving to the heart, and finally focusing on the cheek that the blush feeds, in order to discuss the role of conduct and the other. I use as a linking motif lines from *The Winter's Tale*, one of Shakespeare's later plays, to show that the blush continued to be useful for him, in an episode where a young woman's blood looks out of her face, while other faces look at her.

1.1. Just enough blood to make a blush

Valerie Allen's 'Waxing Red' associates the blush with the blood and places both within 'a discourse of the in-between' – a discourse that highlights the synonymous relationship between blood and blush. Her term 'waxing' offers the idea of continuum in the blush's native ability to register the gradations of feeling, in the moment. [77] A blood-blush is key to an episode in the late middle-section of Shakespeare's late romance, *The Winter's Tale* (*c*. 1609-10), as the scene shifts from the oppressive court to the clear air of the country and a moment of pastoral otium as Camillo and Polixenes observe a couple in love. It is what is happening to the young woman's face that draws their attention and causes Camillo to declare that, '[h]e tells her something

[76]Noga Arikha, *Passions and the Tempers: A History of the Humours* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008), p. xix.
[77] Valerie Allen, 'Waxing Red', pp. 191-210, p. 198. As mentioned in my Introduction, Allen's subject is medieval shame at a time when the word 'embarrassment' had not yet been coined.

/ That makes her blood look out. Good sooth, she is / The queen of curds and cream' (4.4.159-161).

Early modern writing shows an interest in the motion of peeping in and peeping out. John Donne's personified sun in *The Sun Rising* peeps through the lovers' window like a nosy neighbour. [78] The sun looks in for reasons that are clear but we are never told exactly what the *something* is that Florizel says that makes Perdita's blood-blush peer out sub-surface of its own accord. It is the words that are important here. A boy player of the age to play Perdita may well have shared a maid's beauty of the type that I suggest inspired the collective phrase, 'a blush of boys', for which provenance is uncertain.[79]

Shakespeare's boy players could not have blushed on cue and would probably have worn face paint on stage. What, then, did Shakespeare wish us to think? It could be a blush of burgeoning desire for Florizel, or her blood could act as a foil for making the double-whiteness of her face more acute.[80] For Theresea M. Krier, 'to observe the rising blood in the face is to observe the most deeply internal being made external and visible against the will [and represents] an opening up of interior identity'.[81] What is key for my argument here is that the blush is blood that does not spill; it is not external, but rests sub-surface, as a fleeting physiological underlay, providing chromatic marbling that conceals as it reveals, all in the moment. Noga

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[78] John Donne, 'The Sun Rising' in *John Donne: The Major Works*, ed. by John Carey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 92. This episode in *The Winter's Tale* may have influenced Donne's 'eloquent blood' in his Second Anniversary. I am grateful to Professor John Carey for our correspondence on this subject.For more on Donne's use of blush/blood, see Michael Schoenfeldt, 'Eloquent Blood and Deliberative Bodied: The Physiology of Metaphysical Poetry', in *Renaissance Transformations: The Making of English Writing (15---1650)*, ed. by Margaret Healy and Thomas Healy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 145-160.

[79] Please see Introduction for 'Dame Julianna Berners' and the blush of boys.

[80] I am grateful to Professor Helen Cooper for our discussion on this topic.

[81] Theresa M. Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights: Spenser, Classical Imitation, and the Decorums of Vision* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 168. Although there is no 'blush' in the title of this work it a fine rescourse for the types of blushes used in early modern imaginative writing and inherited by Shakepeare and his contemporaries.

Arikha observes that 'secretions are, precisely secret' – we do not really want to know what happens beneath the skin's surface.[82] It is in this way that the blush is able to hold the blood at a safe level where it cannot spill, unless the outer shell, the skin, is punctured in some way. The blood is physiologically gender-less, but Gail Kern Paster shows in her chapter on 'laudable [praiseworthy] blood' that the blood is gendered in the early modern period by 'the possibility of shedding it at will, where:

> [t]he male subject can regard such bloodshed therapeutically, as purgative, and can thus define it as enhancing rather than endangering somatic integrity and bodily solubility' [and where] 'the finest female blood was [considered] less pure, less refined, less perfect than the finest male blood [and therefore] more inclined to corruption.'[83]

If the blush of blood is gender-less (both men and women blush) it could be here that female responsibility over the extent of their blushes emerges. Perdita's blood looks out, but should not look out in too brazen a fashion. Inside the body, the vessels that carry blood are the same, regardless of gender, although a different hierarchy applies. As Paster explains, '[t]he presence of vital spirits gave arteries a clear privilege over veins with their load of humors and natural spirits [and it] was thought arteries lay deeper than veins to protect the special blood'.[84] Shakespeare seems to suggest arterial privilege over sluggish veins in *The Tempest*. Ariel the sprite's very name conjures images of air, aerial motion, and freedom, and yet he is enslaved and is sent repeatedly to the 'veins o'th'earth' to do Prospero's magical business; Caliban's basic human needs are revealed when he interrupts a diatribe from his master Prospero with, 'I must eat my dinner' (1.2.256, 333). Ironically, he uses a wide range of diction that suggests lively and keen learning rather than slow and sluggish reasoning, as his descriptions of the 'nimble marmoset', 'clust'ring filberts', and 'seamews' that he will bring to his new master, Stefano (3.1.169-70).

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[82] Arikha, *Passions and the Tempers*, p. 19.
[83] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, pp. 97, 79. For more on menstrual blood as wasteful, see p. 80.
[84] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 72.

As Paster explains, 'blood was thought not to circulate continuously into and out of the heart and lungs but to ebb and flow within a canalized body'.[85] Can the up/down motion suggested by canal structures help to explain how blood reached the cheek so that it could look out on Perdita's behalf? Shakespeare was a little too early for William Harvey's proof that blood circulated through the heart and to the rest of the body.[86] However, he suggests a similar movement in *Julius Caesar* (*c.* 1599) when Portia tells an emotionally distant Brutus that she does not want to be relegated to 'the suburbs' of his affections, and he replies that she is as 'dear as are the ruddy drops / That visit [his] sad (serious) heart (2.1.284-89).[87]

Later, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c.* 1613) Emilia is midway between maid and married, a state she describes as 'bride-habited' but 'maiden-hearted'; she is at Diana's altar. Seeking guidance on whom she should marry, she invokes the goddess's role as the chief of 'female knights' (her band of chaste women) for whom Diana allows 'no more blood than will make a blush / Which is their order's robe' (5.2.14-15, 4-6). This suggests that a metaphorical cloak of a pale-rosy tinted hue might be the correct colour gradation of a blush for a maid in Emilia's position as a woman on the verge of marriage, yet still a maiden. For Portia, a married woman, associative drops may be ruddier, rosier (still not a lusty red). A dialogue is therefore suggested between the heart and the blush and the blood that makes it, but how can we enter into this conversation?

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[85] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 78.
[86] For more on the subject, see Andrew Gregory, *Harvey's Heart: The discovery of blood circulation* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 2001), p. 152.
[87] These lines have caused speculation that Shakespeare knew something of the blood's circulation before William Harvey's published proof in 1628. It is possible that educated men would have frequented the same public places (alehouses, for example) and quite possibly pieces of information may have been overheard in this way. However, most educated men knew that the heart was responsible for producing vital spirit, which in turn meant spirituous/arterial blood. For a still valid overview of the body's workings at this time, see Patrick Cruttwell, 'Physiology and Psychology in Shakespeare's age', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan., 1951), pp. 75-89.

1.2. Just enough knowledge between the blush and the heart

For the authors of *Negotiating Shakespeare's Language*:

> Blushing as a physiological response is full of ambiguity. For the Renaissance as for today, the person who blushes knows just enough to recognize and anticipate a point of potential transgression, but not enough to have become inured to its risk. Blushing may be a sign of experience or corruption and innocence at the same time.[88]

Something in the moment forces the blood from the depths of the body to the sub-surface of the skin on Perdita's cheek, to break into its white surface like a chromatic intruder. Her knowledge as to why – possibly unbeknownst to her, due to the blush's fleeting nature – seems to have been understood as a whisper or nod from the heart.

Early modern opinions on the bodily loci for individual passions were still in flux, but the heart is key in all accounts. Fay Bound Alberti finds that 'emotions' (early modern passions) 'were grounded or concretized in the physical body and – more specifically – in the organ of the heart [and that this] is crucial to any understanding of early modern emotion physiology, for, while the brain was the seat of reason, the heart was the site of emotion or passion'.[89] I suggest that the blush's position, imagined as being in the midst of things, must have presented an ability to carry an admixture of feelings generated by the body that then settle on the cheek – in gradations, according to the level of the passion felt by the subject.

From his earliest dramatic works, Shakespeare shows an interest in the blood that breaks into (but not through) the cheek's surface. In *Titus Andronicus* (*c.* 1592–1594) Aaron praises his own dark skin because it is *not* a 'treacherous hue [white], that will betray with blushing / The close enacts and counsels of [the] heart' (4.2.115-

[88] Hunter and Lichtenfels, *Negotiating Shakespeare's Language*, p. 141.
[89] Fay Bound Alberti, *Matters of the Heart: History, Medicine and Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 20. There is often confusion when writing about the early modern emotions as to whether the singular 'passion' or the plural 'passions' should be used.

117).[90] Like a boss assigning important work to a secretary or transcription editor, the heart entrusts the blood-blush, with important work – a trust built on, I suggest, the fact that the blush is blood that does not spill. As Noga Arikha asserted, secretions should remain secret.[91] But if just a little knowledge or information is required to be registered on the cheek at a moment's notice, then the blush is the right agent for the job, holding just enough of the heart's personal data.

In *The Comedy of Errors* (*c.* 1594), the blush's motion on the face comes into play when Adriana, anxious that her husband is losing interest in her (in fact, the wrong identical twin is Adriana's focus at this point in Shakespeare's complicated drama of reversible images), asks of Lucia, '[l]ooked he red or pale, or sad or merrily? / What observation mad'st thou in this case / Of his heart's meteors tilting in his face? (4.2.4-6). Meteors – stars that may be falling up or down – provide an idea of vertical movement as the blush travels from heart to face. A sign of wonder due to their place in the mysterious cosmos, meteors could also be harbingers of doom, as for Salisbury who sees Richard's 'glory, like a shooting star, / Fall to the base early from the firmament' – a reminder that the blush so imagined is a neutral sign; a sign of virtue (by way of its being one of the body's native signs) but open to question in the view of others.[92] Horizontal movement on the face is invoked by the tilt in an evocation of the former medieval chivalry.

In her work on Shakespeare's acquaintance with the language of early modern medicine, Sujata Iyengar explains that:

> Strong emotions or perturbations might also affect the heart. Joy, delight, generosity, and bravery expanded the heart so that it could consume more nutritive blood (containing natural spirit), and generate more pure blood (containing vital spirit). Fear, sorrow, hatred, and pusillanimity shrunk the heart and reduced its supply of vital blood. Sighs, words, and expressions of

[90] Please see the Introduction for a caveat regarding the 'privilege' of white skin at this time.
[91] Noga Arikha, *Passions and the Tempers*, p. 19.
[92] See *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, (2.3.18-20).

> emotions consumed the heart's supply of vital blood, and yet it was necessary to express emotion lest the heart become […] overfull of blood and break or crack its heart-strings.[93]

Shakespeare's understanding of pure blood (and hence, blood full of vital spirit, that must be informed by the heart's ability to make its drops ruby red) seems clear in *As You Like It* (*c*. 1599-1600) when Celia calls on the 'safety of a pure blush' (1.2.27). The notion of 'pure' here suggests the blush's authenticity although it is of course true that the heart might not always reveal the truth to its blood that becomes a blush (hence, those who do not blush at the right moment, or for whom a blush is absent – an aspect I will address in my analysis of *The Tragedy of Mariam* later in this chapter).

Paster offers an example of blood that does not spill when she notes that '[b]lood is not usually classified among the body's excreta' because 'unlike urine or sweat, it is supposed to remain contained within the body' but she is still talking of blood that has the capacity to spill (via bloodletting to control plethora or in noble fighting).[94] The blush of blood might then be considered a type of good plethora; an instance of bloody overload as it appears, but which, in fact, offers a moment's contained release for the body. How the blush is called forth is still a mystery at this time; one that could not apply to David Hillman's note of an early modern desire to open up the body of the other and access its secrets.[95] A dissection of the body to locate the blush's locus in this way would be a fruitless exercise. It must then be aligned with an organ that is open to exploration, real or imaginary, and this, for the

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[93] See Sujata Iyenger, *Shakespeare's Medical Language: A Dictionary* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 160.
[94] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 64.
[95] Hillman, 'Visceral Knowledge' in *The Body in Parts*, p. 84. It is possible that blushing is aligned with the flipside of blushing, paleness, in early modern treatises on melancholy – despite the blush not being an 'illness' *per se*: it is possible that blushing is aligned with the flipside of blushing, paleness, in early modern treatises on melancholy – despite the blush not being an 'illness' *per se*: see for example, Jacques Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness: Jacques Ferrand*, trans, ed. and with a critical introduction and notes by Donald A. Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), and especially 'The cause of paleness in lovers', pp. 274-275.

blush, is the heart. A final way to access Shakespeare's knowledge of the blush via its relation to the heart is found in an example of what the blush is not when Warwick is describing Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester's face, just after death:

> See how the blood is settled in his face.
> Oft have I seen a timely-parted ghost
> Of ashy semblance, meagre, pale, and bloodless,
> Being all descended to the labouring heart;
> Who, in the conflict that it holds with death,
> Attracts the same for abidance 'gainst the enemy;
> Which, with the heart, there cools, and ne'er returneth
> To blush and beautify the cheek again (*2H6*, 3.2.160-167)[96]

Here, the dying heart on the cusp of death has a fleeting premonition when it meets the ghostly spirit that its subject will soon become. The blood in the face is already solid – the opposite of a fleeting blush that registers life and passion. The heart gives in and dies and the blush with it. But in reverse, it can be seen that the living heart sees the blush as its spiritual messenger – one that answers its call for just enough blood in the face as and when the heart desires it should be so.[97] Once in the face of the living subject, the question remains: what message is being given in the moment, and is there any way that the subject can control it?

1.3. Almost enough: the blush of blood on the cheek

When Camillo and Polixenes discuss Perdita's cheek, they are more interested in the blood that peeps than the *something* that caused it. The locus for the blush's final resting place that is the focus of this thesis – the cheek – was considered a special

[96] There are echoes of Timothie Bright's account of blushing here and it is plausible that the volume may have been available to Shakespeare. See Timothie Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, Reproduced from the 1586 Edition Printed by Thomas Vautrollier, with an Introduction by Hardin Craig (New York: Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press, 1940), Chapter XXIX, 'The causes of blushing and bashfulnesse, and why melancholicke persons are given thereunto', pp. 166 – 173.

[97] It is of note that a dying person can indeed blush when close to death, as if the heart is striving to beautify the cheek one last time, and I speculate that Shakespeare may have seen such an event in order to describe these strange reversals of blood to and from the face.

region from a physiological perspective.[98] There is something a little dangerous about the cheek's blush as a locus for the heart's secrets on the face, because we cannot see our own blushes: Eve Kosofsky Segwick presents a similar picture for those parts of the body that 'are not under one's own ocular control'.[99] Blushing is a social activity, in that others read the message in the blush and can form their own opinions. In her early work on the handkerchief spotted with strawberries in Shakespeare's *Othello*, Lynda Boose offers a 'technique of visual reduction' to explain the symbolism embedded in this piece of cloth's provenance and current meaning for the play.[100] This useful phrase helps to describe the message that is embedded in a cheek once the blush of blood reaches its sub-surface. The difference being, of course, that the message inscribed into material remains fixed (although its meaning may be re-inscribed over time in the form of a material palimpsest), but the message on the cheek is momentary and, like the message of Heracles that we can never stand in the same river twice, the exact same blush will never come again. Evidence suggests that we cannot fashion a blush, except by external ornament such as paints, or material props such as a fan or – for a man –a beard.[101]

Sujata Iyengar finds that '[w]omen's faces functioned as cultural signposts, so if women could not be seen to blush, they could no longer serve as examples to others'; the idea of face-paints is couched in the notion of not being able to see

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[98] Deborah Ross notes: 'The face is the only part of your body where the muscles are directly attached to the skin, precisely so that we can express ourselves. There is some evidence that the less we can express ourselves facially, the less we can actually feel, and the less we can empathise', see The Feminist Facelift?', *The Times Magazine*, 3.7.2010, p. 47.

[99] Quoted in Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 147. There may be an early modern anxiety concerning cheeks in general, including those 'other' cheeks associated with the 'ass' mentioned in this quotation, that is, the buttocks. Menenius alludes to a topsy-turvy scatology in *Coriolanus* when describing himself as a 'humorous patritician […] one that converses more with / the buttock of the night than with the forehead of the morning' (2.1.46-52).

[100] See Lynda E. Boose, 'Othello's Handkerchief: "The Recognizance and Pledge of Love"', *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 5, (1975), pp. 360-374, p. 363.

[101] This topic is beyond the scope of this thesis but is ripe for future work. I am grateful to Marguerite Mabel Cobbett Butler for calling my attention to this important point.

women blush and will be addressed shortly in my account of *Love's Labour's Lost*. But Iyengar also notes that 'pale cheeks' were associated with 'chaste femininity.[102] Despite the fact that blushes are involuntary, unbidden, and cannot be controlled by the self, certain lines in plays seem to imply an onus on the blusher to control their blushes in some way. This notion might be gleaned from Henry's veiled charge of autonomy for the blush when he tells Catherine to '[p]ut off your maiden blushes' – as if blushes in this guise were as easy to pick up and put down as for a stage property (*HV*. 5.2.232-233). The blush, of course, is not a stage property. It is an involuntary bodily phenomenon. But the tension between a native bodily sign and what we can control does stir interest at this time. In *Richard III*, the blush assumes a slightly different role, as a third party player that gives embodiment and colour to the abstract notion of conscience. Here, men seemingly of tempers that are suitable for the job in hand have been assigned to kill Clarence on the King's behalf and, as Mendoza railed against women earlier in this chapter, The Second Murderer rails against conscience.

> I'll not meddle with it. It makes a man
> a coward. A man cannot steal but it accuseth him. A
> man cannot swear but it checks him. A man cannot
> lie with his neighbour's wife but it detects him. 'Tis a
> blushing, shamefaced spirit, that mutinies in a man's
> bosom. It fills a man full of obstacles (1.4.131-136).

Here, even a man's mysterious insides are party to the blush's power – the power of a blush that represents the abstract notion of conscience and therefore cannot be seen physically. Rather than being looked on from the outside, the blush becomes an internal questioning audience. I will be considering the duality of shamefastness (being fast from shame, like a dye that will not run) in my final chapter on early modern 'embarrassment' and the blush. For now, the question of male agency can be

[102] Iyengar, *Shakespeare's Medical Language*, pp. 56-57.

raised. Lodowick Bryskett's *A Discourse of Civil Life* is based on the commonplace notion that 'vertue is in the mids betweene two extremes': however, this notion puzzles Captain Norreis, one of the eager audience to Bryskett's lengthy discourse, who asks that they be told 'whether that meane you speak of, wherein vertue sits, be so equally in the midst, as the extremes which be vicious be alike distant from the same or no': the answer to this complicated question is that if passions could be considered by way of arithmetic, they would be 'in the iust middest', but because they are geometrically considered, they can be slightly off centre.[103]

In a similar way to Valerie Allen's reading shame-blood as one (and hence including the blush by way of its incorporation in, and synonymous relationship with, blood), Bryskett's early modern account aligns the blush with shamefastness, which, in turn, serves temperance; but because temperance is such a difficult passion to manage, one helper is not enough and shamefastness is joined by honesty, abstinence, continency, mansuetude [mildness] and modesty – all of which apply to both men and women, but particularly women, within the topos of modesty.[104] What is a man to do if he feels himself about to blush? Bryskett's reply seems to put the ball into the male's court by suggesting that he deploy his reason so that 'in all his actions and behauior he taketh great heed that he commit not any thing whereby he may haue cause to die his cheeke with the purple blush; but euermore deserue of all men praise and commendation'; however, 'shamefastnesse or blushing seeme to be a certain still confession of a fault, yet it carieth with it such a grace, as passeth not without commendation, specially in youth'.[105] This account suggests a certain amount of agency, yet freedom, for male blushers. They have a male duty to avoid

[103] Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civil Life: Containing the Ethic part of Moral Philosophy*, 1606 (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), p. 210, Dd4^{r}.
[104] Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civil Life*, p. 223, Ff3^{r}.
[105] Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civil Life*, p. 238, Hh2^{v} – Hh3$^{r.}$

'embarrassing' situations but, at the same time, if they blush, their blush is purple, a colour associated with heraldry where colours are fixed and unmixed and do not bleed into each other. [106] There is no 'pink colour' in heraldry, for example. Is this the same situation for women? When Helena in *All's Well That Ends Well* (*c*. 1606-7) is directed by the king to publicly choose a husband (as a gift for her having cured his mysterious 'fistula'), she calls on Diana (2.3.75) to confirm her allegiance to that band of maidens. But she has to over-stress her maidenhood:

> I am a simple maid, and therein wealthiest
> That I protest I simply am a maid. –
> Please it your majesty, I have done already.
> The blushes in my cheeks thus whisper me:
> 'We blush that thou shoudst choose; but, be refused,
> Let the white death sit on thy cheek for ever,
> We'll ne'er come there again' (2.3.67-73)

It is interesting that Helena's blush must 'whisper', rather than shout, as if to confirm that maids should blush, but only to a certain level (a task as impossible as that of Tuccia in the early modern commonplace idea of her holding water in a sieve to prove her chastity); but it is interesting, too, that of all the blushes in Shakespeare, it is only Helena's blushes that are given the privilege of direct speech.[107] The blush in life is visible and silent yet unruly on the face: it will not stay between the lines. The blush in drama is invisible and vocal yet contained within the play's lines as spoken by the actor. How might the idea of the blush of blood offer moments of contained release on the early modern stage? Is the blush gendered in favour of men? I attempt to

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[106] For heraldic colours, see C. W. Scott-Giles, *Shakespeare's Heraldry* (London: J. M. Dent, 1950), p. 203. For bold colours versus gradation, see Philip Ball, *Bright Earth: The Invention of Colour* (London: Viking, 2001), p. 20. Thomas Tuke does appear to censure purple when he aligns painted with 'that *Mother of harlots*, araied in purple and scarlet': purple was associated with Roman Catholicism before the extinction of the Murex snail (used for purple dye) necessitated a switch to scarlet. However, Tuke's treatise is largely directed at women. His treatise was published in 1616 which is beyond the date range for this thesis but the anti-cosmetic debate was well-established during Shakespeare's lifetime. See Thomas Tuke, *A Treatise Against* Painting *and Tincturing of Men and Women* (London: 1616), pp. 8, 9.

[107] It is of course possible that punctuation has been added later.

answer these questions in readings of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Love's Labour's Lost* by Shakespeare. In order to glean an idea of the early modern blush from a female perspective, I turn finally to *The Tragedy of Mariam* by Elizabeth Carey.

1.4. Just enough of a blushing proverb in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

Blushing is virtue's colour (is a sign of grace)[108]

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* the idea of a 'real' blush is contained within the quotidian nature of a proverb that in turn offers contained relief, and release, at the play's end. Moreover, Shakespeare has the confidence to use just half the proverb, quoted above. The proverb's provenance is uncertain but may have had ancient classical antecedents. Anecdotes suggest that Diogenes the Cynic, on seeing a male youth blushing, commented, 'Take courage, that's the hue of virtue.'[109] By his very name, Diogenes was known for his cynicism – a quality that does not come to mind when thinking about the native truth that a blush represents: but, as I have been arguing, the message of the blush lies in the mind's eye of the beholder.

Why might Shakespeare choose to end this play on a blush? It is a play that is concerned with maintaining the midway from the outset as best friends Valentine and Proteus debate the merits of movement over stasis. Valentine has not yet experienced love and seeks the excitement of peregrination. Proteus, who is in love with Julia, wants to stay in Verona. This debate foregrounds the difficulty of balancing carnal desire with reason - a struggle rehearsed by reference to Hero and Leander, 'one of the staples of romantic mythology', with Leander drowning half way across the

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[108] Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950), B480, p. 71.
[109] See *Diogenes the Cynic: Sayings and Anecdotes with other Popular Moralists*, a new translation by Robin Hard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Chapter X, p. 62.

Hellespont before reaching Hero.[110] Proteus's character has received much critical censure. His name, of course, suggests the shape-shifting of his classical antecedent, but Proteus begins the play in a mature state of mean. This is revealed as Julia and her maid debate the merits of Julia's various admirers. Julia finds Proteus passive but Lucetta reads him differently, noting '[f]ire that's closest kept burns most of all': for her, Proteus is not passive, but admirable as the lord and owner of his own face (1.3.30). Proteus's equipoise is only thwarted when, rather than revealing the now burgeoning romance between him and Julia to his enquiring father, he is forced into joining Valentine in Milan. That Proteus loses his self-balance now is understandable. The role of lover that was unique to him and scorned by Valentine is now usurped in Valentine's infatuation with Silvia, whose perfection is such that Proteus's Julia 'shall be dignified with this high honour, / To bear my lady's train [from the] base earth', rendering Julia plebeian by comparison (2.4.155-137). Proteus too fears losing his friend to love, a theme that will be repeated in *Romeo and Juliet*'s relationship between Mercutio and Romeo, that I discuss in Chapter three.

As Alan Bray explains, the distinction was 'sharp and clearly marked' between male friendship that was 'expressed in orderly "civil" relations' and 'sodomitical' friendships, viewed as 'subversive'.[111] For Montaigne, this type of love is beyond a woman's reason for Montaigne because they are 'not normally capable of responding to such familiarity and mutual confidence as sustain that holy bond of friendship, nor do their souls seem firm enough to withstand the clasp of a knot so lasting and so tightly drawn'; but for men, 'souls are mingled and confounded in so universal a blending that they efface the seam which joins them together so that it

[110] William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by William C. Carroll (London: Thomson, 2004, repr. 2007), p. 138, n.21.
[111] Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 186.

cannot be found.'[112] Damage to this invisible 'seam' leaves Proteus 'reasonless, to reason' and he now pursues Silvia for himself (2.4.196). Julia begins the play unbalanced and at the mercy of passions unmediated by reason. This is evident in her fevered response to Proteus's letter before his departure for Milan – a letter that is eschewed, demanded, desired, torn-up, lamented, and desired again. Lacking a 'pauser', she blames Lucetta with: [w]hat fool is she, that knows I am a maid / And would not force the letter to my view, / Since maids in modesty say 'No' to that / Which they would have the profferer construe Ay' (1.2.43-46). In other words, as a woman too, regardless of rank, Lucetta should show allegiance to the maids' code of acceptably passive behaviour. Blushes occur in Act Five as characters converge in the forest - a typical liminal locus in Shakespearean drama where civility and incivility meet and find resolution. The moment of this resolution is unsettling, as Proteus moves from words to action:

> Nay, if the gentle spirit of moving words
> Can no way change you to a milder form
> I'll woo you like a soldier, at arm's end,
> And love you 'gainst the nature of love: force ye.
> […]
> (*assailing her*) I'll force thee yield to my desire. (5.4.55-59)

Proteus's lapse is not exactly sudden but is the result of cumulative passions over a short space of time that overload the body. He has lost sight of the midway and metaphorically splits his seams. [113] His attempted assault on Silvia is, fortuitously, softened by the mention of a blush. In response to Proteus's actions, Julia swoons. This is a necessary dramatic device to facilitate her revelation as a girl still dressed in

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[112] Michel de Montaigne, *On Friendship*, trans. by M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 6-7, 9.
[113] Margaret Healy shows that sudden reversals of behaviour would have been more understandable for early modern playgoers. See 'Bodily Regimen and Fear of the Beast: Plausibility' in Renaissance Domestic Tragedy', in *At the Borders of the Human*, pp. 51-73, p. 53.
Jeri Johnson notes that '[t]he classical Proteus could change shape with ease. It was difficult to catch him. See James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, repr. 1998), p. 782.

the page's attire she adopted to follow Proteus to Milan. As Valentine steps in to help in response to her fainting he urges the 'boy' to look up – a request that invites a pause to consider another instance of 'looking up' expressed in Thomas Tuke's *A Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women* (1616) that, in its focus on artificial colouring of the body, is useful also for making the gendering of the natural, non-painted blush clear.[114] Curiously, Tuke's text introduces asterisks at key moments in his account of blushing. Tuke uses four of these in his long treatise – three of which qualify his use of others' words, which are printed in italics. The fourth asterisk marks Tuke's own rhetorical question:

> How shall they looke vp to God with a face, which he doth not owne? How can they begge pardon, when their sinne cleaues vnto their faces, and *when they are not able for to blush?[115]

Uniquely, no corresponding marginal note qualifies this asterisk and it placement and meaning are ambiguous. Tuke advises, as above, that only those whose faces are unpainted may look upwards. Women, of course, were not allowed to perform on the early modern stage until after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Boys playing 'women' were likely to be of an age when blushes in reality are plentiful and uncontrollable and 'in standing water between boy and man' as Malvolio observes of Viola when cross-dressed as Cesario in *Twelfth Night* (*circa*. 1602). This liminal stage for one 'not old enough for a man, nor young / enough for a boy' is revived in *The Winter's Tale* as Polixenes, nostalgic for the lost days of his youth with Leontes, recalls the pair as '[t]wo lads that thought there was no more behind / But such a day

[114] Although this treatise's publication date is too late for Shakespeare to have seen it, Tuke's work can be placed in long-standing anti-cosmetic debate and discourse. Annette Drew-Bear notes that 'as early as the fourth century B.C., the Stoics denounced the use of cosmetics by both men and women, but the early Church fathers addressed their anti-adornment rhetoric primarily to women.' See Drew-Bear, *Painted Faces*, p. 20.
[115] Tuke, *A Treatise*, p. 18.

tomorrow as today, / And to be boy eternal'.[116] (1.2.64-66). Julia's fainting is generally attributed to her shock at Proteus's move towards Silvia but her real perturbations, I suggest, are based on the self-knowledge that she has been brazen in fashioning herself as a man. She tells Proteus that *he* should blush at the 'immodest raiment' she has been forced to wear, but her semi-metamorphosis is self-induced: she decided to travel before being even aware of her rival, Silvia's, existence. The text does not reveal if Proteus is meant to blush at this point – but it is at this point that he returns to an acceptable shape. His admission 'were man / But constant, he were perfect' acknowledges that men, like blushes, are only constant in inconstancy, too (5.4.100-110).

The final blush in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* Blushing is virtue's colour (is a sign of grace). The Duke, Silvia's father, had banished Valentine to the forest as punishment for his attempted elopement with Silvia: now, with all past issues resolved, he agrees to their forthcoming marriage, and the following verbal exchange occurs:

> Valentine: And as we walk along, I dare be bold
> With our discourse to make your grace to smile.
> What think you of this page, my lord?
>
> Duke: I think the boy hath grace in him. He blushes.
>
> Valentine: I warrant you, my lord, more grace than boy.
>
> Duke: What mean you by that saying? (5.4.160-165)

Valentine's bringing the Duke's attention to the 'page', Julia, could be simply an in-joke for spectators, affording them the opportunity to possess inside knowledge over and above a Duke's: they, with Valentine, know that 'Julia' is a girl (a boy, in reality) playing a boy. Earlier in the play and before departing for Milan in search of Proteus -

[116] See *Twelfth Night* (1.5.151-156); and *The Winter's Tale*, (1.2.64-66).

Julia answered Lucetta's query about the preferred style for male breeches with the remark, '[t]hat fits as well as 'Tell me, good my lord, / What compass will you wear your farthingale?'(2.6.50-51). In other words, clothing presents a clear demarcation between the sexes, where the notion of a woman wearing trousers is as alien to her, as the idea of discussing a skirt would be for a man. The Duke was not a party to Julia's revelation as a girl a few moments earlier and equates grace with blushing boys.[117] Valentine's expression 'more grace than boy' provokes the Duke's reply '[w]hat mean you by that saying?' and we share his confusion because Valentine seems to be saying that a woman who blushes has more grace than a blushing man. This, in turn implies a privilege for women's blushes.

The ending of this play is usually concerned with Proteus' apparent move to 'rape' Silvia and Valentine's swift forgiveness of his friend. But the dramatic blush allows other aspects to be brought into play. It is notable that the Duke and Valentine are in motion – walking along – when Julia's blush is observed and discussed. Men may travel freely at this time but women were not – and yet Julia, does. Her blushes permit an associative idea of motion that would be normally denied her gender. She can criticise Proteus for his motion in leaving her and moving towards another woman by demanding a blush of him and, whether he blushes or not, her point has been made. In turn, her noted blush shifts the play's focus from 'rape' and allows it to end, instead, with the idea that all is fleeting and nothing is set in stone. The present tense of the Duke's 'he blushes' is a reminder that life's only constancy is that nothing is constant, in fact. Proteus's surprising acknowledgement of male inconstancy - 'if man were only constant, he were perfect' – turns the tables on Mendoza's comment that

[117] There is of course a problem in that Julia has already revealed herself to be a girl, presumably by letting down her hair. Julia's attire does not mention a cap, but this would be a way to circumvent the problem for a modern production: her hair, let down for Proteus and having done its job, could now be replaced to aid the dramatic tension of the Duke's confusion.

began this chapter, that it is women who are 'only constant in inconstancy'. That men recognise their inconstant natures – an inconstancy that can be troped by the uncontrollable blush – is reason, I suggest, for an ideologically gendered need to place the masculine blush within the realm of reason. Blushes, however, can be slippery concepts to pin down and cause trouble when applied to the dry rhetoric of reason, as I now explore in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

1.5. The war of red and white and the reason of white and red in *Love's Labour's Lost*

> […] as it was truly sayd, that *Rubor est virtutis color*, though sometime it come from vice.[118]

In a footnote that is easy to miss, Philip Brockbank notes for *Coriolanus* (a play I discuss in Chapter Five) that the phrase, 'the war of white and red' is a 'lyrical commonplace'.[119] Shakespeare's late Elizabethan comedy, *Love's Labour's Lost* (*circa*. 1598) uses the blush's poetic colours, white and red, for a philosophical debate on reason that is ultimately concerned with the dangers of women who blush and the men who cannot resist them.[120] The play begins with King Ferdinand of Navarre expressing his desire for eternal fame both for him and for his court - a fame to be achieved through the forming of 'a little academe, / Still and contemplative in living art'.

That this challenge represents a mean between the contemplative life of religious seclusion and the civil life rests in Ferdinand's phrase 'in living art'. The men will live with the philosophical arts but must deploy reason to regulate how

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[118] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, edited with introduction, notes and commentary by Michael Kiernan (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 16.
[119] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Coriolanus*, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series (London and New York: Methuen, 1976; repr. 2005), (II.1), n. 214-216.
[120] For rhyme and reason as proverbial, see William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen (London: Methuen Drama, 1998), p. 173.

much they eat, drink, sleep, and study. Ferdinand instructs Biron, Dumaine, and Longueville to be 'brave conquerors' in the 'war against [their] own affections / And the huge army of the world's desires' (1.1.1-14). This verbal agreement now requires the ratification of signatures - a pause that allows Biron to voice his reasoned view that these demands on 'things not natural' are 'barren tasks too hard to keep: / Not to see ladies, study, fast, not sleep': here, his use of 'not' before 'sleep' interrupts the line's metre so that form reflects the jarring effects that Biron anticipates from this situation (1.1.47-48). Turning his argument to the importance of elemental balance, he reasons that '[a]t Christmas I no more desire a rose / Than wish a snow in May's new-fangled shows, / But like of each thing that in season grows' but, conceding the importance of keeping his word, he signs the agreement (1.1.105-106). The exclusion of women from this academic world confirms the men's anxiety about the unreasoned behaviour that such 'unreasonable creatures', as Bryskett would have it, might instil in them.[121] In a moment that marks contemporary misogynistic attitudes it is women who will be punished by the cutting out of *their* tongues should a man err in conversing with them, and despite female exclusion from the court.[122] That women's presence is never far from the surface, however, is clear when Ferdinand is reminded of the pre-arranged and now imminent visit of the Princess of France and her ladies who, Ferdinand decrees with a final stab at male control, must be entertained in his grounds, beyond the academe's boundaries.

Meanwhile, some levity from this barren life is anticipated in the due arrival to court of Don Adriano de Armado (a Spanish Knight) who, it is hoped, will entertain the sad troupe with his ability to combine new phrases with archaic hyperbole.

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[121] Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civil Life*, p. 197, Cc2^{r}. It is not clear to which 'creatures' Bryskett refers here. He could simply mean non-human animals.

[122] For a discussion on the tongue as an 'unruly' member, see Carla Mazzio's seminal essay, 'Sins of the Tongue' in *The Body in Parts*, pp. 52-79, p. 54.

However, this levity is not borne out in the melancholic impression Armado gives in his letter, recently penned and delivered by Costard the Clown, that Ferdinand now reads aloud to the group. It transpires that Armado, 'besieged with a sable-coloured melancholy' had ventured into the king's grounds in the hope of assuaging his 'black-oppressing humour' with the 'most wholesome physic' promised by its 'health-giving air'. This admirable display of Galenism in practice, where '[a]bout the sixth hour' is the opportune time of day for such an excursion, is muted by Armado's further noting that this is also the hour 'when beasts most graze [and] birds best peck': birds and beasts are harbingers for the bestial act now facing Armado - that of the aforementioned Costard and Jacquenetta (a country girl) apparently *in flagrante*. This act of moral lapse is embellished by Armado's description of finding the pair 'north-north-east by east from the west corner of [the King's] knotted garden' – a geographic precision that evokes lines from Psalm 103 where the distance between east and west represents the span of God's protection for his people against transgression – parodied here in Armado's span 'east from the west' where transgression has indeed taken place. Shakespeare's 'knotted' suggests, too, the breaking of Jaquenetta's virgin knot – a point of concern for Armado's view of her as 'immaculate', which I will address shortly (1.2.227-243).

That this act of transgression incurs punishment is a reminder that the king's ban on wine, women, and song includes the whole court from king to clown, and including the visiting Armado. His interrupted attempt at elemental balance and the shock at what he has witnessed explains our meeting Armado in the next scene, out of the mean, and in a state of high passion – one that is not lost on his little page, Mote, whose schadenfreude in launching into witty rhetorical banter at this moment exasperates his master and provokes Armado's response, 'I do say thou art quick in

answers. Thou heatest my blood' (1.2.29-30). Regretful of his commitment to Ferdinand's academy, Armado is comforted by wordplay from Mote that sees the duration of three years reduced to two words. The temporal reduction and balance afforded in 'two words' rather than three provoke Armado's balanced reasoning that a base soldier should, in turn, love a base wench (1.2.56-57). However, his being at the mercy of his passions is evident in the suddenness of his equating his own persona, base just a moment ago, to other 'great' men brought low by love. On hearing of Samson's beloved (the implied but un-named Delilah), Armado enquires of her humoral complexion. Mote's reply, '[o]f all the four, or the three, or the two, or one of the four' implies a jadedness with humoral overuse, a sense already apparent when Sidney's Astrophil, suspecting Stella's lovesickness for him has been misdiagnosed, likens her physicians to 'Galen's adoptive sons, who by a beaten way / Their judgments hackney on.'[123] Mote's settling on 'seawater-green' as the best complexion, a colour suggesting greensickness, the condition marking a maid as virginal and yearning for sex, is an ironic analogy, considering that neither Delilah nor Jacquenetta (the object of Armado's passion) provide virginal exempla. However, the idea of two words and two chromatic shades (seawater and green) are launch pads for Armado's outburst that '[m]y love is immaculate white and red' – an ideal notion of spotlessness that is tempered by Armado's reply that '[m]ost maculate [spotted] thoughts' are 'masked under such colours'. It is a response that, in turn, introduces Mote's 'dangerous rhyme […] against the reason of white and red':

> If she be made of white and red
> Her faults will ne're be known,
> For blushing cheeks by faults are bred
> And fears by pale white shown.
> Then if she fear or be to blame,

[123] See *Astrophil and Stella*, in *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works, including Astrophil and Stella*, Oxford World's Classics, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, repr. 2002), pp. 153-211, p. 102, p. 207, 9-10.

> By this you shall not know;
> For still her cheeks possess the same
> Which native she doth owe. (1.2.95-103)

At face value, Mote's rhyme presents a critique of face-painting over the authenticity of blushing. But, when the lines are spoken, a homonym on 'made' (as in artificial) and 'maid' (a virginal young woman) reveals an alternative hermeneutic where the unbidden blush presents, what Raymond Tallis calls, 'a living rouge' that brings its 'warm physicality' [blood] to just below the 'skin's surface.'[124] If a woman is 'made' of 'white and red', then her blush, although artificially placed, is fixed in place by paints. It is controlled, and we need not think about the blood that may be ebbing and flowing beneath the paint's fixed surface. If she is a 'maid' of 'white and red', however, her cheek may be read as a site of potential transgression because she cannot control her blush and neither can she control the objective interpretation of others. A woman's cheek is thus reduced to a chromatic synecdoche using the constitutional colours that make an unruly blush. That Armado and Mote move on swiftly from this 'dangerous rhyme' may suggest their subject matter as trivial banter: but it could equally imply that thinking of women as troped by the cheek's chromatics was an engrained viewpoint. That this scene tends to be cut from productions today suggests, in turn, its distance from modern ways of thinking about women.

This talk of colours that were 'traditionally associated with love and desire' may have stimulated Armado to admit that 'I do love that country girl that I took in the park / with the rational hind Costard.' As the transgressing couple is now brought before Armado, we learn of the King's decree that Costard will remain under Armado's watch and, in a fortuitous outcome of events, Jacquenetta will be employed as a dairywoman in the king's grounds and, therefore, within Armado's touch during

[124] Tallis, *The Kingdom of Infinite Space*, p. 118.

his three year stay at court (2.3.110-124). Now face-to-face with the woman he desires – a real flesh and blood woman, rather than a chromatic synecdoche - Armado's own blood begins its journey from depth to surface and he blushes. His ensuing confession, 'I do betray myself with blushing' is sometimes marked as an aside, which forges an intimate bond between his character and the spectators who share in his confession about his body's uncontrolled passions.[125] Alternatively, when his admission is spoken to Jacquenetta, we enjoy the representation of intimacy between a man and a woman that is stimulated by a blush of passion, unmediated by rational thought, and cherry-topped by their monosyllabic responses: his 'maid' - to her 'man' (1.2.125-126).

It must be remembered that Mote argues *against* the reason of white and red. These colours are imbued with 'reason' only when placed safely within the bounds of male rhetoric: but they can work against a man's ability to keep his head, causing a boundless 'living rouge' to appear on *his* face – one that seems acceptable and endearing (if feminising) as for Armado. The temporality of 'three years' may be reduced to the semantics of 'two words', as Mote suggests; but a woman, in reality, cannot be contained within the two-word synecdoche - 'white and red' - and her danger lies therein. Moreover, a woman has privilege in that she can be 'made [up]' with paints, allowing her maid's blushes to ebb and flow freely underneath and unseen. I suggest that men, jealous of this privilege, need to make tasks of women's

[125] The line is not noted as an aside in The Oxford complete, second edition (the control text for this thesis) (1.2.125-126) but is written as an aside the Arden edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, edited. by Henry Woudhuysen, see p. 138. For recent work on unbidden blushes, see Nora Martin Peterson, 'Signs of the Self: Involuntary Confessions of the Flesh in Early Modern Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Brown University, 2012).
In performance, we might imagine Armado turning to the audience and covering one cheek to indicate that the other cheek is blushing. This way of indicating a blushing cheek can be seen on the jacket cover of a work on blushing, where a stone statue (that cannot blush) has one cheek covered with the hand; two hands, I suggest, would mean shock or surprise or horror, where one cheek covered suggests the blush. See W. Ray Crozier, *Blushing and the Social Emotions: The Self Unmasked* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), hardback copy.

privileges (meagre as they are at this time) so that both a woman 'made' and a woman *as* a maid become problems to be addressed. Having considered how a woman's cheek of white and red can cause a man to blush and lose his reason, I end this chapter by turning away from Shakespeare to a woman writer - a contemporary of Shakespeare's, and the first woman to write a play in English - in order to consider how a female cheek, one that may or may not blush, both reveals the lack of reason in a man and ultimately condemns the woman to death.

1.6. The absent blush in *The Tragedy of Mariam*

Elizabeth Carey's *The Tragedy of Mariam: Fair Queen of Jewry* (1613) begins with the protagonist's prophetic observation that '[o]ne object yields both grief and joy' (1.i.10).[126] One such object is a cheek – Mariam's – that may or may not blush. My two previous dramatic studies focused on men attempting to control women. In *Mariam*, a play written by a woman, women seek to control other women, and Carey creates tension from the outset in this regard by introducing her key female characters in incremental stages: Mariam, alone in scene one, is joined by her mother, Alexandra, in scene two, and both are joined by Herod's sister, Salome, in scene three. The play's characters act boldly in the mistaken belief that the said Herod, their tyrant ruler and Mariam's husband, is dead. The Chorus's opening '[w]ere Herod now perchance to live again […]' hints at what they do not know until act four (1.vi.149). Meanwhile, Salome, uses this emboldened culture as reason to accuse Mariam of brazen behaviour, as in her charge '[y]ou durst not thus have given your tongue the rein, / If noble Herod still remained in life' (1.iii.13-14). Salome's rage is merely another manifestation of her pathological jealousy over Mariam's beauty and status.

[126] All quotations are from Elizabeth Cary, *The Tragedy of Mariam: The Fair Queen of Jewry,* New Mermaids, ed. by Karen Britland (London: Methuen, 2010). Henceforth, Britland, *Mariam*, and reference.

Doris, Herod's first wife, felt similarly towards her usurper, as we learn in her chagrin that 'Mariam's fairer cheek [did] rob from mine all the glory' (II.iii.9-10).

The cheek, then, is already problematic *before* Alexandra's parting jibe, intended for Salome, '[c]ome, Mariam, let us go. It is no boot / To let the head contend against the foot' that begins the chain of events leading to Mariam's death (1.iii.53-54). Peter Stallybrass reveals an early modern importance for feet where 'power is marked not by [their absence] but by their presence': using the example of Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine making 'his enemies his footstool', he notes that 'although at the base of the body [feet] are crucial to it.' Stallybrass concedes that 'the complex interplay and transformations [of class and gender] undo any simple equation of woman to the subordinated foot'.[127] Yet, Salome's response seems simple enough. Another woman has likened her to a base body part - the foot - that now 'walks' across the page and into the next scene's first line, with '[l]ives Salome to get so base a style / As foot to the proud Mariam?' (1.iv.1-2). Salome finds respite in the words of her new love, Silicus, who praises her foot in his call, 'Arabia […] Now shall thy ground be trod by beauty's queen: / Her foot is destined to depress thy brow' (1.v.21-24). Despite her foot's elevation, there is still the question of the cheek. This body part returns to view in Salome's husband's charge of her inconstancy, couched in his rhetorical 'I blush for you, that have your blushing lost' (1.vi.3-4).

Salome's 'lost' blush in turn brings the blush (and the cheek on which it *should* sit) back into focus as she meets her returning brother in Act Four, where Herod's keenness to see his wife is a piquing reminder of Mariam's elevated status. However, instead of the welcome Herod expected, Mariam upbraids him for the atrocities he instigated *in absentia*, including the murders of her brother and

[127] Peter Stallybrass, 'Footnotes' in *The Body in Parts*, pp. 312-325, pp. 314-316.

grandfather, claiming 'I cannot frame disguise, nor never taught / My face a look dissenting from my thought' – a claim of ownership for her face that will be cruelly subtended in what is to come (IV.iii.58-59). Now, believing wholesale Salome's fiction of an affair between Mariam and a servant, Herod concedes that '[a] beauteous body hides a loathsome soul' (IV.iv.20-21). The blush region of the face had the potential at this time to be described as something of exquisite beauty, as in Robert Greene's description in *Menaphon* where cheeks are:

> […] like ripened lilies steeped in wine,
> Or fair pomegranate kernels washed in milk,
> Or snow-white threads in nets of crimson silk,
> Or gorgeous clouds upon the sun's decline.[128]

For Herod however, Mariam is now closed and unknowable yet knowingly imagined to be - a '[f]oul pith contained in the fairest rind' (IV.iv.31-32) - an image that echoes Shakespeare's earlier *Much Ado About Nothing* where the innocent Hero is described as a 'rotten orange' to Claudio's charge of inconstancy (4.1.32). With Mariam thus accused and out of the scene, an exchange now occurs between Herod and Salome that has long baffled critics of the play. In order to offer a reading that takes into account questions of constancy within a gendered framework:

> Herod: But have you seen her cheek?
>
> Salome: A thousand times.
>
> Herod: But did you mark it, too?
>
> Salome: Ay very well.
>
> Herod: What is't?

[128] Robert Greene, *Menaphon, Camillas alarum to slumbering Euphues, in his melancholie Cell at Silexedra Wherein are deciphered the variable effects of Fortune, the wonders of Loue, the triumphes of inconstant Time. Displaying in Sundrie conceipted passions (figured in a continuate Historie) the Trophees that Vertue carrieth triumphant, maugre the wrath of Enuie, or the resolution of Fortune. A worke worthie the youngest eares for pleasure, or the grauest censures for principles. Robertus Greene Artibus magister* (London: Printed by T. O. for Sampson Clarke, and are to be sold behinde the Royall Exchange. 1589., pp. 1-71, Sig. $I2^{r}$ – $I3^{r}$.

> Salome: A crimson bush that ever limes / The soul whose foresight doth not much excel.
>
> Herod: Send word she shall not die. Her cheek a bush? / Nay then, I see indeed you mark't it not.
>
> Salome: 'Tis very fair, but yet will never blush / Though foul dishonours do her forehead blot.
>
> Herod: Then let her die. 'Tis very true indeed, / And for this fault alone shall Mariam bleed. (IV.iii.42-54)

Salome's answer to Herod's opening question fosters an ambiguity that we have come to expect for the early modern cheek and upsets Herod's equilibrium from the outset. Her 'thousand [times]' could render Mariam's cheek (one that she hates for its degree and beauty) as plebeian, but could also hint at the myriad times that Mariam has been inconstant with other men. Needing more information, Herod asks if Salome has *really* looked at ('marked') Mariam's cheek. The word 'mark', of course, means 'notice' but wordplay conjures a physical mark that anticipates the mark on the cheek made by a blush. However, such a mark is perhaps too ethereal at this point and to make her argument more concrete, Salome chooses a near-homonym for blush – 'bush'. She combines 'bush' with 'lime' to mimic the commonplace of bushes covered with a sticky substance to entrap birds - a usage often extended to women as in *Much Ado* where Beatrice's gulling (by Hero and her women) into thinking Benedick loves her, results in Ursula's aside, '[s]he's limed, I warrant you. We have caught her, madam' (3.1.104)[129] Salome changes the gender of liming to suggest those men who, lacking in reason, are lured by Mariam's trap of a blushing (crimson) cheek that attracts lust like a magnet.

Another interpretation presents itself if 'bush' [meant as 'blush'] and 'lime'

[129] For Diane Purkiss, the 'bush' is 'crimson because painted' with 'sticky lime to catch birds' but '[t]he comparison is awkward, to say the least.' See *Three Tragedies by Renaissance Women*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Diane Purkiss (London: Penguin, 1998), referring to IV.7.n.45.

are associated with the materials of painting. The same ingredients could be used for the whitewashing of walls and of faces.[130] Both practices 'ever lime' in masking what lies beneath: for church walls, the obliteration of pre-Reformation Roman Catholic imagery; for faces, a blush's 'living rouge'. Both present the constant threat of underlay breaking through the surface and a corollary is possible if male society feared unbounded female blushing as I suggested in my 'maid/maid' argument for *Love's Labour's Lost*. Blushing baffles men: the Duke's confusion over the blushing Julia's displaying 'more grace than boy' in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* may be recalled here as Herod, puzzled by the nonsensical coupling of 'crimson' and 'bush' ('[h]er cheek a bush?'), declares that Mariam can live.[131] That Mariam can live because her cheek is *not* a blushing bush underscores the cheek's importance as a synecdoche for a woman's constancy: yet it can also be a site of inconstancy because of the ambiguity placed on the cheek by its blush. This dual messaging is seen in Sujata Iyengar's note that women's blushing cheeks were 'cultural signposts', and therefore should not be covered; yet - pale, non-blushing cheeks signified 'chaste femininity'.[132]

Salome must secure her argument and now posits the associative 'fair' and 'blush', but in the negative construct that Mariam's cheek will 'never blush': she will be constantly inconstant in being able to control the blushes on her face by naturally concealing them – something that men attempt to achieve by placing the blush within the 'affections of the mind' in 'things not natural' but could hardly be expected of an 'unreasonable creature.' Salome is able to make this gendered association, I suggest,

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[130] Michael Wood notes that limewash was used 'to desecrate the town [Stratford's] religious images' including the whitewashing of medieval paintings. See *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC Worldwide, 2003), p. 71.
[131] For modern readers of the text, it is difficult not to read 'bush' as blush: we need Herod's '[h]er cheek a bush?' as a reminder that the blush has not yet been mentioned.
[132] Sujata Iyengar, *Shakespeare's Medical Language*, pp. 56-57.

because she has presented Mariam as being a traitor to her own sex, with the ability to be 'birdlime' for men.

Salome's talk of 'blush' returns us to blood; and because the endemically inconstant nature of a blush renders the blood of which it is comprised as inconstant, Herod needs to force constancy upon it. He must balance the blush's troublesome blood that lies inaccessibly just below the skin's surface, with blood that he can see, as for purged blood captured in a saucer – an exchange sealed in his '[t]hen let her die […] for this fault alone shall Mariam bleed'. Patricia Phillippy's reading that Mariam's cheek 'contains at once an entrapping bush and a deceitful blush' is an accurate summation of this extract but suggests a continuous hermeneutic, one that for Herod needs to be split into 'bush' and 'blush' in order to reach his final decision.[133] He is caught by Salome's 'birdlime', stuck between wanting to save Mariam because her cheek, as a bush, cannot blush, then condemning that cheek for the very blushing that it might somehow be able to conceal. Nicholas Royle cogently observes that 'to see what is not there […] is also a sort of blindness, a blindness to seeing what *is* there' and it must be remembered that Mariam's 'transgressing' cheek is spoken of, but never seen.[134]

I argued earlier for the cheek's unclear inclusion in the blazon, as in Sidney's 'Queen Virtue's Court' where 'endured' cheeks are locked within parenthesis. The Petrarchan trope, as Karen Britland reminds us, 'praised a woman's parts (her lips, her brow, her hair)' - all in the one sonnet - 'without providing an overarching sense of a whole person.'[135] Mariam's 'cheek' seems more akin to the sixteenth-century French vogue, *les blasons anatomiques*, explored by Nancy J. Vickers in her work on

[133] See Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women: cosmetics, canvases, and early modern culture* (Baltiimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 177.
[134] See Nicholas Royle, *How to Read Shakespeare* (London: Granta, 2005), p. 72. Royle is commenting on *Othello*, here.
[135] Britland, *Mariam*, p. xvi.

Clément Marot, the genre's founder. Here, focus on one body part (for Marot, the breast) 'ruptured synecdoche by reducing a woman to [that] single part' - a practice that could both 'incite idolatrous worship' and the writing of counter-blazons, with the same part praised and condemned in separate sonnets. Marot's successors chose, for example, hair, eyebrow, eye, tear, ear, mouth, hand, thigh, and – in an unusual definition of a body part – the mind.[136] The cheek is notable here by its absence. But Carey makes amends in *Mariam* with a cheek that becomes a composite locus for praise and condemnation, encapsulated in Mariam's foresight that '[o]ne object yields both grief and joy' (1.i.10). It is suggested that 'Mariam' is an amalgam of 'Mary of the New Testament and Miriam of the Old Testament.'[137] This titular blending suggests a 'mean' for Mariam that is not borne out by her treatment in the play. Blood can be a levelling fluid: everyone bleeds when pricked, as Shylock knows in *The Merchant of Venice* (3.1.59-60). But Mariam is beheaded because of the blood on her cheek.

Blood can be unfairly gendered when associated with the blush. This is clear in Mariam's conceding that 'death can pale as well a cheek of roses / As a cheek less bright': both cheeks – bright or not – belong to women (IV.viii.5-6). The blushing cheeks I have considered before have been written by a male playwright: had Carey's play been publicly performed, rather than a closet drama, her 'Mariam' in 1613 would have been a boy on an all-male stage. Carey brings us as close as possible to how a woman might have experienced her cheek - one that, in a play where women are against women, the cheek is crushed beneath a usurping foot.

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[136] See Nancy J. Vickers, 'Members Only', in *The Body in Parts*, pp. 3-5. Vickers notes that Marot focused on the breast and his successors followed with nine body parts: hair, eyebrow, eye, tear, ear, mouth, hand, thigh, and the mind. See p. 18.
[137] Britland, *Mariam*, p. 5.

Conclusion

What has been learned from the blood on Perdita's face? The blush is constantly inconstant in that it is involuntary and its motion is fleeting. The blush operates in the midway, not just through its physiological (mysterious) locus that forms an imaginative, representative seam between the early modern continuum of mind and body; but as a messenger to and from the heart, as a registrar of the heart's death, and as a representative of the mind-soul in a form of visual reduction on the cheek. It is only a glimpse – but the story that is couched in the cheek is party to the opinions of others. At a time of fashioning the self the blush presents a platform for thinking about how the self cannot ultimately be fashioned by involuntary actions. The blush offers a dramatic form of contained relief and release in its grace that ends *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Gender norms are upheld and the play has only been a semi-metamorphosis. Boys do not become maids just because they play them. Shakespeare's apparent confidence that his audience will understand the meaning in just half a proverb's length suggests in turn an implicit understanding of the audience for which he writes – everyday men and women in the playhouse who, too, are a party to their own blushes. The blush is put to a different kind of use in *Love's Labour's Lost*: contained safely within the colours of rhetoric, the war of red and white/reason of white and red can keep the blush's unruly colours within imagined lines of demarcation: but they are lines that are not possible in the play's reality when Armado's lust for Jacquenetta is clear for all to see. Rather than feeling betrayed, however, his blush gives him a noble quality and anticipates his relationship with a flesh and blood woman rather than the dry talk of reasoned synecdoche. In *The Tragedy of Mariam*, the chance for a blush of appeasement is lost. The visual reduction that Herod imagines is one of Salome's invention and Moth's 'dangerous'

rhyme proves that danger can lie in the very thing that makes a blush so beautiful: its unstable and truthful hermeneutic.

Diana's robe in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* - one that allows 'no more blood than will make a blush' – forges an exploratory alliance between the blood that is worn on the face and the materials that clothe the body (but not the face) (5.2.14-15, 4-6). The blush considered in the midway but just beneath the surface of things opens up an exploration into Shakespeare's understanding of pink as small cuts of cloth-ornamentation that, like the blush, negotiate an interplay between visible ruffling and inner depths.

Chapter Two

Pink for cloth: apertures and unravelling in Shakespearean drama

Introduction

Lent anne nockes vpon A dublett of white
Canvas pincked & Read butenes for […]
Henslowe's Diary, [1594] [138]

The flesshe lieth bytwene the bone and the skynne lyke a mattresse of cotton.'
Horman's *Vulgaria* [1519][139]

The word pink appears in Richard Mulcaster's *The first part of the Elementary* (1582), a dictionary containing 'usual' words and intended as a pedagogical guide for improving one's usage of the English language.[140] Although spelling was yet to be standardised, it is still surprising to the see the word pink spelled in a way that is familiar to us. *Henslowe's Diary* records four different spellings - pyncket, pynckte, pynked, pyncked - within just a few pages.[141] If pink is a usual word, what might it have meant for Shakespeare had he opened Mulcaster's dictionary at this page? The above quotation from theatre-owner Philip Henslowe's diary provides one meaning, as the doublet in question is one covered with tiny decorative cuts ("pinks"); this piece of clothing also has red-coloured buttons. In this thesis, I am arguing that the twenty-first-century collocation, blush-pink-embarrassment, would have been understood differently when Shakespeare was writing his plays. Having considered the blush in Chapter One, it is now logical to move onto the colour pink. However, Shakespeare's play-texts show that he used the word as a cloth-cutting term and a

[138] Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961; repr. 2002), p. 257. Henceforth, *Henslowe's Diary* and page number.
[139] *Vulgaria*, p. 43.
[140] Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the Elementary, 1582* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1970). It should be noted that none of Mulcaster's entries have a gloss. The work is intended for children.
[141] See *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 317, 321, 322, and 323. These pages are from Appendix 2, 'Playhouse Inventories Now Lost' (pp. 316-324). R. A. Foakes notes that the pages went astray and are not included in the main diary but he found '…no reason to doubt that the lists were genuine, and were probably, if the spelling is a guide, in Henslowe's hand.' See p. 316.

flower called a Pink (but not named by that colour term, as I address in Chapter Three). In this chapter, I consider what the pinks of cloth-cutting may have meant for Shakespeare via their presence in his plays.

The action 'to pink' (1486) refers to cutting, piercing or punching eyelet holes into material or leather, especially, according to the *OED*, 'to display a contrasting lining or undergarment'. [142] As I will argue, there is evidence to suggest that the small apertures created by pinking revealed an *idea* only of that which lay beneath and not the contrasting colour or lining itself. The noun 'a pink' (1512) is defined as a 'decorative hole or eyelet punched in a garment' that later (1601) includes the name for the stabbing movement of a pointed weapon such as a dagger.[143] The word seems to have Dutch origins, via the name of a small boat (1471) and a small fish (1478).[144] It is possible that these uses have mercantile connections deriving from the influx of Flemish cloth-workers to England in this period. Therefore, although in 1582 the word pink could have had several meanings for Robert Mulcaster, for Shakespeare the main focus is on the floral plant and on cuts to cloth.[145]

This chapter is informed by the work of Bruce R. Smith and Jonathan Gil Harris, who take unusual approaches to the study of aspects of early modern life, drama and culture.[146] Smith, in *The Key of Green*, offers a blueprint on how to place an early modern word beyond its accepted meaning (here, 'green' for hue) and think

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[142] OED Online, pink, v.1.I, and v.1.I.1.
[143] OED Online, pink, n.4.1, n. 4.2.a.
[144] OED Online, pink, n.2.a, [a]small sailing vessel with a narrow stern (circa 1471); pink, n.3.1. [a minnow or small fish that apparently was sometimes referred to as a pink and is so, today; however, Shakespeare does not use the word pink in this way].
[145] Please see the introduction to this thesis for the 'pink journey' where pink by this date could also mean various other things. Shakespeare refers to the 'minnow', for example, in *Love's Labour's Lost* (1.1.243) and *Coriolanus* (3.1.93). In both cases a man of higher degree addresses one of 'smaller' status, thereby establishing a common denominator of "small" for pink. Shakespeare never uses pink for a small fish: for him, it is always a minnow.
[146] For more detailed accounts of these writers' works, please refer to the literature review in my main introduction.

about the word as a 'whole body experience'.[147] Although I reserve Smith's work mainly for Chapter Four - the chapter of this thesis on colour - the journey of pink begins here as a cloth-cutting term that involves the body and the senses, particularly those of sight and touch. Both Smith and Harris adopt 'historical phenomenology' (established by Smith and others similarly minded), where the attempt is made to 'move beyond a purely textual approach to Shakespeare's plays by insisting on the embodied experiences of those who saw and, in particular, *heard* them. This new perspective entails a mediation of the social and the natural, the cultural and the physiological.'[148]

Harris, in *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare,* is influential in thinking about the placement of objects in time; his approach cannot be easily applied to blushing because a blush is not an object.[149] However, his temporal argument is apt for the pinks of fashion, placed as they are on cloth that is created in its present moment and that can pass through time in the form of recycled matter. Harris offers unlikely objects as matter including the intangible senses of sound and smell as palimpsests that are embodied through the medium of stagecraft. For example, Harris suggests that for spectators watching a performance of the play, the smells created during stagecraft could, by their particular qualities, evoke events from the past.[150] In other words, smells and sounds can incorporate time present, past, and future. Although I am concentrating on a fairly specific temporal frame of reference (that of Shakespeare's writing career), it will be seen that the pinks of fashion have a free-floating tenor due to the uncertainty of etymology, provenance, and first dating. The time of pink seems, at times, to mimic a needle and thread's back-and-forth motion

[147] Smith, *The Key of Green*, p. 1.
[148] Harris, *Untimely Matter*, p. 121.
[149] However, Harris does argue for the actor's body as a palimpsest, see *Untimely Matter*, pp. 66-87.
[150] For this complex argument, see Harris, *Untimely Matter*, pp. 119-139.

through cloth, as I will show in the following sections. In the first part of this chapter, I read pinks as holes that attract attention. I then place pinks and the rhetorical phrase, pink-eyed, within an early modern context. Following on, I consider the culture of cloth in which pinks are placed and argue that pinks are gendered in that, I suggest, more men than women wear pinked clothing within this context being studied. Finally, I turn to Shakespeare's plays to question his sole use of the term 'unpinked' and the phrase 'pink-eyed' in *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Antony and Cleopatra* respectively, to show the difference that it can make to readings of familiar scenes when these cloth-cutting references are brought to the fore.

2.1. Holes attract attention: what are pinks?

In Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (*circa*. 1599), dissembling courtiers are described as 'silken fellows' on the outside but 'their inner linings are torn' (Scene 11, 40-41).[151] The blush provides an honest exposure of one's 'inner lining'. However, clothing carried with it some of the anxieties of the time with regard to fashioning the self and keeping the self within the self. In Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (*circa*. 1601-2), Feste comments '[a]nything that's mended is but patched', which suggests that once cloth is taken hold of and altered in some way, it can never again be considered pristine (*TN,* 1.5.43-44). Conversely, twenty-first-century visitors to exhibitions of restored furniture are more interested in fabric/material that is patched because despite such patching-up indicating the presence of flaws, it turns out that flaws/holes attract attention because they suggest access to a lived past, a secret history, or the mystery of what may lie beneath.[152] The fashion for pinking material –

[151] Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, New Mermaids, ed. by Jonathan Gil Harris (London: Methuen, 1975; repr. 2008). All quotations are from this edition unless stated otherwise.
[152] Mary Brooks made this point during the presentation of her paper 'Mouldering Chairs and Faded Tapestry … unworthy of the observation of a Common Person: Considering Textiles in the Early

creating holes in whole cloth that mimic the shapes of small eyes – might key into anxieties about a humoral body that is fragile and a party to natural holes or apertures. In *The Portal of Touch*, Elizabeth D. Harvey's argument that touch is a primary sense brings attention to the skin with which touch is contiguous – a contiguity that evokes the blush's mysterious placement between the body's depth and its sub-surface.[153] Harvey's account makes reference to late-Elizabethan anatomical drawings of a cadaver clothed in armour that is constructed not in the usual armadillo-like layering but with metal that mimics the body's nipples, navel, and muscles that it was designed to protect, thereby replicating 'the vulnerability of sensation on the exterior even as it covers and protects the fragile interior dermal sheath'.[154] This type of exoskeleton calls to mind the recurring episodes in *The Iliad* where Homer's wounded soldiers fall from their horses only to be finally killed by their own armour clattering down on top of them.[155] Layers, then, suggest the potential weakness of conjoined seams. [156]

The body, then, has vulnerable portals that not even armour can protect. It is also imagined in layers. Michel Pastoreau notes a 'medieval eye' that was 'particularly attentive to reading by levels where the eye would 'begin with the bottom level and, passing through all the intermediary layers, end with the top one.'[157] It could be that the desire to place holes onto good material (to "pink") taps into this

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Modern Domestic Interior' at *Ways of Seeing the English Domestic Interior, 1500-1700*, The Geffrye Museum of the Home, London, 12 September 2013.

[153] Elizabeth D. Harvey, 'The Portal of Touch' *The American Historical Review*, 116(2) (2011), 385-400.

[154] Harvey cites Valverde de Amusco's *Anatomia del corpo humano* (1598). See 'Portal of Touch', p. 398.

[155] The use of armour for perceiving the relationship between skin and cloth might seem obscure. However, Susan North and Jenny Tiramani, finding scant evidence on pre-Reformation clothing, favour *The Academy of Armory* by Randle Holme II – a work published in 1688 but that includes vital information on clothing and accessories from the sixteenth-century. See Susan North and Jenny Tiramani, eds, *Seventeenth-Century Women's Dress Patterns: Book One*, by Jenny Tiramani, Claire Thornton, Luca Costigliolo, Armelle Lucas and Susan North (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), p. 6.

[156] It should be noted that seams are ambiguous in that, as for a flaw in wood or the 'seam' created by the knitting together of two broken bones, they can in fact make a join stronger.

[157] Michel Pastoreau, *The Devil's Cloth: A History of Stripes and Striped Fabric*, trans. by Jody Gladding (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 3.

need to imagine the body in layers that reveal not too much but just enough. Harvey notes Helkiah Crooke's description of the epidermis as 'scarfe skin' and the dermis as 'the inward counter-scarfe'.[158] It seems that the body's very insides are understood in clothing terminology. Harvey's use of the word 'portals' suggests doors or pathways that open both out of and into the body. This is a frightening prospect because it foregrounds the body's vulnerability in terms of what it can retain and what it might lose. As Jonathan Sawday observes, 'the soul was allowed to experience, however imperfectly, the outside world' – and this, through the body's portals, such as its eyes and ears.[159] It was understood in this context that the human body had nine apertures.[160] These are a lot of bodily 'holes' that might cause anxiety. Karen Newman observes that especially with regard to women, '[a]n open mouth and immodest speech are tantamount to open genitals and immodest acts'.[161] Such apertures, or holes, might, I suggest, instil wonder and fear in equal measure because of the possibility of both access and egress that they offer. If a mouth can be open, then a soul can escape.

Although the skin might offer protection to the body, it could also be its enemy. Susan J. Vincent in *The Anatomy of Fashion* quotes the Erasmian truism that clothes were 'the body's body' and makes the important point that 'until the twentieth century, [the body] was hardly ever seen. For hundreds of years, most of the body, for most of everyday life, was covered by garments'. Any protection afforded by clothing could in turn ill-serve the wearer because clothing 'concerns the texture of cloth and

[158] *Vulgaria*, p. 43; Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia*, quoted in Harvey, 'Portal of Touch', p. 389.
[159] Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 21.
[160] These were: the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, the mouth, the fundament, and the vagina. With thanks to Stephen Clucas for this observation.
[161] Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 11.

its openness – like the pores of the skin – to contamination.'[162] If cloth that covers the skin/body can be fearful, then what can be said for apparel that covers the skin and that is, in turn, covered in holes that are intentionally put in place? I suggest that the answer may lie in the desire to exert control over the placement of holes in a culture concerned with maintaining control and equipoise wherever possible. To explore this subject further, it is helpful to establish what cloth-pinks are, and how, and from where, they might have originated.

2.2. Pinks and being pink-eyed

It seems plausible that the sounds from the workshop might inform the naming of a pink.[163] Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* can support such a claim, with its action mainly taking place in the workshop where shoes are made. Dekker's surname suggests Dutch ancestry and it may be no coincidence that one of his main characters in the play, Lacy, fakes a Dutch accent to great comic effect, and that the Dutch are the subject of ribald jokes. Edward III had granted access into the country for those from the Low Countries seeking sanctuary from religious persecution; many happened to be cloth workers, which was good for home industry but created tension in that jobs for the English might go to others – a tension reflected in the play.[164] For Jonathan Gil Harris, Dekker is a 'magpie collector of shiny trinkets from everyday speech' and he notes the bawdy undertones of the ubiquitous 'prick' and 'awl'

[162] Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion*, pp.133, and 154-155.
[163] Ford Madox Ford writes '[…] the chaffinches said: "Pink! pink" […]' in his novel *Parade's End*. Although this is a modern example, it suggests to me that the word "pink" might be named by sound that it makes. It is this idea that I am trying to make clear for how the word "pink" came to be called by that name. See Ford Madox Ford *Parade's End*: With a new Introduction by Max Saunders (London: Penguin, 1982 [1924]; repr. 2002), p. 105.
[164] For a fine overview of reasons for the Sumptuary Laws and Edward III's involvement in the fourteenth century, see Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, John Hopkins University Studies, Series 44, Volume XLIV [44] (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1926), p. 12.

(hole).[165] Might there be a link between the historical 'awl' and the implements of pinking? The history of the craft (of pinking) was very unclear until Janet Arnold's 1975 article, 'Decorative Features: pinking, snipping and slashing' uncovered some of its secrets with the help of Santina Levey; it seemed that pinks were created by 'small metal punches'. Arnold confirms that pinks made by this process are 'small cuts of up to about ¾ in. long […] little decorative shapes like stars and the zig-zag and scalloped edges which would have been made with tools similar to those used for decorating leather.'[166] As Hazel Forsyth of the Museum of London explains, craftsmen adapted their cutting tools for other purposes as necessary. A 'standard awl (metal or bone) would make a simple rounded hole, but book-binders' punches and stamps were probably used for decorative perforations.'[167] Such an implement would be vital for Ralph, whose parting gift to his beloved Jane is a pair of shoes that are 'cut out by Hodge, / Stitched by my fellow Firk, seamed by myself, / Made up and pinked with letters for thy name' (scene 1, 228-233). Dekker's 'trinkets of words' might be informed by Simon Eyre's onomatopoeic cries of '[y]erk and seam, yerk and seam' as he urges on his men by 'parroting' the sounds that he hears as they work (scene 7, line 81). So far, pinks have been considered as holes placed onto shoes but the fashion of pinking also involves the perforation of much softer materials.

In her seminal work, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, Marie Channing Linthicum opens her chapter, 'Of Pinking', with Ben Jonson's line from *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), 'O, he lookt somewhat like a spunge in that pinckt yellow doublet' and continues that pinking is:

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[165] See Harris, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, p. 15, n. 141.
[166] Janet Arnold, 'Decorative Features: pinking, snipping and slashing', in *Costume*, 9, 1975, pp. 22-26, pp. 25, 22. For details on the sizes of these punches, see p. 45.
[167] Ref. personal correspondence with Hazel Forsyth, Senior Curator Post-Medieval Collections, Museum of London, who I thank for this information.

> a term applied to the cutting of small holes or slits, one-sixteenth to three-fourths of an inch in length, either in the materials or in the finished garment. Cutting longer slits was known as 'scissoring', slashing, or 'jagging', and should be distinguished from pinking. Both were practised early in the sixteenth century, but the latter became especially fashionable after 1545.[168]

The vocabulary used in this account calls to mind Shakespeare's oft-quoted example from *The Taming of the Shrew* when Petruccio critiques the sleeve of Katherine's new gown as being 'up and down carved like an apple-tart' with 'snip, and nip, and cut, and slish and slash, / Like to a scissor in a barber's shop' (4.3.89-91). It is clear that Katherine's sleeves are slashed rather than pinked. Linthicum directs her reader to the history of pinking via the Henrician courtier Thomas Starkey, whose fictional account from 1548 uses the common device of a dialogue, here between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset – friends who decry those men who are 'ill occupied' and –

> besy themselfe in makyng and procuryng thyngys for the vayne pastyme and plesure of other, as al such dowwych occupye themselfe in the new deuysys of gardyng and jaggyng of mennys apparayle, wyth al thing perteynyng thereto; and al such wych make and procure manyfold and dyverse new kyndys of metys and drynkys, and ever be occupyd in curyouse deuyse of new fangulyd thyngys concernyng the vayn plesure only of the body.[169]

It is noticeable in the above account that the word 'pinking' is missing.[170] In her work on the wardrobe of Henry VIII, Maria Hayward records a 'jag' as 'a dag or pendant made by cutting the edge of a garment', which could refer to 'a slash or cut in the surface of a garment to reveal a different colour beneath'; pinking, she notes, was a 'decorative technique consisting of small slits or holes made in a garment to form a

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[168] Marie Channing Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936; repr. Haker Art Books, New York, 1972), p. 153.
[169] Starkey was a humanist writer at the court of Henry VIII. See *England in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, Part I: Starkey's Life and Letters* (1548), edited by Sidney J. Herrtage (London: Early English Text Society, 1878), p. 80.
[170] Although Linthicum's footnote directs the reader to 'the beginning of pinking', Starkey's account does not mention the term and instead refers to 'jagging'. See Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 153, n.4.

pattern, especially after 1545'.[171] This dating suggests that pinks were not popular before that date and perhaps were on the cusp of emergence in 1548 when Starkey's account was written.

Research into cloth pinks and their somewhat free-floating tenor shows that in *Henry VIII, All Is True* (1613), written by Shakespeare and John Fletcher, reference to a 'pinked porringer' is anachronistic because at the time of the play's setting (1533) a pink is more likely to have been called a dag or a jag (*H8-AIT*, 5.3.37). However, a 'jagged porringer' does not scan as poetically (the pleasing alliterative 'p-p' is lost). Through a small cut like a pink, therefore, it is possible to glean something of the choices available to early modern playwrights.[172] Such work builds on Gordon McMullan's analysis of the same scene where he notes that a contemporary reference [the pinked porringer] has the effect of diminishing the distance between the events on stage and the events of 1613' because a porringer (a hat) would no longer have been in vogue for fashionable Jacobean spectators.[173] What *was* in vogue, wanted or not, was cultural pressure to maintain a midway position in all things, including clothing. Gordon McMullan observes that 'manliness' in early modern English culture was defined both 'by way of display, of conspicuous consumption, expenditure and excess' yet also 'in terms of restraint and moderation'.[174] Although Starkey's account omits reference to pinking *per se*, it could be that pinks are a way of working around the censure of over-ornamentation on clothing. Janet Arnold

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[171] Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 381, 385.
[172] The Oxford editors claim this as a John Fletcher scene. Perhaps the younger man felt more at ease with playing with fashion. See p. 1247.
[173] See William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *King Henry VIII (All Is True)*, The Arden Shakespeare, Third series, ed. by Gordon McMullan (London: Thompson Learning, 2007), p. 423, n. 46. In his seminal introduction to this play, McMullan regrets that 'more than any other [the scene featuring the porter, his man, and the pinked porringer] has either been omitted altogether or else heavily cut. See pp. 144-147.
[174] Gordon McMullan, 'Thou Has Made Me Now A Man': Reforming Man(ner)liness in *Henry VIII*, in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings*, eds Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 40-56; p. 41.

suggests that pinking/slashing produced 'rich' effects 'and would have been cheaper to achieve than using an expensive, elaborately brocaded or embroidered silk, or patterned cut velvet.'[175] In this way, pinking techniques can be said to bridge the gap between thrift and ostentation.

The reference to 'rich effects' might suggest that pinks allow colour to seep through from the material beneath, acting as a colourful underlay. This is the case for slashes. It is the combination of pinks and slashes that creates the richness that Arnold suggests; she corroborates that pinks were 'almost invisible' in her note that 'the idea of pinking originated with leather garments [because a] mass of tiny cuts eased the stiffness of the leather […]'[176]. Henslowe seems to record an example of pinks that keep their mystery when in 1593 he lays out money 'vpon a blacke saten dublet pincked'.[177] This black satin pinked doublet is strikingly similar to a 'cusp' painting (1590-1600) of Jacob Wittewronghele - a brewer and property owner from Essex - whose pinked doublet is evident from its ruffled surface. However, these are 'black pinks' – little eyelet shapes punched onto black material where only the doublet's padding suggests a concealed layer beneath.[178]

Pinks, then, could provide a sense of motion; they might also play a part in what Shakespeare seems to understand as sentient cloth, his well-known example being the doublet of 'changeable taffeta' that reflects an 'opal mind' in *Twelfth Night* (2.4.72-73). The common link between pinks and shot silk is the word 'grain'. Linthicum confirms that 'silk becomes 'shot' silk when it is cut on the bias'; this

[175] Arnold, 'Decorative Features', p. 23.
[176] Arnold, 'Decorative Features', p. 22.
[177] See *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 143-144.
[178] Jacob [Jaques?] Wittewronghele (1558-1622), Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist. The painting was on display in 'Elizabeth I and her People', National Portrait Gallery, London, December 2013. The painting can also be viewed at 'Harpenden History', http://www.harpenden-history.org.uk/page_id__405_path__0p3p.aspx, accessed 3.6.14.

means that the material is cut diagonally, making its colour effects diaphanous.[179] Pinking 'was usually carried out on the cross grain of the fabric, and when on the straight grain, in some cases, the material was purposely ravelled, presumably for the fringed texture it gave'.[180] It is possible to see how an idiom of pinking finds its way into Shakespeare's works: in *Richard II* (*c.* 1595-7), for example, as the almost deposed king is charged to read aloud accusations made towards him, he responds 'must I ravel out / My weaved-up follies?' (*R2*, 4.1.218-220). While Shakespeare can use such words as weaved and ravel to depict Richard's undoing in the late 1500s, he could also have used 'pink eyed' much earlier than he does in 1608 for *Antony and Cleopatra* – a play I shall turn to shortly. What can this phrase add to an idiom of pinking?

2.3. The term 'pink-eyed' in early modern drama and culture

> Sum were made peuysshe, porisshly pynk iyde, / That euer more after by it they were aspyid
> – John Skelton, *The Garlande of Laurel* (1495/1523?)[181]
>
> Some haue mighty yies / and some be pynkyied
> – Horman, *Vulgaria* (1519)[182]

The *OED* gives a first citation for 'pink-eyed' from Horman's *Vulgaria* (1519) with the dyad referring to 'small, narrow, half shut, or squint eyes'; however, this entry is complicated by scholarly evidence that suggests an earlier use by the Henrician court

[179] Linthicum *Costume*, p. 154.
[180] Arnold, 'Decorative Features', p. 23.
[181] John Skelton, 'Garlande of Laurell or A Ryght Delectable Tratyse vpon A Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell', in *The Poetical Works of John Skelton: In Three Volumes*, Volume II, ed. by Alexander Dyce (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1856), lines 626-627.
[182] See *Vulgaria*, p. 52.

poet, John Skelton, in *The Garden of Laurel* (1495).[183] Owen Gingerich and Melvin J. Tucker, writing in 1969, antedated Skelton's poem from 1523 to 1495 through evidence they found in the first stanza's opening lines that marked 'an actual astronomical configuration' that could have only occurred on 8 May 1495.[184] It was felt, too, that the poem's style of narrative dream-vision did not seem right for 1523, by which point they say Skelton had moved from this style of poetry to writing more political works.[185]

In this long and complicated poem, contenders for the 'garland' travel to the Palace of Fame, drinking wine in reverence to Bacchus (the god of wine) along the way. At the 'gates to all nations and denominations', a rout occurs that involves the common sort – the rough and rude, gamblers, pimps, the bawdy and the brainless, spies, fawners, and false flatterers – those that 'speke fayre before thé and shrewdly behynde' (619-620).[186] The crowd is kept at bay by sheer force, and Poet Skelton comments,

> [w]ith that I herd gunnis russhe out at ones,
> Bowns, bowns, bowns! that all they out cryde;
> It made sum lympe legged and broisid there / bones;
> Sum were made peuysshe, porisshly pynk iyde,
> That euer more after by it they were aspyid;
> And one ther was there, I wondred of his hap,
> For a gun stone I say, had all to-iagged his cap. (623-629)

A rush of gunfire results in crying, lameness, and bruised bones; that some are made 'peevish' [upset] and 'porrishly pynk iyde' might suggest crying, or irritation from

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[183] OED Online, pink-eyed, *adj*. 1.
[184] Such a situation occurs when 'we have the full moon rising at sunset in close conjunction with a brilliant first-magnitude Mars, both at Scorpio 18°'. See Owen Gingerich, and Melvin J. Tucker, 'The Astronomical Dating of Skelton's *Garland of Laurel*, reprinted from *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 3., May 1969, pp. 207, 212.
[185] Gingerich and Tucker, p. 218.
Alexander Dyce suggests 'about 1520, or perhaps a little later': see John Skelton, 'Garlande of Laurell or A Ryght Delectable Tratyse vpon A Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell', in *The Poetical Works of John Skelton: In Three Volumes*, Volume II, p. 325.
[186] Modern translation and line numbering is from Dyce, p. 319.

gunpowder, but whatever the cause, they are judged by their eye-shapes that render them as untrustworthy by looks alone. They are 'aspyid' [by it] ever after, branded by the shape of their eyes and, in reciprocal fashion, considered from a narrowed viewpoint. The stanza ends with a man whose cap is 'all to-iagged' by circumstance rather than as a statement of fashion. As the poem progresses, the poet's own clouded vision clears and he is able to promote his case as Laureate with clarity and lucidity, finally waking before the crowning can take place. As I have mentioned, the action of pinking or making eyelet shapes in cloth is anti-dated to 1486. Chronology suggests, then, that the cloth-cutting term was already available to Skelton in 1486. The eyelets of cloth-cutting would need to predate Skelton's usage in order for him to deploy 'pink' to qualify his image of an eye that has become smaller than usual, as his use of 'aspyid' seems to corroborate, where an initial 'a' makes the word seem longer (when read or spoken aloud) yet encapsulates a diminutive image. In a similar mode of expression, an 'eyelet' is smaller than the 'eye' that names it.

William Horman's interest in small eyes is found in phrases within his section of the *Vulgaria* entitled *De corporis dotibus et cladibus* ('concerning the body'). His gloss that a 'one yied man / as was Polypheme may be as well ware as was Argus with his hundred yies' refers to the Cyclops before he is blinded by Odysseus. The phrase seems to suggest that one eye is just as useful as many eyes as long as one is perceptive and pays attention. His 'Some haue mighty yies / and some be pynkyied' may have a similar meaning but could refer to physiognomy, or how a person's eyes appear on their face.[187] Skelton's scene of disarray and hat-falling calls to mind the later crowd scene in *Henry VIII (All Is True)* and the haberdasher's wife of 'small wit' whose hat is blasted from her head, mentioned earlier. Although no connection

[187] *Vulgaria*, p. 52.

between the play and Skelton's poem has been suggested, it can be seen in the span between the poem and the play (1486-1613) that pinking – and the pink-eyes that either produced the term or are informed by its action – has been a useful addition to the craft of writing plays. The phrase, as chronology suggests, was already available to Skelton in 1486 unless he coined it himself. It is one that provides a fusion between the idea of a woman's body, her size, the shape of her eyes, and the 'pinks' that she might make, to which I now turn.[188]

2.3.1. Mistresse Pinckanie and the elusive 'Pinker'

The phrase 'pink-eyed' then has an uncertain dating. But the phrase finds some contextual placing via a small character in a small scene in an obscure play - *Histrio-Mastix* - published in 1610, which may or may not be by John Marston.[189] The play's major theme is that of pride and what happens to those who over-reach in their attainment of material objects. A stage direction informs us that the grasping city women of the play, Perpetuana, Eillisella and Bellula, enter with a 'Ieweller, a Tyre-woman, and a Taylour'; the tyre-woman (attire woman) is Mistresse Pinckanie; her name is shortened to 'Pinc' and 'Pink' in the text, giving the impression that she and the holes she produces are one and the same.[190] She is in great demand as the ladies of the play want their small items and do not want to wait. Eillisella asks, 'Mistresse Pinckanie, is my new ruffe done?' and 'Pinc' replies, 'Beleeue me Madame tis but new begun' (3.1.175, 176). Bellula then adds to the pressure, with 'Mistresse

[188] Although evidence suggests that pinks do not become popular until after 1545, Linthicum notes 'pinking' for ornamentation as early as 1500; see *Costume*, p. 153, n. 4. It is possible, of course, for words to come into being and be a part of oral culture long before they are officially written down/recorded.
[189] *Hisrio-Mastix Or, The Player whipt*. Printed for Th: Thorp. 1610, D3^{v}.
[190] The name can be a false friend in that searches reveal a character in a play who seems to be called 'Pink/Pinc' after the small decorative hole made in cloth. However, Mistresse Pinckanie is interesting *per se* for what she can tell us about the elusive history of cloth cutting.

Pinckanie, shall I haue this Fanne,' (the absence of a question mark, whether intentional or not, suggests that this as a statement of proclamation rather than a request) and 'Pink' replies, 'Maddam not this weeke doe what I can' and ends the small scene with a line of resolve that speaks, too, of a Protestant work ethic, with '[w]ell Ladies, though with worke I am opprest / Workwomen always liue by doing, best' (3.1.187-188).

Roslyn L. Knutson argues persuasively for *Histrio-Mastix* not being written by John Marston, to whom it is now generally attributed. In her detailed analysis of why this might be, one reason put forward is that '[t]he play has been an embarrassment […] because quite simply, it is bad'.[191] However, authorship aside, the play via this small scene provides information as to how women might have been viewed in the early modern workplace. George L. Geckle suggests that the name 'Pinckanie' derives from the Italian word, 'pinca', meaning a woman's 'quaint' or 'private parts'.[192] The character of Mistresse 'Pink' can, too, shed a little light onto who was the 'Pinker' – that is, the person who pinked holes onto cloth and their gender (such intricate work might suggest that women's smaller fingers would be best for the task). The *OED*'s citation for 'a slicer, a cutter, a pinker or iagger' is taken from John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* (1598).[193] However, the entry in Florio appears under the headword, *Tagliuzzatore*.[194] Had Shakespeare been looking for the word 'Pinker' in Florio's dictionary, he would have found many short words concerning 'pin' but *not* Pinker. A small aperture onto the past, therefore, is provided by the character of a

[191] Roslyn L. Knutson, '"Histrio-Mastix": Not by John Marston', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 98, No.3 (Summer, 2001), pp. 359-377, p. 363.
[192] George L. Geckle, 'John Marston's *Histriomastix* and the Golden Age', *Comparative Drama*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Fall 1972), pp. 205-222, p. 206.
[193] OED Online, 'pinker', n. 1.
[194] OED Online currently cites the definition of pinker but not the word – Tagliuzzatore – as it appears in the source dictionary, John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes*. I would like to thank Parie Watterson in The British Library, Rare Books, for her help in this investigation.

woman in a small part in a small play.[195] Mistresse Pinckanie is asked to make small items for the ladies – ruffs and fans – and although the word 'pink' seems to have a feminine feel about it, it could be that this ornamentation on larger items of clothing is one for men more than women. In my final section of this exposition, I consider the gendering of pinks within cloth culture.

2.4. Cloth culture and the gendering of pinks

I have been arguing that 'pinks' involve hearing (the sounds from the workshop) and sight (the pinks that mimic the shape of small eyes). I now turn to the pinks that are seen on clothing that is worn. An entry in Henslowe, requesting a woman's gown for '[a] Boocke of mr chapman called the founte of new facianes' [1598] suggests, by the play's title, that new fashions are everywhere, bursting onto the London scene like a fountain.[196] Unfortunately, the play is lost. However, Peter Stallybrass in 'Worn Worlds' provides corroboration that early modern England could be described as 'a cloth society'.[197] He notes the uneasy seam between the world of authority and the world of the stage, with playhouses 'situated at the juncture of the court and the city guilds [yet] literally and symbolically at a distance from both'; with 'no theatrical guild' for actors, theatres were as a consequence 'intimately connected to the livery guilds [and] their survival depended upon the fact that actors wore the liveries of aristocratic households'.[198] Such a 'fountain' of fashions must have helped to satisfy the 'Elizabethan theatergoers' who 'evidently desired not just to hear plays, but also

[195] Janet Arnold notes that 'Pinking was sometimes carried out for, or by, the mercer before the material was sold' which suggests that the mercer, too, might have taken on the role of the Pinker. See Arnold, 'Decorative Features', p. 23.
[196] *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 99.
[197] Peter Stallybrass, 'Worn Worlds' in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, eds Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 289-320, p. 289.
[198] Stallybrass, *Worn Worlds*, pp. 292-293.

to see fashionable items – in particular, high-end clothes', as Jonathan Gil Harris notes in his introduction to *The Shoemaker's Holiday*.[199] Although Sumptuary Laws may have 'regulated what specific classes could wear' – as Stallybrass notes – clothing worn by players on the stage blurred those lines.[200] The authors of *At the Borders of the Human* add that '[n]ot only was actorly display a temptation to bestial lust in all its forms, but the use of clothing could, perhaps, alter the body within'.[201] This must have been a terrifying notion at a time when ideas about metamorphosis would have been commonplace.

Cloth is simply everywhere and even the spelling of 'sewt' (in Henslowe) attests to a conflation of the product and the industry that makes it. [202] The body's corporeality is engrained in Henslowe's entry for 'a payer of bodeyes for a womones gowne'.[203] Here, the metaphorical 'seam' between where a body begins and where it ends seems to dissolve (a 'body' is also a 'bodice'). Such an item of underclothing is a reminder of the fluid relationship between cloth and skin and also, through 'bod-eyes' – the organs of vision that see clothing on top or imagine what might lie beneath. Ecclesiastical and secular worlds blend via the 'corporal' – a white linen cloth on which bread and wine are placed during the Eucharistic feast. [204] Here, Christ's 'body' is placed on a cloth via the sacraments. Henslowe notes a practice that might seem strange to us today whereby cloth is used as a type of early modern wrapping paper, enclosing the item of clothing within its threads, as for 'a brode gard of velluet […] tide in a napken' and 'a pettycote tyed in & old dieper napken'. [205]

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[199] See Gil Harris's introduction to *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, p. vii.
[200] Stallybrass, *Worn Worlds*, p. 301.
[201] Fudge, Gilbert, and Wiseman, eds, *At the Borders of the Human*, Introduction, p. 3.
[202] *Henslowe's Diary,* p. 214.
[203] *Henslowe's Diary,* p. 73.
[204] Barbara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 146. The corporal is still a feature used at Eucharist, today, but is arguably less known in our increasingly secular society.
[205] *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 148-149.

Cloth, therefore, calls on the body for some of its naming, and the body's natural layering can be described by way of clothing terminology, as in Horman's description of the flesh lying between the skin and the bone, like a mattress made of cotton, in my second epigraph to this Chapter. The small pinks cut into cloth can provide an idea of access into that secret layer of the self. But who wore them? Entries for pinked clothing in Henslowe are fairly scarce; pinks for women may have been an even more secret affair.

The punching of eye-shaped holes onto cloth suggests the firm placement of 'eyes' on the clothing that wears them. It could be assumed that this vogue for pinking informs the gown worn by Queen Elizabeth I in the famous 'Rainbow' portrait that is covered in eyes and ears – two of the dangerous 'nine' apertures that I mentioned with regard to holes that attract attention.[206] This fashion may key into the contemporary vogue for tongue-shaped clothes and jewellery noted by Carla Mazzio in her groundbreaking work on controlling the unruly early modern tongue.[207] However, what might on another garment be open 'pinks' or tiny apertures are here closed. Elizabeth's closed pictorial organs of sense suggest the ability to survey without the need for open access or egress: it is she observing the unruly subject. Elizabeth's gown might be termed as 'un-pinked' in this light. Even though it is heavily ornamented and embroidered, the cloth remains pristine and unbroken and the subject can only imagine the layers that lie beneath (i.e. their Queen's body). In John

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[206] The painting is reproduced in Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd: The Inventories of the Wardrobe of Robes prepared in July 1600 edited from Stowe MS 557 in the British Library, MS LR 2/121 in the Public Record Office, London, and MS V.b. 72 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), Fig. 140, p. 81.

[207] Carla Mazzio, 'Sins of the Tongue' in *The Body in Parts*, pp. 67-69.
In the anonymous play *Narcissus*, dated *circa*. 1602, the phrase is split in an interesting way. At the play's climax, when Narcissus looks into the water for the first time and speaks to his own reflections, he says: 'Thy friend I am, O do not mee destroye; / Thou doest putt out thy hand as I doe mine, / And thou dost pinke vpon me with thine eyen […]'; the splitting of 'pinke' and 'eyen' ironically suggets a strange join in that Narcissus speaks to the image of his own self. See *Narcissus A Twelfe Night Merriment, Played by the youths of the Parish At The College of S. John the Baptist in Oxford, A. D. 1602, With Appendix*, ed. by Margaret L Lee (London: David Nutt, 1893), p. 25, lines 709-711.

Peacock's account of fashion history, gowns seem to be worn by women whereas cloaks are gender-neutral.[208] Linthicum's observation that it 'was not uncommon for a gown to have from one to nine thousand 'pinks' could, then, refer to men or to women.[209] Accordingly, some of the entries in *Henslowe's Diary* can be assumed to be worn by women, such as a 'clocke of chamllett lined wth / crymsen tafetie pinkced'.[210] Henslowe's difficult syntax means that this could be a cloak lined with crimson taffeta that is pinked, or that the cloak is made of pinked crimson taffeta (and is also lined). It seems odd to go to the trouble of pinking a lining that will not be seen. It could be that a woman's linings should remain secret and only known to herself – an idea that may of course key in to discourses of female modesty. Another entry in Henslowe records '[a] womones gowne of branched / damaske & lyned throwghe wth pincked tafetie & layd wth a lace of sylke & gowld of mrs Rysses'.[211] Again, syntax renders the exact locus of these pinks uncertain. However, evidence suggests that men wore their pinks proudly.

As I have shown, the history of early modern cloth-cutting is threadbare with regards to firm information. Much knowledge is gleaned from portraits that might not be entirely accurate in that sitters were not always there in person and paintings could be compiled in a memorial fashion. In one painting from the 1580s, 'Three Unknown Elizabethan Children, Elizabethan family', two young brothers and a little girl all wear doublets decorated with pinks and slashes.[212] This could of course be a case of

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[208] John Peacock, *Costume, 1066 to the Present*, Second Revised Edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986, repr. 2006), pp. 18-19.
[209] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 153.
[210] *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 214. chamlet was 'a light material, popular for clothes, and made in the 16th and 17th centuries from the silky hair of the Angora goat', *The Elizabethan Home, Discovered in Two Dialogues by Claudius Hollyband and Peter* Erondell, ed. by M. St. Clare Byrne (London: Methuen & Company Limited, 1949), p. 86.
[211] *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 159.
[212] The painting, 'Three unknown Elizabethan Children, Elizabethan family', painted by an unknown artist (possibly Anglo-Netherlandish), was on display in the exhibition 'Elizabeth I and her People' at the National Portrait Gallery, London, December 2013.

the aping of adults for artistic effect, perhaps at the parents' request. The fashion for pinks is most noticeable on male doublets – items that are also worn by boys who are 'in standing water between boy and man', as Malvolio notes for Viola-Cesario in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1.5.154). Items in Janet Arnold's *Patterns of Fashion* shed light on an early modern fusion between fashion vocabulary and cuts to the body. Some examples of clothing for young men include a 'pinked and cut leather jerkin', a 'doublet in cut and uncut velvet', and a doublet of satin 'in slashed and pink satin' with a 'padded leather doublet, probably for fencing' giving direct reference to young men like Hamlet for whom swords and knives would be the norm.[213] However, in his extensive work on fashion, John Peacock omits making reference to 'pinks' by name. What appear to be pinks are described as 'tiny slashes' on a 'doublet with a peasecod belly (*c*. 1580-85)'.[214]

The close-fitting nature of male clothing of this period means that pinks would simply be more easily revealed on their doublets even if what lay beneath remained concealed. I suggest that the agency of men at this time offered the opportunity for more social occasions on which to display their pinks, not just as a statement of fashion but as a declaration of holes that can be fixed in place, unlike the fearful hollows of the fragile humoral body. It is a body that Gail Kern Paster has famously termed as 'leaky' for women.[215] Men's desire to not be 'leaky' and womanish seems to be confirmed in Gonzalo's describing their sinking ship as being 'as leaky as an unstanched wench' in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1.1.45-46). Holes (real or representative ones) can then be both detested and desired at this time.

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[213] Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion 3: The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Women c. 1560-1620* (London: Macmillan, 1985), p. 1. The use of 'pink' for colour in this description is anachronistic.
[214] Peacock, *Costume, 1066 to the Present*, p. 46.
[215] See Paster's chapter, 'Leaky Vessels', in *The Body Embarrassed*, pp. 23-63.

I end on a note of seeming reality for the pinks of cloth. It is rare to find any surviving apparel from before the Restoration. However, in the process of working on the fast-fading fragments of a suit, Janet Arnold was able to match the same suit (*c.*1615-20) to one presented in an artist's portrayal of the aptly named Sir Richard Cotton (*c.*1618), thereby conflating the materials on which she was working with the man ossified in a painting. Most important for my argument on the importance of pinks, it was these tiny cuts that helped Arnold to make this connection; as she notes, it was the relationship between tiny rows of pinks on the fabric, juxtaposed with larger slashes, that helped to cement the discovery and, moreover, the close networking of pinks helped to keep the fabric from disintegrating.[216] This was so, presumably, because a certain combination of pinks-slashes was a key fashion statement at the time. It is interesting to think that at the end of Shakespeare's lifetime such a suit was being worn. In this way, Jonathan Gil Harris's work on time in *Untimely Matter* illustrates the multi-layered way we access the past very well: cloth is sourced, worked upon, matched to a later painting, and all is captured in a modern photograph of a suit that is reproduced in a twentieth-century article. In a case of form reflecting content, the process re-enacts the painstaking research required by Arnold to re-capture some fragments of the past.

I have attempted to establish an idiom for talking about the pinks of cloth-cutting that may have informed Shakespeare's perception of cloth-pinks within an early modern society that might resemble a patchwork quilt of cloth and clothing. Something drives him to include just once in each case (and in the whole of his

[216] Arnold notes that '[o]n first sight the suit appeared to be made of pinkish satin with a faint stripe. Closer examination revealed that this was caused by lines of couching holding the disintegrating material together over a backing of very pale pink rayon to reinforce it and to be distinguishable from the original material', See Janet Arnold, 'Sir Richard Cotton's Suit', *The Burlington Magazine*, 115, No. 842 (May, 1973), 326-329, p. 326. (The artist is believed to be Daniel Mytens, *c.*1618).

written output) the word 'unpinked' in *The Taming of the Shrew* and 'pink-eyed' in *Antony and Cleopatra*; it is to these plays that I now turn. For both plays, I suggest that the word pink (by way of its own uncertain historical trajectory) has a **f**ree-floating tenor that in turn offers potential for new readings of familiar scenes.

2.5. Unpinked: between obedience and emancipation *The Taming of the Shrew*[217]

> Gabriel's pumps were all unpinked I'th'heel.
>
> (*TS*, 4.1.119)

As has been seen, material that is cut on the bias offers 'feeling' in the form of shot silk and flexibility by way of pinks, but what about items that are not pinked? In her work on blushing, Valerie Allen notes that '[t]o name a thing implies the ability to name its opposite'.[218] Shakespeare did not use 'pinked' until his final play *Henry VIII, All Is True*, written with John Fletcher and referred to above. To recap, in a scene where the behaviour of the crowd gradually unravels, a haberdasher's wife 'of small wit' loses the pinked porringer (cap) from her head. Gordon McMullan has shown the importance of this small scene to the play as a whole (as a bridging scene before the play's climax), and also how Shakespeare plays with fashion and with time – the porringer would be out of fashion for spectators watching the play in 1613.[219] In this section of my thesis, I argue that the word 'pink' in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* has a free floating-tenor (inspired by my blush model) by way of pink's opposite – the state of being 'unpinked' – and Shakespeare's sole use of the term.[220]

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[217] There is a chronological crux with the placing of plays for my analysis. Shakespeare wrote *The Taming of the Shrew* first and his use of 'unpinked' stems from 'pinked' and therefore might postdate the phrase 'pink-eyed'. *Antony and Cleopatra* was written later but is set in Roman times, and 'pink-eyed' might come earlier. However, this push and pull of chronology echoes the pinking needle's push and pull motion on cloth and therefore which play comes first helps rather than hinders my argument.
[218] Allen, 'Waxing Red', p. 203.
[219] It is generally agreed that Shakespeare wrote this scene. See *Oxford Two* in their introduction to *All is True (Henry V111)* (p. 1247) for accepted scene attributions.
[220] Line references to *The Taming of the Shrew* are henceforth bracketed as numbers in the text.

The word 'bias' seems to provide another early modern connection between ideas of early modern materiality. In *Troilus and Cressida*, the phrase '[b]ias and thwart' is used to describe the 'unbodied figure of the thought': at this point in the play, Agamemnon is asking his men why they are melancholy when their fates are in the hands of the gods and beyond human reason and reach (*TC*, 1.3.14-15). Antony Dawson notes of that play Shakespeare's use of the word 'unbruised'; this was one of the first of many words beginning with the prefix 'un', and Dawson observes that 'many are Shakespearean coinages.'[221] I feel that Shakespeare's unique use may be the word 'unpinked' for this earlier play, *TS* (*c.*1590-1). Evidence suggests that Shakespeare took a keen interest in the use of 'un' words generally.[222] Their use can add a sense of extreme pathos to a scene, as when The Duchess of Gloucester laments that due to family bereavements, all her brother York will find when he visits their former home are '[un]peopled offices, untrodden stones […]' (*R2*. 1.2.70).[223] What might therefore the word 'unpinked' add to a reading about the taming of a woman?

The play is a 'no-blush' play as the word 'blush' does not appear. However, Katherine's taming is bracketed by two implied blushes that comment on the materiality of gender in early modern stagecraft. The word 'unpinked' functions in between those blushes, as I will show. The first is found in the introduction where societal notions of the perfect woman are rehearsed. Here, Christopher Sly, a drunken tinker, is duped into thinking he is a 'lord' by a real lord. Cloth is key here as the lord

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[221] See William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by Antony B. Dawson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 77, n. 14. (glossing the Prologue's line 14 in this edition).

[222] See Alexander Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary*, Volume II, N-Z (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1971), pp. 1275-1297. Twenty-two pages of instances are listed.

[223] In Alan Bennett's *The History Boys*, Hector and Posner, his student, discuss the poem, 'Drummer Hodge'. Posner reads that, 'They throw in Drummer Hodge, to rest Uncoffined […]' and Hector responds, '[…] Un-coffined is a typical Hardy usage. A compound adjective, formed by putting un- in front of a noun. Or verb, of course. Un-kissed. Un-rejoicing. Un-confessed. Un-embraced. It's a turn of phrase that brings with it a sense of not sharing, of being out of it. Whether because of diffidence or shyness, but a holding back. Not being in the swim. Can you see that?' See Alan Bennett, *The History Boys* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), pp. 55-56.

wants him 'wrapped in sweet clothes', as if the sweetness will partly penetrate the pores of his skin, like the cloth on cloth, or the cloth of a corporal that blends cloth and the idea of the body as one (35). He awakes from his slumber to be presented with 'a silver basin / Full of rose-water and bestrewed with flowers' (53-54). Here, 'silver' (the heraldic term for 'white') and rosewater suggest blush colours with 'rosewater' allowing a watered-down version of heraldry's red 'gules' – a dilution that may be reflected in the proverbial phases 'red as rosewater' and 'white as rosewater'.[224]

Sly is led to believe that a boy is to be his wife. As I mentioned in Chapter One, the anonymous phrase 'a blush of boys' seems to encapsulate the age range of the boys who might play women on the all-male early modern stage. Here, in an interesting moment of meta-theatricality, we are allowed to hear a first-hand account from a boy of how it might have felt to impersonate a woman.[225] This boy must be 'dressed in all suits as a lady' and bear himself 'as he hath observed in noble ladies' with 'soft low tongue and lowly courtesy' and 'a declining head': but, if he 'have not a woman's gift / To rain a shower of commanded tears' – then an onion placed in a napkin and held to the face will produce the necessary 'watery tears' for which a woman is known (103-125). As there is no stage direction in the introduction for the actors to leave the stage, the boy would presumably be so-dressed for the play's duration on the late Elizabethan stage. The rose and silver suggest how Katherine *should* be – a perfect maid – but she is far from this at the play's beginning. Katherine is described in comparison with her sister, Bianca, noted in Tranio's nervous aside to

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[224] Bartlett Jere Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500*, with the collaboration of Helen Wescott Whiting (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), R213, As red as Rose-flower; R214, As white as Rose-flower, *c.*1400, p. 496.

[225] In her interesting account of the subject, Janet Suzman is not convinced that boys played women and feels that there is a hidden history that might include women on stage playing women. See *Not Hamlet: Meditations on the Frail Position of Women in Drama* (London: Oberon Books, 2012).

his master, as 'stark mad or wonderful froward'. Lucentio replies that in Bianca's 'silence do I see / Maid's mild behaviour and sobriety (1.1.60-71). We therefore see that Katherine must assume 'a gentler, milder mould'. REF

I suggest that contemporary views on women are explained by recourse to the trope of the war of red and white that was introduced in Chapter One. Bianca's name ('white' in Italian) encapsulates her imagined silence, chasteness and purity, while evoking in humoral terms the ideal feminine complexion – cold, moist and watery like the moon. Katherine is all red, hot choler. This interplay between name, character, and clothing is revisited and reversed in *Othello* where another Bianca – known for the red gowns typically worn by Venetian courtesans – is the play's 'whitest' character, pure in her love for Cassio and above the machinations of the play's major plotters.[226] Tranio seems to sense that Bianca might not be as 'white' as she seems when, a little later, he notes that his boss, Lucentio, 'looked so longly on the maid [but perhaps] marked not what's the pith of all' (1.1.163-164). Petruccio's plans to tame Katherine are cemented with his aim to manipulate flowers (roses) that are the epitome of a maid: if she frowns, he will say 'she looks as clear / As morning roses newly washed with dew' (2.1.172-73). A maid should blush, but not too much, and the collective 'roses' suggest just the right white and red blend once she is tamed.

Katherine's taming – proper – takes place once she is inside the house. But before then, the wedding must take place and Petruccio, his horse, his servant Grumio, and Katherine all are dressed in disarray. Tranio comments of Petruccio that, 'Tis some odd humour pricks him to this fashion' (3.2.55-70). It seems important to the plot that Petruccio instigates his own moment of unravelling. When Tranio advises that his bride should not see him in such a state, he declares, '[t]o me she's

[226] William Shakespeare, *Othello*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann, (London: Thomson Learning, 1997; reprinted 2006), p. 251, n. 168.1.

married, not unto my clothes' in an anti-materialistic move that renders his character modern and likeable until it becomes clear that clothes will be used to 'un-make' Katherine shortly (3.2.117). This is followed by another break in tradition when the couple absconds from their own post-wedding celebration and makes their way back to the house. It is here that Shakespeare will make his sole reference to 'unpinked'.

2.5.1. Unpinked in the hallway: between ready and not ready

As Grumio arrives home ahead of his new master-mistress duo, he is keen to know that everything is ready for their arrival, asking Curtis:

> […] Where's the cook? Is supper ready, the house trimmed, rushes strewed, cobwebs swept, the serving-men in their new fustian, the white stockings, and every officer his wedding garment on? Be the Jacks fair within, and the Jills fair without, the carpets laid, and everything to order? (4.1.40-45).

As Curtis confirms that all is ready, Grumio regales him with the convoluted story about his journey home from the church: had he (Curtis) not been so forward in pressing to hear the tale of their journey home, he (Grumio) would have told him (Curtis) how Katherine fell from her horse and got muddy, how Petruccio did nothing to help but punished Grumio with a beating, and how Katherine in turn tried to protect Grumio (4.1.64-75). This strange little moment of *paralipsis* seems to play with time.[227] Its usage prepares us, I suggest, for Shakespeare use of 'unpinked'. Grumio's instructions continue: the servants' heads must be 'sleekly combed, their blue coats brushed, and their garters of an indifferent knit. Let them curtsy with their left legs and not presume to touch a hair of my master's horse-tail till they kiss their hands.

[227] I am grateful to Professor Brian Vickers for our conversation on the topic of paralepsis.

Are they all ready?' (4.1.80-84). Despite Grumio's panic, the inside of the house does, indeed, seem to be 'ready'.

However, the chaos outside is brought inside, as Petruccio and Katherine arrive and Petruccio fulminates that the inside of the house (the servants) should have come outside to meet him (Grumio, to the park; others to the grounds for an official greeting), thereby creating a tension of push and pull between private and public and implying that all is not ready. Grumio needs to escape censure by inventing a reason for his not coming to meet Petruccio in person and claims:

> Nathaniel's coat, sir, was not fully made,
> And Gabriel's pumps were all unpinked i'th'heel.
> There was no link to colour Peter's hat,
> And Walter's dagger was not come from sheathing.
> There were none fine but Adam, Ralph, and Gregory.
> The rest were ragged, old, and beggarly.
> Yet as they are, here are they come to meet you. (4.1.118-124)

It is true to say that the unpinked item is a pair of shoes belonging to a young male servant, and might not at face value have much to do with Katherine. However, Peter Stallybrass finds a link between women and shoes in the period.[228] It must also be recalled that pinking was cut on the bias – 'on the diagonal to prevent unravelling, unwinding, and undoing'.[229] What I am suggesting here is that 'unpinked' provides an opportunity to think about ideas of perfection via the trope of cloth and cloth-making. It could be said that unpinked material is perfect. It is a whole piece of cloth that has not been filled with holes. It will not unravel because it has not been ornamented in the first place. However, conversely, unpinked can suggest material that is *not* ornamented and therefore not special but just plain and ordinary. To modern eyes,

[228] Stallybrass, 'Footnotes', *Body in Parts*, p. 317 (in a vulgar sense, a man puts his foot into a shoe).
[229] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 154. Silk becomes 'shot' silk when it is cut on the bias.

Katherine is a young woman who is quite fiery and has quite a good claim to make of being thought second-best when compared to her beautiful younger sister. Natural sibling rivalry would be quite acceptable here. However, in early modern terms, she needs some ornamentation (in the form of taming) to make her an acceptable 'fit' for Petruccio. Katherine is caught between being perfect as she is and needing perfection according to society's rules.

2.5.2. Inside the house

In an action that mirror's the pinking needle's motion, Petruccio brings Katherine from outside (in the grounds) to inside (the house), so that he can work on altering her very sense of who she is. Firstly, on what should be her wedding night, he talks her out of sleep. This Grumio learns from Curtis, who has the information that Petruccio is '[i]n her chamber / Making a sermon of continency to her'. Like Sly (still on stage if the prologue is retained in performance), her character has no idea who she is and 'sits as one new risen from a dream' (4.1.168-172). The action now takes a moment's pause in the form of Petruccio's soliloquy in which he informs us that things are progressing as they should and he will now use cloth and clothing to move things along. He will find '… some undeservèd fault [in] the making of the bed, / And here I'll fling the pillow, there the bolster, / This way the coverlet, another way the sheets […]' (4.1.185-188). The use of another 'un' word here is telling. Petruccio knows that Katherine has not committed a fault and for this reason his actions now and those that follow can seem – to a modern sensibility – somewhat 'embarrassing'. In denying Katherine sleep, Petruccio's methods work by his seizing control of *her* 'things not natural' – those bodily activities that should be governable by the self. Although feelings were the most problematic aspect of 'not naturals' to be reigned within the

mean, or midway, it was also a person's own responsibility to control their own 'emotions' and, hence, a responsibility that provided autonomy. This is denied to Katherine. Next, he withdraws food from her, thereby 'kill[ing] her in her own humour'; as a heated woman by nature, he starves her of meat, which at this time was renowned for making one choleric at this time (4.1.116). A little later, when asking how she is, Katherine's reply '[f]aith, as cold can be' is the correct one, as women should be cold and moist accordingly to Galenic physiology (4.3.37).

Now that she is 'cold', she presumably will be as a woman should be and therefore keen to wear the latest fashions. Rather than a trip to the tailor, however – one that might offer some release – Petruccio keeps matters contained in the house. The tailor enters with a new gown and the haberdasher enters with a new cap.[230] Katherine loves this small item but Petruccio naturally rails that 'this was moulded on a porringer - / A velvet dish. Fie, fie, 'tis lewd and filthy. / Why, 'tis a cockle or a walnut shell, / A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap. / Away with it!' (4.3.63-70).[231] Petruccio's comparing this small hat to a 'cockle or a walnut shell' is a reminder of an early modern troping of women as shells – one that highlighted their need to remain contained within themselves.[232] Although Petruccio wants Katherine to be small and manageable, he pretends that he wants what's best for her and that only a bigger cap

[230] Shakespeare's depiction of the different items brought by the tailor and the haberdasher provide valuable insight into early modern cloth culture and 'who did what'. See especially 4.3.61-165.
[231] OED Online, pink, n.6.1 (1585): 'A very small person or creature; a brat; an elf. *rare*'. Shakespeare may have been thinking of this for his 'pinked porringer' in *H8*, mentioned above. The haberdasher's wife is of 'small wit' and possibly of small stature, compared to the rest of the crowd.
[232] In a contemporary woodcut advocating the four moral virtues of obedience, chastity, silence, and piety, a seated woman is depicted with one finger at her lips and one foot on a tortoise to suggest that she, too, should carry her home on her back, and should stay within her shell. See Guillaume de La Perriere, *The theater of fine devices containing an hundred Morrall Emblemes*, translated into English by Thomas Combe (London: R. Field, 1614), Emblem XVIII, B7recto This tradition carries on into the later part of the seventeenth century. In 'The Lace Maker' (*circa*. 1662), it is noted that 'women were frequently pictured as dangerous creatures, prone to vice, if left to their own devices'; therefore, marriage and home was the best option. In the painting, muscle shells at the woman's feet invoke the Dutch poem (1623) that a woman should stay in her shell. See Stephen Duffy and Jo Hadley, *The Wallace Collection's Pictures: A Complete Catalogue* (London: Unicorn Press and Lindsay Fine Art, 2004), p. 300. Both painting and poem are too late for Shakespeare, of course, but show that the association between women and shells continued to be engrained within early modern culture.

will do. However, Katherine has a good sense of fashion and replies she will have no bigger. 'This doth fit the time, / And gentlewomen wear such caps as these' (4.3.69-70).[233] Petruccio insists that '[w]hen you are gentle you shall have one, to, / And not till then' (4.3.71-12). But, in a ground-breaking twist of events, Katherine stands her ground and is allowed to keep the cap. It is possible that this is the same cap that is thrown down at the play's end as a material sign of her taming. But for now, as for 'unpinked', the cap retains a free-floating tenor until the end of the play.

The final task for Katherine occurs out of doors once again. Now Petruccio uses the open 'air' –one of the 'not naturals' – in an attempt to finally break her. It is up to the individual's deployment of their own reason to move from bad air to good air but here, Petruccio usurps Katherine's potential autonomy by dictating the walk's duration and using the time to confuse her with questions regarding the sun, the moon, and a blushing maid who turns out to be nothing of the sort. As Petruccio and Katherine walk along, he comments on the shining moon; she replies that it is the sun; he insists that it is the moon yet she avers it is the sun. Finally Petruccio asserts that it will be whatever he says it is, and Katherine's weary response that they go '[f]orward, I pray, since we have come so far, / And it be moon, or sun, or what you please' (4.4.12-13). Katherine's use of 'forward' here suggests that she is taking control of things and appropriating Petruccio's apparent eccentricity for her own benefit. Petruccio accepts the term with his own '[w]ell forward, forward. Thus the bowl should run, / And not unluckily against the bias' (4.4.25-26). In other words, he thinks that he is winning and that things will be straight from now on and not on a diagonal. One final assurance is needed. As an elderly man approaches, Petrucccio indicates

[233] John Peacock shows that small caps decorated with pearls and jewels were in vogue *c.*1558-70. See Peacock, *Costume, 1066 to the Present*, p. 44.

him and asks '[t]ell me, sweet Kate, and tell me truly too, /Hast thou beheld a fresher gentlewoman, / Such a war of white and red within her cheeks?' (4.6.29-31).

As I mentioned in my Introduction to this thesis, for some alchemical readings the point of rubedo (the philosopher's stone 'blushing' at the moment of transformation) happened at the conjunction or 'chemical wedding' between the red man and the white woman. I feel that the use of the blush to trope this moment is apt because it is doubtful that alchemical transformations were ever successful. However, they are useful in a poetic and dramatic sense as a way to suggest a person's worth. In *The Woman's Prize* by John Fletcher (written in response to *The Taming of the Shrew* and featuring Petruccio once again), Maria comments '[…] We are gold / In our own natures pure, but when we suffer / The husband's stamp upon us, then allays, / And base ones, of you men are mingled with us, / And make us blush like copper' (I.iii.251-258).[234] Here, 'gold' has been made into 'baser' metal. But what of Katherine? The use of the Petrarchan 'war of red and white' here seems merely an opportunity to show Katherine's grasping of the fact that she can appropriate the trope for her own ends, by agreeing to whatever demands are made. From seeming like a young maid at first, the section ends with a confirmation of reality from Petruccio: 'This is a man, old, wrinkled, faded, withered, / And not a maiden as thou sayst he is' (4.6.44-45). But a change has happened to Katherine. The silver/rose bowl, the boy doing his best to ape how a woman should act, and the juxtaposition of 'red' Katherine and 'white' Bianca all anticipate Shakespeare's keying into this final moment where Katherine is slightly transformed but perhaps not quite.

To end, a cap, perhaps the one taken from her earlier, returns in the final scene; although not 'pinked', it is used to prove a vital point when Petruccio tells

[234] John Fletcher, 'The Woman's Prize' in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Eric Rasmussen (London: W. W. Norton, 2002), (1.3.251-259), pp. 1215-1296, p. 1234.

Katherine 'it becomes you not' and to 'throw it underfoot', and she duly obliges (5.2.125-127). Katherine obeys Petruccio's request and throws down the cap herself. It is an act that precipitates her long final speech during which she advises that disobeying 'is no boot' and that women would do best to 'place your hands below your husband's foot' (5.2.181-2). There is no stage direction to suggest that she does so (although there is in *The Taming of A Shrew*), and she and Petruccio appear to kiss instead. For Katherine, the cap that is thrown to the ground is now on a level with the hand that she may or may not place beneath her husband's foot: she has a choice.[235]

In *The Masks of Shakespeare*, Marvin Rosenberg states that the beginnings and endings of tragedies should be asymmetrical; for comedies, they should be symmetrical.[236] *Taming* is supposed to be a comedy and perhaps would work more so to Rosenberg's suggestions if the prologue were not included. When it is, we are more aware of what is not there: just as pinking makes us think of not-pinking (unpinked), so prologue demands an epilogue. Catherine Belsey, writing on *Twelfth Night*, notes the 'special place of the epilogue' in that play that is 'at once inside and outside the action of the play [and] invests it with an undecidable status'.[237] There is no epilogue for Christopher Sly. If the play were a piece of fabric and its action that of being woven by threads, the needle would stay just below the surface at the end of *The Shrew*. In this way, the play retains a more positive tint for its ending as we end on a 'just enough' feeling for the taming of Katherine.[238] If pinking means a ruffling of the

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[235] The result of this choice could be enhanced in performance by a wink to the audience before the actor playing Katherine leaves the stage.
[236] Marvin Rosenberg, *The Masks of Hamlet* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), p. 10.
[237] Catherine Belsey, *Why Shakespeare?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 148.
[238] A more depressing ending occurs in *The Taming of A Shrew*: here, a stage direction informs of Kate that '[s]he lays her hands under her husband's feet'; moreover, through the return of the Sly character we become aware that he has learnt how to tame during the course of watching the play and will take this knowledge home to his own wife. The free-floating tenor of the word 'unpinked' and the potential for Katherine to enjoy personal emancipation (in spite of outward obedience) that I have argued for the Shakesepeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* is missing, here. See Anonymous, *The Taming of A Shrew:*

surface, by cutting or by embroidery, then unpinked can be read as representing a between state where the potential of ruffling hangs in the balance. In a bid for this to be achieved, Shakespeare takes a one-step-removed approach by placing the term unpinked with a young boy whose shoes are not quite correct. Meanwhile, Katherine has been unravelled and made new by Petruccio but just enough of the old Katherine remains, meaning that she can retain something of the diaphanous nature of shot silk – amenable, flexible, and able to contain her feelings at a sub-surface level at least. In Kate's final speech, Shakespeare lets her say the words 'froward' and 'peevish' in the same line (5.2.161). With froward meaning backward, and peevish recalling those who are 'porrishly pink eyed' and cannot see clearly in John Skelton's *Garlande of Laurel*, I now move forward to consider the state of being pink-eyed in *Antony and Cleopatra.*

2.6. Pink-eyed in *Antony and Cleopatra*

> Come, thou monarch of the vine,
> Plumpy Bacchus, with pink eyen!
> (*AC*. 2.7.110-111)
>
> And what they undid, did.
> (*AC*. 3.2.211-212)
>
> Some haue myghty yies and some be pynkyied.
> (Horman, *Vulgaria*, p. 52)

In this section of my thesis, I argue that Shakespeare's sole use of the phrase 'pink eyed' belies its importance to the overall structure of *Antony and Cleopatra* (*circa.* 1606). The presence of 'pink eyed' leaves its mark on a small bridging scene that is

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The 1594 Quarto, ed. by Stephen Roy Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2008), SD 143; and Scene 8, 20-21.

vital for the play as a whole. It is placed in a moment of pause that could offer recalibration but instead presents the revelation that surveillance – like the representative sense organs on Queen Elizabeth's gown in the Rainbow portrait – should be fixed and maintained at all times.

The play opens with a flourish related to colour change that suggests humoral imbalance. Philo says of his general (Antony) '[…] Those his goodly eyes, / That o'er the files and musters of the war / Have glowed like plated Mars, now bend, now turn […]' (1.1.1-4). William Blisset notes an ironic heroism with Antony's being 'like a Mars not knowing he is netted.'[239] There is something almost 'embarrassing' in the modern sense here in that the situation is not entirely the character's fault: the fetters that he cannot break, due to the power of chemical infatuation for another, are a kind of perplexing, entangling, and hindering that will form the first definition of 'embarrassment' a little later in the early modern period.

Having begun with the watered-down redness of Antony's martial-like eyes, the play moves on to a blush. Cleopatra, fearful that Antony might be remembering his Roman duties, suggests that 'Fulvia perchance is angry [or] the scarce-bearded Caesar' and continues with '[t]hou blushest, Antony, and that blood of thine / Is Caesar's homager; else so thy cheek pays shame / When shrill-tongued Fulvia scolds' (1.1.21-34). The put-down is twofold: thoughts of a nagging wife at home, or a boy as yet un-bearded, seem to have the power to move him, when, of course, she wants him to think only of her. Antony is ridiculed by the idea of a blush that would be beyond the control of his will. But the mere mention of a blush seems to give him a moment's pause and is a reminder that he does have reason and choice (unlike beasts). The life he is living *is* justified, and he can now acknowledge how like beasts human animals

[239] William Blissett, 'Dramatic Irony in Antony and Cleopatra', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1967), pp. 155-166, p. 153.

actually are, where '[o]ur dungy earth alike / Feeds beast as man. The nobleness of life / Is to do thus […]; This, for now, is his "space"' (1.1.36-38).

In a similar fashion to his use of 'unpinked' in *Taming*, Shakespeare places 'pink eyed' within a play that is rich in early modern material culture. This is clear in a strikingly misogynistic response from Enobarbus to the news of Fulvia back in Rome. He comforts Antony, thus:

> Why, sir, give the gods a thankful sacrifice. When it pleaseth their deities to take the wife of a man from him, it shows to man the tailors of the earth; comforting therein that when old robes are worn out there are members to make new. If there were no more women but Fulvia, then had you indeed a cut, and the case to be lamented. This grief is crowned with consolation; your old smock brings forth a new petticoat, and indeed the tears live in an onion that should water this sorrow (1.2.153-162).

Enobarbas suggests that false tears would be needed at such 'sorrow' and his words anticipate the association with the 'pink eyes' of the crocodile in the galley scene to come – a scene where being 'pink-eyed' will lead to the unravelling of the falsely seamed relationship between the triumvirate of Antony, Octavius and Lepidus. Shakespeare's use of so many terms from the world of cloth and fashion in just a few lines (tailors, robes, cut, smock, petticoat) suggests an engrained idiom for early modern playgoers. References to the intimate relationship between tailor and client abound in Shakespeare: for example, in *The Comedy of Errors*, Antipholous of Syracuse shows charmed bewilderment at the friendliness of the Ephesians in general (they, of course, think that he is his twin, whom they know well) as he recalls a tailor who 'called me in his shop, / And showed me silks that he had bought for me, / And therewithal took measure of my body' (*CE*. 4.3.6-10).

A series of misplaced intimacies and imbalances prepares for the galley scene to come. Antony's Egyptian odyssey has coincided with the rise of Pompey who is

strong on land but especially strong at sea. Pompey is gaining in popularity and it transpires that the late Fulvia had made wars with Pompey in order to bring Antony home and away from Cleopatra. With Fuliva dead and Antony back in Rome, the triumvirate bicker over Antony's 'embarrassing' behaviour: he did not reply to Caesar's letters because he was drunk and over-full (two vices that Starkey aligned with the pinks of cloth cutting, as I shown in my exposition to this chapter). At 2.3, they realise that they have not addressed the real point at issue: the threat of Pompey. Threads are loosely tied as it is agreed that Antony and Octavia will marry so as 'to knit [their] hearts with an unslipping knot' (2.2.132-133).

The galley scene's particular liminality is also anticipated by another boat – that barge that is recalled by Enobarbus in his famous tale of Cleopatra's voyage along the river of Cydnus on her entry to Egypt, and Antony's first sighting of her. Enobarbus tells his spell-bound audience of Agrippa and Maecenas:

> The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne
> Burned on the water. The poop was beaten gold;
> Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
> The winds were love-sick with them. The oars were silver,
> Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
> The water which they beat to follow faster,
> As amorous of their strokes.
> […]
> On each side her
> Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
> With divers-coloured fans whose wind did seem
> To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
> And what they undid, did. (3.2.198-212)

What is interesting in this well-known extract is what happens to the elements and to time. Winds that should be the vehicle of scent instead fall in love with the material sails. The water moves faster in the act of falling in love, taking over the oars' job. And the boys' fans make heat in the act of cooling. The scene evokes a feeling of

actions causing their reverse effect. Things that seem done are undone and unravelled (‘undid, did’). This strange motion applies to the bearded Antony who we learn rushed to the barber to be shaved ‘ten times over’ in an effort to reverse time and for his outside to match his inside – the lovesick teenager that he feels he is. He falls in love and wants to revert to a time of boyhood with no responsibilities, as does Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing* when, realising he is in love with Beatrice, is noted by his friends as having had a good enough shave for the remnants to fill tennis balls (3.2.41-43). Men in love become a blush of boys and want to turn back time. In a similar fashion, the blush is always belated in the wake of feeling and, I have argued, produces contained release for the blusher. Back in Egypt, Cleopatra asks for reports on Antony’s humoral balance and is delighted to be told that he is not too merry and not too sad and celebrates this between state with ‘O heavenly mingle!’ (1.5.57-58). However, it is only once away from her that Antony can admit to his new wife, Octavia, ‘I have not kept my square.’ (2.3.6) And in a similar fashion, Cleopatra, in Egypt, worrying about what Antony might be doing during their separation, is told by Charmian, ‘Good madam, keep yourself within yourself’ (2.5) The need to contain the self and the passions requires constant attention; such attention is lost as Antony and his men go down into Pompey’s galley where they become ‘pink eyed’.

2.6.1. Down into the galley

All is ready for a meeting between the Roman three and Pompey at 2.6 where a pre-arranged talk before potential fighting dissolves, happily for now, into a peace agreement. In Shakespeare’s source material, North’s translation of Plutarch, we are told that Pompey now ‘cast[s] his anchors enow into the sea to make his galley fast,

and they built a bridge of wood to convey them to his galley […] there he welcomed them, and made them great cheer.'[240] Here, the idea of Pompey's guests on a bridge of wood brings to mind the idea of walking the plank into the unknown. Once in the boat, tales of former Bacchanalian feasts leave the hearers wide-eyed with wonder. Cleopatra is present-absent by way of the recollection that she was carried in a mattress and unrolled before kings. To repeat William Horman's analogy of flesh acting like a cushion of cotton between hard bone and soft skin, Cleopatra is the figurative seam between the join between Rome's 'bone' and Egypt's more sensuous 'skin' but one that is antagonistic rather than comforting, rather like the grain of sand in an oyster.[241] As alcohol begins to flow, Enobarbus's loose tongue – so eloquent in his evocation of Cleopatra's barge – now lets slip to Menas (Pompey's man) that Antony's return to Cleopatra is inevitable and imminent (2.6.71).

It is the locus for Pompey's feast at 2.7 that is of importance for the concept of being 'pink-eyed'. Pompey's galley is moored and therefore can be affected in a controlled way by the tide's ebb and flow but it is neither on land nor in open sea. The ship, then, represents that liminal space between civil and uncivil where transformations, both good and bad, often occur in early modern drama. The locus for Shakespeare's 'pink-eyed' reference is a galley or small boat that is moored between dry land and sea. This provides a liminal space where the men are in standing water between motion and stasis. Rather like the Temple Garden scene in Henry VI, however, it is a false enclosure that may offer contained release but in fact is a locus of unguarded revelation.

Lepidus's high colour is noted as is his rapid decline into drunkenness, which leads the First Servant to remark how '[t]o be called into a huge sphere and not to be

[240] See T. J. B. Spencer, ed., *Shakespeare's Plutarch* (London: Penguin, 1964). p. 214.
[241] See *Vulgaria*, 't]he flesshe lieth bytwene the bone and the skynne lyke a mattresse of cotton', p. 43.

seen to move in't, are the holes where eyes should be which pitifully disaster the cheeks' (2.7.14-16). Here, the implication may be that a man destined for great things but whose promise rests unfulfilled (perhaps hinted in Lepidus's fall into inebriation), is analogous to the tragedy of a skull on which the eye sockets that formerly held the key to sight now simply gape widely as fearful holes, thereby allowing the cheekbones a prominence that they would not normally have. These complex lines echo a previous fall from grace when Caesar, lamenting Antony's now emasculation and wanton behaviour through his lust for Cleopatra, recalls the former Antony – a hero who had drunk 'the stale of horses', eaten 'the roughest berry on the rudest hedge' and 'strange flesh' but had 'borne it so like a solider that [his] cheek / So much as lanked not' (1.5.64-70).[242] Despite the threat of hunger and deprivation, Antony's cheek remained a synecdoche of power and stability.

2.6.2. Crocodile blush

The face, then, is devastated without the eyes. But sight must be used correctly. As the men become ever drunker, and their vision less clear, talk turns to the mysterious crocodile. We have already been party to the idea of an involuntary blush; Cleopatra teased Antony and his metaphorical inner lining was fleetingly revealed. In his work on blushing, Brian Cummings highlights the interesting disconnect between human and non-human animals when he notes that '[n]othing is more impossible than the calculated blush, as it were the crocodile blush.'[243] Just as a hole is a no-thing, Antony is able to describe the crocodile by what it is not. He tells Lepidus:

> It is shaped, sir, like itself, and it is as broad as it hath breadth. It is just so high

[242] I would like to thank Megan Murray-Pepper for bringing this observation to my attention.
[243] Cummings, 'Animal Passions' in *At the Borders of the Human*, p. 33.

> as it is, and moves with it own organs. It lives by that which nourisheth it, and the elements once out of it, it transmigrates [and it is] [o]f it own colour, too […] and the tears of it are wet' (2.7.40-48).

Antony's description of the crocodile cleverly describes nothing to one who has not seen such an animal. Shakespeare may be reflecting the developing vernacular of his day – one that, as in Robert Cawdrey's First Dictionary (1604), records a crocodile as simply a 'beast'.[244] However, I suggest that in a similar way to how things 'did' are 'undid' on Cleopatra's barge, here Antony un-describes the crocodile and, in this way, gives only a surface explanation that belies the crocodile's symbolism of small 'pink-eyed' deception that is key to Shakespeare's reference to 'pink eyed' in the scene. Shakespeare has already shown an interest in feigned passions in *The Taming of the Shrew* where Sly's 'wife' (the boy as character, and the boy playing 'her') can resort to an onion in a napkin if necessary in order to create a woman's tears (Induction, 122-126). Enobarbus similarly invoked false tears in his advice to Antony that his crying over Fulvia's death should have parity with 'the tears that live in an onion' rather than real tears (1.2.162). Cumming's dyad 'crocodile blush' provides an oxymoron that throws into relief the blush's involuntary authenticity. Unlike many other gestures, including tears, the blush cannot be feigned.

Unlike an onion, the crocodile is given almost human attributes of dissimulation in Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Serpents* where 'there are not many bruite beasts that can weape, but such is the nature of the Crocodile, that to get a man within his danger, he will sob, sign & weepe, as though he were in extremitie, but

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[244] Robert Cawdrey, *The First English Dictionary, 1604: Robert Cawdrey's A Table Alphabetical*, Introduction by John Simpson (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), p. 71.
In *Henslowe's Diary*, an entry for 1597 records the son of one Thomas Downton as simply 'the bigger boy' – a description that in seeming to suffice might also reflect a touching sense of familiarity. See p. 77.

suddenly he destroyeth him'.[245] With a publication date of 1608, this volume could only have been available to Shakespeare in manuscript form and it is therefore speculative whether or not he may have consulted it for *Antony and Cleopatra* (*c.*1606). However, Katherine Duncan-Jones notes that crocodiles were 'associated with false and destructive tears', suggesting that the idea was a common one.[246] It is from Topsell that the *OED* glosses 'pink' as an adjective describing an eye that is 'small, winking, or half-shut', and a crocodile as being 'of a rusty colour [with] small pinke eyes as blacke as Iette'.[247] Eyes that are described as being jet-black cannot surely be coloured 'pink' and this entry confirms that 'pink-eyed' references eye shape rather than hue at this time.[248] The dyad – black/pink – recalls the doublet worn by Jacob Wittewronghele from my exposition to this chapter where a black surface reveals nothing but the ruffling created by cloth-pinks.

The 'crocodile' scene leads to Menus' revelation to Pompey, his boss, that Enobarbus has in turn revealed that the triumvirate's union is one of disjunction. Antony will return to Cleopatra - his 'serpent of old Nile' (1.5.25). The galley party is all surface bonhomie – a sham. But Menus is short sighted in assuming that Pompey will welcome this news. In an instance of needing to be one step removed from a situation, Menus suggests taking the opportunity of the triumvirate's being in standing water between land and sea and murdering them three-in-one. Pompey implicitly agrees that this would have been a good idea but it should have been done without his knowing. Now that he knows, he cannot sanction it: he cannot un-know the knowledge he now has. Pompey's dismissal of Menus heralds the song that draws the

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[245] Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents or The Second Booke of liuing Creatures* (London: William Jaggard, 1608), p. 135.
[246] Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Syren Teares: Enchantment or Infection in Shakespeare's Sonnet 119', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 189 (Feb. 1997), pp. 56-60, p. 57.
[247] OED Online, pink, adj. 1.
[248] Although evidence suggests that pink was used as a colour in some rare instances at this time, as I will show in Chapter Four.

evening to a close. As drink continues to flow, a boy sings a paean to Bacchus:[249]

> Come, thou monarch of the vine,
> Plumpy Bacchus, with pink eyen!
> In thy vats our cares be drowned,
> With thy gapes our hairs be crowned!
> Cup us till the world go round,
> Cup us till the world go round!
> (*AC*. 2.7.110-115)

The party draws to a close as Caesar, who drinks little as a rule, notes that 'we have burnt our cheeks' (2.7.119). With eyes perhaps resembling the eyelets of cloth cutting due to excess wine, the men disperse. None but Menas has seen what lies ahead. Pompey should have been as 'wide-eyed' as Lepidus in his interest over the harmless crocodile and taken advantage of Menas' offer to murder Rome's sleeping leaders. Caesar will soon break the peace treaty and make war on Pompey, taking his life; the triumvirate's weak seams will break, and Antony will return to Cleopatra. For now, the scene ends with Pompey inviting Anthony 'down' into presumably a lower part of the galley – a descent that is a harbinger for their collective downfalls. This 'pink-eyed' scene acts as a bridge in the play that brackets Antony's return to Rome and his departure from it. It suggests, too, that the notion of any bridge of mean between Rome and Egypt is ultimately a short sighted one. The galley scene, too, anticipates Antony's misplaced decision to fight at sea and to follow Cleopatra's sails. Unlike the

[249] There is much work to be done on Shakespeare's use of Bacchus/Dionysus in this play and others. It is strange that John Dover Wilson omits Bacchus as a deity. He finds that '[t]he only deity he [Shakespeare] mentions is Isis, a name he finds in Plutarch, and it recurs so often that it is obvious he had no other to make play with.' See William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, The Works of Shakespeare, ed. by John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. xiv. Dover Wilson notes connections between this scene and hunting-songs. See p. 178, n. 112-117.
There are unfounded associations between the word, pink, and the hunting world/furs. In the 'Ermine' Portrait' of Elizabeth I (*circa*. 1585), on display in 'Elizabeth 1 and her People', National Portrait Gallery, London, December 2013, it was stated that the animal represented an emblem of purity and according to legend it died if its white fur became soiled. Maria Hayward notes that the early modern term pinking could refer to the splitting of ermine before it was powdered. See Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, Glossary, p. 385. I am grateful to Joy Thomas at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, Monkwell Square, Wood Street, London EC2Y 5BL, for telling me that the colour representing the Barber-Surgeons is a deep pink. The subject invites work that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

elements and materials following her lead in the barge, Antony's actions will have permanent results where one cannot undo what has been done. As he will lament, 'I followed that I blush to look upon. / My very hairs do mutiny, for the white / Reprove the brown for rashness, and they them / For fear and doting' (3.11.12-15). Even hairs, in this play, can blush.

Conclusion

A pink is a hole. It can be both something and nothing. This chapter has suggested that the word 'pink' has a free-floating tenor with potential within early modern society because dating is uncertain, the role of the Pinker is uncertain, and a play featuring 'Mistresse Pinckanie' may or may not be by John Marston. Information must be gathered piecemeal and perhaps saved for later use, like remnants of cloth in a sewing basket. However, uncertainty offers potential.

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the word 'un-pinked' is couched within a liminal space of possibility where things could be ready or unready and where a pair of boys' shoes might be unpinked now but could be pinked in the future. This small item of clothing might go unseen and unremarked (they may or may not be used as a stage prop) but their value rests in their placement in the play – just at the point where Petruccio's taming of Katherine reaches its peak. The liminal space offered by what might or might not be done – via Shakespeare's sole use of an "un" word (unpinked) – opens up potential in the play to consider that Katherine ends on a note that is somewhere between being unravelled and remade.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare's use of the phrase 'pink eyed' helps to pinpoint the tension between actions past, present, and future that are set up earlier in the play by way of the 'did/undid' motion of the elements that worship Cleopatra on

her barge. The scene will be mirrored in Antony's fated decision to follow Cleopatra's sails a little later in the play. Sandwiched between both 'pink eyed' decisions (to lose oneself entirely to love, and to follow the wrong course of action) is a small use of 'pink eyed' in the galley scene. Bridget Escolme, writing on the play, notes of this scene that '[t]here has been a long tradition [in productions] of cutting the character of Pompey altogether [leading to] some creative reworking of the galley party [or] its removal altogether'. She finds a dual potential in that cutting the scene can 'certainly quicken the pace of the developing plot at this point in the play [but we lose in turn] a sense that the plot is quickening for the warring generals themselves'.[250] What we would also lose is the potential for a reading of 'pink eyed' from an early modern perspective, where eyes viewed through the lens of early modern cloth culture can be read as literally small through irritation (Skelton), size (Horman), strained eye-sight (Mistresse Pinckanie), or alcohol (the galley crew) – and in a figurative sense, to suggest looking through spectacles too rose-tinted for one's own good.

Janet Arnold, writing in 1975, observed that '[t]he fashion for cutting the surface of textiles like satin, taffeta and velvet in long slashes and decorative patterns may seem strange to observers in the twentieth century' because although pinking 'is still used for decorative purposes on theatrical costumes [it is] only rarely seen on fashionable clothes today.'[251] The notion of a small flower called a Pink might not seem strange to us; what might seem unfamiliar is the idea that when Shakespeare was writing *Romeo and Juliet* in the late 1590s, he is unlikely to have made any connection between the flower and the colour of the same name – pink – that we

[250] Bridget Escolme, *Antony and Cleopatra*, The Shakespeare Handbooks (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 32-33.
[251] Arnold, 'Decorative', p. 22. Arnold notes that '[o]ur modern pinking shears give only one type of zig-zag edge', which suggests that pinking shears were used at the time, but differently.

know today. In my next chapter, I once again strip the word ‘pink’ of colour to show the Pink flower as a neutral yet richly painted small part of early modern ‘pink’ as a whole-body experience.

Chapter Three

Pink for Flower: Conduct common and uncommon in Shakespeare

Introduction

> Romeo: A most courteous exposition.
> Mercutio: Nay, I am the very pink of courtesy.
> Romeo: Pink for flower.
> Mercutio: Right (2.3.53-56)[252]

In this thesis I situate the Shakespearean blush within discourses of body, colour (materials and hue) and emotion (feelings), to establish a nexus of associations that help to explain the modern collocation, blush-pink-embarrassment, from an early modern perspective. In Chapter One, I established that Shakespeare would have understood this phrase differently because, although the word 'blush' has had a constant meaning between then and now, the word 'pink' did not yet refer to the colour, and the word 'embarrassment' was – as yet – un-coined. I introduced connections between the flower and the body: in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, a boy's blood becomes a flower that will bloom eternally thanks to the idea of myth. The blush's fleeting nature, driven by its motion of flow-pause-ebb, is mirrored in a flower's fleeting lifecycle of bud-bloom-blast.

In Chapter Two, I began my investigation into what 'pink' *did* connote for Shakespeare, as evidenced in his poetic and dramatic usage, by placing the word within the early modern world of cloth-cutting and fashion, with the 'pink' a small eye-shaped aperture cut into cloth as a form of ornamentation. In this chapter, I consider another 'pink' that is not a colour for Shakespeare: a Pink flower. [253] In so

[252] Although these lines form a small part of 2.3 in *Romeo and Juliet*, I use the phrase 'Pink for flower' to refer to the scene as a whole.
[253] Throughout this chapter, I capitalise the Pink flower so as to differentiate it from other "pinks" in the thesis.

doing, I unravel etymology to seek intersections between the early modern worlds of botany and cloth-cutting techniques – ones that may even have played a part in naming the flower 'Pink'. [254]

The *OED* dates the Pink from around 1566 with its current entry offering '[a]ny of various plants of the genus *Dianthus* (family Caryophyllaceae), which are typically low-growing [with solitary flowers of a] fragrant white or pink'; they add the important point for this chapter's argument that 'the distinction between pinks and carnations is often not entirely clear'.[255] The word's figurative meaning has a first citation of 1597 and uses Mercutio's 'Why, I am the very pinke of curtesie' and Romeo's reply 'Pinke for flower?' as its gloss for '[t]he most excellent example *of* something; the embodiment or model *of* a particular quality'.[256] It will be noted that this quotation's spelling differs from that of my epigraph above and that Romeo's line ends with a question mark. The question mark belongs to the play's first Quarto (Q1) whereas my control text for this chapter is the second Quarto (Q2).[257] I mention this here because the mere knowledge of a question mark's existence can enhance a reading of the lines, in that Romeo's character may be asking a question rather than making a statement.

The *OED*'s description of the Pink's '[white or] pink flowers' *would* cause an early modern question mark, because the word did not yet connote a hue on the

[254] This proposition finds support in Roy Gender's note of Mr. L. J. F. Brimble who 'in his *Flowers of Britain* (Macmillan) suggests that the name Pink is derived from the verb 'to pink' meaning 'to pierce', indicating the serrated petals of *D. pluminaris* and of the hybrid pink Inchmery and the Old Fringed Pink.' See *Garden Pinks* (London: John Gifford Ltd, 1962), p. 13. I extend this idea by proposing an etymological link with the sounds made in the process of pinking that may have informed the phrase 'pink-eyed', used by the Henrician poet John Skelton. See Chapter Two of this thesis for detailed analysis on this point.

[255] OED Online, pink, A.n5.I.i.a. The source date, 1566, shows that John Gerard's 'Pink' could not have been the first because his *Herball* was not printed until 1597. The Greek term *Dianthus* means two blooms on one flower – a meaning that would be very useful in articulating the early modern and modern double-ness between pinks and carnations – flowers that are often conflated and confused, then and now. I am grateful to Anna Moraitis for this observation.

[256] OED Online, pink, n.5.A.I.3a. An actor following Q1 may be led by the text to say the line in an interrogative manner.

[257] Most modern edited editions of the play use Q2.

spectrum between red and white, as we know it today. For this reason, in this chapter – as in Chapter Two – I strip the word of its associations with colour so that some of the word 'pink's' early modern meanings may be imagined more clearly. In John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* – my main source for plant information in this thesis – the majority of illustrations remain un-coloured. However, 'The great double carnation' (*Caryophyllus maximus multiplex*) is shaded a dark-pink colour, which to modern eyes, with the petals' jagged edges, may give the impression of sections of ripped flesh.[258] James N. Loehlin notes a modern production of *Romeo and Juliet* where the actor playing Mercutio 'took a pink carnation from the vase at their café table and stuck it behind Benvolio's ear'.[259] In both of these examples, a Carnation's petals coloured 'pink', and a 'pink carnation' as a stage prop, would have had different connotations for Shakespeare, for whom a 'pink' at this point is a small cut to cloth and a named flower.[260]

In the first part of the chapter, I place the Pink flower within Gerard's *Herball*. There were many such herbal manuals at the time, but as Arthur Hollman notes, Gerard's was 'the standard textbook of herbal medicine for centuries following its publication in 1597'; Gerard was 'an expert plantsman […] then known as a herbarist'.[261] The distinction between herbalist and *herbarist* is important because the correct term conveys the sheer size and content of a work that seems to have been

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[258] John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes Gathered by John Gerard of London, Master in Chirurgerie* (London: John Norton, 1597), p. 472. Please see Appendix 1 in this thesis for an example of this flower.
Henceforth *Herball* and page number in footnote.

[259] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare in Production, ed. by James N. Loehlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 151, n. 50. Michael Kitchen played Mercutio. It is interesting that in this production of the play, Benvolio receives the flower rather than Mercutio.

[260] The modern dyad 'pink carnation' could have had early modern meaning in the sense that the Pink and the Carnation could be considered as one; a rosy-coloured Carnation may well have been available in the late 1590s, as I will discuss in Chapter Four.

[261] Arthur Hollman, 'A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London', *Clinical Medicine* 9.3 (2009), 242-46; Hollman advises that the early modern term 'herbarist' equates to our modern 'horticulturalist', see p. 242.

extremely useful for playwrights of the time – references are made, not only to herbs, but to trees, bushes, berries, flowers (wild and cultivated), ferns and vegetables, and each plant's medical virtues and contraindications that might damage the body are also included.[262]

In order to disentangle the complex botanical familial web that related Pinks to Carnations and Gillyflowers, I return to the broad application of *hendiadys* mentioned in my introduction to this thesis and alluded to throughout. To recap, this classical rhetorical device (used by Shakespeare in its broadest sense) can be a fruitful way to consider joins that blend materials into concepts of one in two/two in one, or even a three-in-one, and can even add a touch of the mysterious and the divine – a point that will be discussed particularly in reference to the Pink's relationship with the Carnation. In a similar vein, I place Pinks, Carnations, and Gillyflowers under the same umbrella to show the Pink as a mid-way flower. Throughout, I acknowledge Gerard as the man behind botanical references that permit a glimpse into London's early modern gardening world.

In the second part of the chapter, I apply the properties of the Pink flower (and its interrelationship with the Carnation and the Gillyflower) to a new reading of a small but familiar scene in *Romeo and Juliet* to show growth for certain characters in the scene: a shift from fears of cuts and commonality to hope for Mercutio and the span between juvenility and maturing for Romeo – a span enhanced by placement of the Pink as a late-mid-way flower. I begin my enquiry now with the Pink in John Gerard and within early modern culture.

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[262] Frustratingly, the *Herball*'s publication date (1597) means that its availability for Shakespeare during his writing of *Romeo and Juliet* (*c*. 1595) remains uncertain but he could possibly have seen a manuscript. The two men were living and working in London around the same time and it seems plausible that their paths may have crossed.

3.1. The Pink: a common/special flower

The Pink flower is not unique to John Gerard. The *OED* cites Rembert Dodoens' *Niew Herball* (1578) for a 'pynke' known colloquially as 'small honesty.'[263] Another type of Pink – the 'Indian Eye' – seems to have been named by the eye-shaped mark on its corolla.[264] At a time when surveillance was of societal concern, there appears to have been an interest in placing representations of eyes where they could be seen and controlled, such as the eyelet holes that are pinks; in phrases such as William Horman's 'pynkyied' (1519); and through a named flower that hints at dishonest behaviour (being of small or little honesty).[265] Shakespeare's Friar Laurence notes of one of his floral collection that '[w]ithin the infant rind of this weak flower / Poison hath resident, and medicine power' (2.3.23-24) and it is clear that flowers and herbs served this type of reversible function. As Michael C. Schoenfeldt describes in humoral terms, the rose (the epitome of a maid) could be 'beautiful, aromatic, and yet [be used as] a medical purgative'.[266] Gerard's Pinks belong to a sprawling and complex family of plants and he describes the clan thus:

> There are at this day under the name of *Cariophyllus* comprehended divers and sundry sorts of plants, of […] severall shapes, that a great and large volume would not suffice to write of every one at large in particular; considering how infinite they are, and how every yeare every climate and country bringeth forth new sorts, such as have not heretofore been written of; some whereof are called Carnations, others Clove Gillofloures, some Sops in wine, some Pagiants […] [l]ikewise there be sundry sorts of Pinks comprehended under the same title, which shall be described in a severall chapter.[267]

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[263] OED, honesty, II.4.c. Dodoens was also a surgeon and herbarist, suggesting a firm link between the professions of medicine and gardening at this time.
[264] OED, Indian, n.s.1.b.(n), S.1.b., *obs*.
[265] *Vulgaria*, 1519, p. 46.
[266] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, p. 126.
[267] *Herball*, p. 135. 'bluncket' is listed as a light blue colour by Janet Arnold. See *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, Index II, p. 360. Gerard describes some Pinks as being of a light blue colour.

The adjectives used here – diverse, sundry, various, several, great, large, infinite – confirm the family's scope and range to the reader, with new relations cropping up with great regularity and others arriving from foreign climes. The Pink appears to be slightly aloof from the rest and is given a chapter of its own. The Pink's roots have connections with smallness because *Cariophyllus* is the Latin name for the clove tree.[268] Gerard notes that the tree's petals when dried in the sun turn into cloves 'of that dustie black colour, which we daily see wherein they continue.'[269] An etymological link has been noted between cloves and nails.[270] The shape of a dried clove does indeed resemble a nail and both bear a likeness to the pink of cloth-cutting – the small hole made in ornamentation. [271]

How the Pink was named remains a mystery. Gerard records in great detail the international names that the plant had garnered at this point.[272] Pink is listed in Gerard's index of English names (separately from its root family *Cariophyllus*) but the provenance of the nomenclature ends there. However, a key term for Gerard (for

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[268] *Herball*, p. 1352.
[269] *Herball*, pp. 1351-1352.
[270] Linda and Roger Flavell note a correspondence between cloves and nails in the following description: 'the provenance of the word 'clove', used as a spice from the 14th century onwards: '*Cloves*, which are the dried flower-buds of a tropical tree, came from the Indonesian archipelago. *Karuophullon*, the Greek name for the clove, literally means 'nut-leaf', being a compound of *kauron*, 'nut', and *phullon*, 'leaf'. The Latinised form *caryophyllum* was borrowed into Old French as *girofle* and from there into English as *gilofre*, and this was the original name of the spice. The French, however, thought that the spice looked rather like a nail and soon began to call it *clou de girofle*, literally 'girofle nail'. This form was taken into Middle English in the early thirteenth century as *clowe of gilofre* or *clowe-gilofre* but was inevitably soon shortened to *clowe* or *cloue*. Thus the name of the spice has its origins in Latin *clãvus*, 'nail, from which the French word *clou* is derived. Meanwhile the discarded *gilofre* was applied to the clove-scented pink and, influenced by *flower*, evolved as *gillyflower*'. See *A Thousand Years in the History of English* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1999; repr. 2001), p. 68.
[271] I suggested in Chapter Two that the small hole of cloth cutting – a pink – might have been named by sounds made by cloth-cutting implements. By extension of this argument, it is possible that in the example of 'a blacke saten dublet pincked' (*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 144) – the doublet's surface is punctured with eyelet shaped holes (pinks) that resemble small nails (dried cloves) and the *idea* only of what lies beneath is revealed rather than an underlining *per se*. In this way, 'pinks' are holes that signify nothing but impenetrable spaces. This idea is developed in my work on *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Antony and Cleopatra* in Chapter Two.
[272] Gerard notes that: 'The Pinke is called of *Plinie* and *Turner*, *Cantabrica*, and '*Stactice*: of *Fuchsius* and *Dodonaus*, *Vetonica altera* and *Vetonica altilis*: of *L'Obelius* and *Fuchsius*, *Superba*: in French *Gyroflees*, *Oeilletz*, and *Violettes herbues*: in Italian *Garafoli* and *Garoni*: in Spanish, *Clauis*: in English Pinkes, and Smal Honesties.' See *Herball*, p. 478.

both Pinks and Carnations) is 'jagged' – a term that may reflect his conversance with the cuts, knives, and blades of his alternative profession – 'Master in Chirurgerie' – as proclaimed on the title page of his *Herball*, along with his membership of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons.[273]

One Pink that Gerard claimed as unique to his garden, 'Of Nobbed Cranes Bill', with jagged-edged petals, was also known as 'Pincke Needle' and must surely have had something to do with sewing, stitches, and embroidery – and perhaps some bawdy/spiritual connotations inherent in the word 'needle'.[274] It might, I suggest, evoke the implement used for punching small eyelet holes into material. Similarly, Gerard records that 'The White Jagged Pinke' has 'leaves [petals] cut or deeply jagged on the edges, resembling a feather, whereupon I gave it the name *pluminarius*, or feathered Pinke.'[275]

The description of being 'deeply jagged' does not conjure up the delicacy of a feather's edges and seems more akin to the jagged edges made to cloth for ornamentation. It may be recalled from Chapter Two that cloth cuts included jags, slashes and pinks (usually on the main body of a garment such as a doublet) with garding referring to the process of cutting into the edges of material for decoration and to prevent unravelling – a process today undertaken using pinking shears, which are too late for Shakespeare's time.[276] All of this suggests that the cloth-pinks that are possibly named by association with the sounds of the workshop might play a part in influencing the naming of a plant such as the Pink.

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[273] As an early member of the barber-surgeons, Gerard's qualification, 'Master in Chirurgerie', is proclaimed on the *Herball*'s title page. A painting by Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Henry VIII with the Barber-Surgeons' (1541) at Barber-Surgeons Hall commemorates the founding of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons of London in 1540. I would like to thank Joy Thomas at Barber-Surgeons' Hall, Monkwell Square, Wood Street, London EC2Y 5BL for granting me access to see the painting.
[274] *Herball*, pp. 795. For more on meanings for 'needle', please see Chapter Two of this thesis.
[275] *Herball*, p. 473.
[276] It is interesting that today Pinks are known as border flowers and cloth-cutting pinks are generally confined to the edges of garment to stop them from un-ravelling or fraying. It is as if Pinks/pinks (both flower and cloth-cut) have travelled from the centre to the edges of things.

Pinks have their own chapter in the *Herball* – a point that could suggest a certain prestige for this family member. However, Gerard hints at their commonness too in his note of 'divers sorts […] whereof to write particularly were to small purpose, considering they are all well known to the most, if not to all.'[277] However, his claim that there is little point in naming many of them because so many people know them already is undermined by the fact that Gerard does indeed describe so many different Pinks in the *Herball*. Gerard's 'small purpose' for the 'Pink' also hints at the common denominator of 'small' that forms an umbrella term for the 'pinks' of this thesis: small eyelets, small cuts, small flowers, and smallness by mere association with the term.[278] As mentioned above, the family tree *per se* to which the Pink belongs (along with Carnations), begins via a small clove.[279]

Two Pinks of particular interest to this chapter and to Chapter Four are The Virginlike Pinke and the Maidenly Pinke.[280] However, are these two separate Pinks, or just one Pink named twice? The interchangeable nature implied here keys into an early modern duality between the concepts of maid and virgin (a girl is only a maid if a virgin and *vice versa*). Although the qualifier – flower – is not needed in Gerard's plant titles here (because it is clear in his work that flowers are his subject), it is of note that the word 'flower' is described by Eric Partridge in *Shakespeare's Bawdy* as 'a rose that is the maidenhead'.[281] Gerard in his work associates virginity/maidenhead with the spiky sounding flower called a Pinke rather than with the rose.

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[277] *Herball*, p. 475.
[278] Such is the case in *Henry VIII, All Is True* (1613) by Shakespeare and John Fletcher, where a haberdasher's wife who wears a 'pinked porringer' is described as being 'of small wit', as if the size of the bonnet and perhaps its leaky holes have a bearing on her own complexion. (5.2.36).
[279] It is commonly known that carnations smell of cloves. Thanks to Marguerite Mabel Cobbett Butler for this observation.
[280] *Herball*, p. 476.
[281] Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy: A Literary and Psychological Essay and a Comprehensive Glossary* (London: Routledge, 1947; repr. 1968), p. 107.

Gerard informs his readers that Pinks have no 'Physicke' (no medicinal properties) but are 'esteemed for their use in Garlands and Nosegaies' – they are 'kept and maintained in gardens more for to please the eye then either the nose or belly'.[282] Shakespeare refers to Pink flowers collectively in his last play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, written in collaboration with John Fletcher (*c.*1613). Here, they are thrown during a wedding procession by a boy who notes roses 'their sharp spines being gone, / Not royal in their smells alone / But in their hue' and follows straight on with 'Maiden pinks, of odour faint […]' (1.1.1-4). By 1613, Shakespeare could have consulted Gerard's *Herball* to establish that Pinks have little smell. This raises the question as to why they might be useful for nosegays (i.e. pomanders to mask bad smells). But as Janet Clare notes, the nosegay (also a rhetorical word for a poem), could, in its literal meaning, be used as 'a protection against infection' and perhaps the Pink had a role to play here.[283] With the possible exception of the nosegay, these attributes might label the Pink as somewhat trivial in meaning, but the flower garners more serious overtones when read with and through the flower with which it is often confused and conflated: the Carnation.

3.2. Pinks and Carnations: two in one

In naming one Pink flower through the two concepts – The Virginlike Pinke and the Maidenly Pinke (virgin and maid) – Gerard seems to amalgamate two Pinks into one. However, two separate flowers, the Pink and the Carnation, also offer a strange alchemy at this time. As I will discuss in Chapter Four, there is reciprocity between the two flowers with regard to colour. For now, it is the names of the flowers *per se*

[282] *Herball*, pp. 136-137.
[283] Janet Clare, 'Transgressing Boundaries: Women's Writing in the Renaissance and Reformation', *Renaissance Forum,* 1.1 (1996), 1-23 (p.5 and 7). Clare is writing on Isabella Whitney's *A sweet Nosegay, or pleasant Posye contayninge a hundred and ten Phylosophicall Flower* (1573).

that may hold significance. Returning to the description of the *Cariophyllus* kin, above, Gerard explains that Carnations (and possibly clove Gillyflowers) are also referred to as 'Sops in wine' and 'Pagiants'.[284] Although these country-cousin names seem to exclude the Pink, Maggie Campbell-Culver, in her history of English botany, notes that the 'Common Pink' from around 1560 was also known as 'Sops in wine'.[285] If an idea evokes its opposite (the word 'un-pinked' called to mind the word 'pinked', for example), then the 'carnation' may evoke the Christian doctrine of the incarnation of Christ via his Passion – an event seemingly embodied in the flowers given the commonplace names of 'Sops in wine' and 'Pagiant' (pageant). This association of named flowers with religious connotations suggests an early modern society in which important aspects of everyday life are engrained in the words chosen to describe events, which bring their meaning closer to ordinary people. Evidence suggests that the carnation is usually a symbol of Christ's body, blood and Passion and this could be where the word 'pagiant' comes from. The flower is used this way in many medieval paintings.[286]

Although too early for Shakespeare, Hilda Hulme informs us that that 'as a boy in Stratford', Shakespeare had 'better opportunities for seeing plays on the living stage than many a provincial of the present time'.[287] As a kind of *hendiadys*, a reading of the Carnation and the Pink as one through two, or two in one, allows both to acquire a spiritual bent via the Eucharistic objects of bread (sops) and wine that commemorate both the Catholic (literal) and Protestant (figurative) re-enactments of the Last Supper. This association bears fruit in Robert Cawdrey's *First Dictionary*

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[284] *Herball*, p. 135.
[285] Maggie Campbell-Culver, *The Origin of Plants: The People and Plants that have shaped Britain's Garden History since the Year 1000* (London: Headline, 2001), p. 118.
[286] With thanks to Professor Anthony Bale for our discussion on this topic and for providing this insight.
[287] Hilda Hulme, 'Shakespeare of Stratford', *The Review of English Studies,* New Series, 10.37 (1959), 20-25.

(1604) where 'incarnate' is glossed as 'taking flesh upon him, or bring flesh upon him.'[288] Although too late for *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), these connotations tap into the kind of heritage proposed by Greenblatt above. At the Eucharistic feast, God and spirit become one through the idea of Christ. The resemblance of dried cloves to nails, mentioned above, and forming the root of the family to which Carnations and Pinks belong, might be added an air of the divine for the Carnation.[289] Similar connotations surface in Richard Barnfield's *The Affectionate Shepherd* (1594), where the speaker notes amongst a catalogue of garden flowers, 'the scarlet dyed carnation bleeding yet', and the line expresses action in the moment (bleeding) that will continue *ad infinitum* (bleeding yet).[290]

As I noted in Chapter Two, a 'scarlet' was the name for a piece of cloth regardless of its colour, but could be dyed with red to render it ingrain (indelible) – a subject I will revisit in Chapter Four. For now, the added ingredient of 'cloth' suggests the flower as a man, like Adonis, rather than a flower *per se*. Andrew Gurr makes a unique connection between these concepts when he notes, talking of *Henry V*, that '[t]he colour 'carnation was pink like white flesh'.[291] This gloss permits a reading of the Carnation (flower) for its material properties akin to flesh and I suggest that the Pink might be tinted with a similar reading by way of its association with the Carnation. Flowers in drama are useful ways to trope both the transience of life and something of its continuity. Also continuous, to a perplexing degree, is the early

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[288] Cawdrey, *First English Dictionary*, p. 99. In the Christian church, worshipers 'take in' the idea at least of Christ's blood and flesh via wine and wafer.
[289] I am thinking here of the wounds to Christ's body, such as stigmata, caused by nails.
[290] Richard Barnfield, *The Affectionate Shepherd* (1594), ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: repr. for the Percy Society, 1847), line 178. In Barnfield, a flower represents a continually bleeding-body. In Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* the reverse happens when the blood of a man becomes a flower that – thanks to myth – will transcend human transience with its blooms.
[291] William Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, updated edition, New Cambridge, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; 2005), 2.3.28, n. 28. Gurr is commenting on colour here and not flower.

modern understood relationship between Pinks, Carnations and Gillyflowers, which forms the final part of this section.

3.3. Pinks, Carnations, Gillyflowers: Three in one, and an in-between period

The strange joining offered by *hendiadys* can add a touch of mystery and spirituality to the join in question, as noted. Carnations and Pinks (singly and together) can further be placed with the Gillyflower - as a triad (three flowers in one) and with the Gillyflower as an umbrella term for all three. This tripartite fusing has a bearing on when the Pink was considered to be in bloom. In my discussion on *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in Chapter One, I called attention to Shakespeare's use of Pentecost as marking dramatic time. The blush was mentioned nearby to mark moments of transition or revelation. The subject is implied in *Romeo and Juliet*, I suggest, by way of Shakespeare's use of the Pink flower. Roy Genders, in his work on Pinks and Carnations, contends that the Pink might be named by association with Pentecost because the festival's German name is 'Pinksten'; he finds that the inclusion of 'the pink' with the historically named 'Whitsun Gillyflower' confirms that these plants flourish 'early in June, almost a month before carnations, a factor from which they must derive a great deal of their popularity for they bloom during that in-between period […]'.[292] In this explanation, Carnation and Pink (conflated and confused in Shakespeare's time, and sometimes today) become separated: the

[292] Roy Genders, *Garden Pinks*, p. 13. Although colour is of concern for my next chapter it is of note that the blush's notional poetic colours of red and white come into play at Pentecost. Pentecost is the Christian festival celebrating the coming of the Holy Spirit that came to the disciples as tongues of flame [red] that sounded like wind. The white dove is also a symbol of Pentecost. I am grateful to Deborah Spiers for this insight.

Carnation blooms a month earlier than the Pink. The Pink is conflated, instead, with the Gillyflower.[293]

It seems that even Gerard may have been overwhelmed at times by the complexity of the clove family. For example the illustration for 'The great double Carnation' with petals like ripped flesh (mentioned earlier) is described on a separate page as 'The great carnation gilloflower'.[294] But rather than this being an error in notation, it seems that there is simply an enmeshed blend between these flowers. The Pink flower appears in this mélange by default because Pinks and Carnations can conflate, as can Gillyflowers in early modern botanical terms. That the modern and early modern interpretations of the connection between these three flowers do not exactly fit is an advantage rather than a disadvantage because it allows the flowers – all three, but particularly for my study, the Pink – the air of a free-floating tenor that offers potential for interpretation when applied to drama and inspired by my blush model. It is through Shakespeare's poetic interpretation of this plant family that a claim for Pinks as late summer flowers can be made. I suggest that Pinks are absent-present in *The Winter's Tale* as Perdita offers her floral gifts to the Bohemian country gathering and explains to Polixenes:

> […] the year growing ancient,
> Not yet on summer's death, nor on the birth
> Of our trembling winter, the fairest flowers o'th' season,
> Are our carnations and streaked gillyvors,
> Which some call nature's bastards. Of that kind
> Our rustic garden's barren […] (*WT*. 4.4.79-84)

An association of the divine with Carnations/Pinks seems undermined in Perdita's relief that these flowers are *not* in the garden now – even though it is the correct time

[293] It is of note that the Carnation is missing from Gerard's index of English names for reasons that are not clear.
[294] See 'The great double Carnation', p. 472, fig. 1., 'The great Carnation Gilloflower', p. 473.

of year for them, her reason being that Carnations and Gillyflowers (and by implication, Pinks) are artificially grafted – man-made and un-natural – and therefore hint at painted ladies (prostitutes) and not maids.[295] If the Pink is coiled within Perdita's meaning, then the Pink is implied as a very late-summer/almost autumn flower (not summer's end and not winter's beginning) – a description that does not square with Gender's Pentecost Pink. What it does suggest is that these flowers help to trope a time of semi-transition in *The Winter's Tale* because, shortly, Perdita will return to her mother, Hermione, revealed to be not a cold statue but a flesh-and-blood woman in the early autumn of her life. I suggest a similar function of playing with time for the Pink in *Romeo and Juliet*.

The 'Pink for flower' scene is often explained more by the rhetorical idea of courtesy than by the flower that is a Pink.[296] But the flower itself has much to offer. Pinks, which are confused and conflated with Carnations (and Gillyflowers) are small with jagged edges, have little medicinal use, are used for garlands and nosegays, are common yet beloved, and are late-early/early-late mid-way flowers. In the second part of this chapter, I consider the difference this makes to commonality, transience, and time in the small bridging scene that I argue is key to marking Mercutio's questionable self-worth and troping Romeo's transition from boy to man.

[295] Another factor for Perdita's maidenly awkwardness could be due to an association of 'Carnation' with the skin, implied in Cawdrey's definitions of 'carnalitie' as 'fleshlines' and 'carnall' as fleshly, pleasing the flesh'. See Cawdrey, *First English Dictionary*, p. 61. John Pitcher discusses Shakespeare's flowers in depth in his introduction to *The Winter's Tale* for The Arden Shakesepeare: see 'Pastorals', pp. 48-50.

[296] See for example, Hunter and Lichtenfels, *Negotiating Shakespeare's Language in Romeo and Juliet,* pp. 107-109.

3.4. Not just the flower of courtesy: cuts, commonality and transience in *Romeo and Juliet*

The 'Pink for flower' scene occurs in the second act of a play that makes reference to flowers from the outset. Lady Capulet describes Paris (the man she hopes her daughter will marry) with the hyperbolic phrase, 'Verona's summer hath not such a flower' and the Nurse concurs, 'Nay, he's a flower, in faith, a very flower' (*RJ*. 1.3.79-80). The scene occupies a small space within a play that is noted for double meanings. Jill L. Levenson suggests that the 'implements and acts of combat' conflate [to] provide the dialogue with metaphors' and raises the example of 'punctilio' (used within the idiom of fencing) that can also suggest - in meaning, sound and spelling - a small puncture to the body. [297]

In my previous chapter, I argued that the word 'unpinked' would call to mind its opposite action of cloth that is 'pinked' with ornamentation. In Verona's hot summer, Samson's opening gambit that he will cut off the heads of maids or their maidenheads, and that Gregory should take it 'in what sense thou wilt', widens the brief of 'cuts' in the play to include small things that hurt: the stab of Cupid's arrow, a small cut to the body, the notion of being deflowered, and the knives and jagged edges that might make those cuts (1.1.120-125). A Pink flower, belonging to a sprawling family in which relations are confused and complex can bring a flesh-and-blood reality to proceedings in a similar way to the notion of real implements. Following a flower's trajectory of bud, bloom, blast, I consider the Pink flower at the intersection of the rhetorical and the real with a leaning towards the real flower's qualities.

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[297] See Jill L Levenson, "*Alla stoccado* carries it away": Codes of Violence in *Romeo and Juliet* in *Shakespeare's* Romeo and Juliet: Texts, Contexts, and Interpretation, ed. by Jay L. Halio (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), pp. 83-84.

3.4.1. Buds and blushes

In Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* the lovers first meet on a blush that is merely spoken and, moreover, is given a one-step-removed feel by way of their placement on to other bodies: they are 'blushing pilgrims', as Romeo describes it in a way that lets him kiss Juliet without the loss of her modesty. Romeo says:

> If I profane with my unworthiest hand
> This holy shrine, the gentler sin is this:
> My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand
> To smooth that rough touch with a gentle kiss. (1.5.92-95)

Despite the play's concern with with a flower called a Pink, it is the blush that introduces a theme of mutability to the play. Blushing is a key sign of life and it is a sign that in a hideous example of reverse alchemy will be turned to cold metal (gold) at the play's end. But the lines above with their focus on hands and lips introduce the focus on small items that are so important to a play that concerns life's major issues of love, friendship, family duty, and death. Items that are of key importance to the 'Pink for flower' scene to come are a case, a mask, a pump (shoe), and pricks. These are set up in Act 1, as Mercutio, Benvolio and Romeo prepare for the Capulet ball. Romeo, lovesick for Rosaline, ponders that masks are 'happy' because they "kiss fair ladies' brows" and therefore touch the part of her face that a man would wish to caress: however, '[b]eing black [they put] us in mind [that] they hide the fair' (1.1.227-228). In other words, they reveal as they conceal, akin to a 'blacke saten dublet pincked' recorded in Henslowe's diary that suggests a deeper meaning but in reality simply reveals a ruffled surface.[298]

[298] That which conceals can reveal by implication. This idea finds credence in the jacket cover used for the hardback edition of W. Ray Crozier's *Blushing and the Social Emotions*. Here the effect of a 'blushing' stone face is achieved through covering one cheek with the hand: covering both cheeks with both hands might suggest shock or surprise, whereas one cheek covered invites us to consider that which lies beneath. For the doublet, see *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 144.

Romeo calls attention to another small item – his pumps, or dancing shoes – that will be unable to perform the function for which they were designed because he is 'too sore empiercèd' with Cupid's dart. Cupid's feathered wings along with his 'shaft' recall the feathered pink of Gerard's garden and augment the juxtaposition of Romeo's hard/soft imagery in the scene. (1.4.14-20). Mercutio now turns attention back to the face with his strange example of a blushing mask:

> *Mercutio*: If love be rough with you, be rough with love.
> Prick love for pricking, and you beat love down.
> Give me a case to put my visage in,
> A visor for a visor. What care I
> What curious eye doth quote deformity?
> Here are the beetle brows shall blush for me. (1.4.27-32)

Maurice Palmer Tilley, writing in 1910, noted that the word "beetle-brows" occurs only once in Shakespeare; he felt that whereas other critics focused on 'the form of the mask that Mercutio puts on' – for him, drawing on Lyly's earlier use of the term – the word 'direct[s] our attention particularly to the black color of the mask.'[299] If so, then the brows' being black like velvet brings the qualities of hue and cloth into play – but this does not explain why the brow should blush rather than the cheek. Jill Levenson notes Tilley's argument for 'a simple black velvet mask' but prefers 'a mask with prominent eyebrows and reddened cheeks.'[300] The two-worded phase that she favours ('beetle brows' over Tilley's collective 'beetle-brows') suggests that brows and cheeks are separate rather than the sole image suggested in Tilley's hyphenated 'beetle-brows', and the distinction between brows that blush, and cheeks

[299] Maurice P. Tilley, 'Two Shakespearian Notes, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 25, No. 8 (December 1910), pp. 262-263, p. 263.
[300] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, The Oxford Shakespeare, Oxford World's Classics, ed. by Jill L. Levenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; repr. 2008), p. 181. n. 30.

that blush, remains hazy.[301] However, this somewhat grotesque image brings to mind a prosthetic, painted blush that is an ever-fixed mark and subverts the authenticity of the natural blush, though it is involuntary and unbidden.

The description suggests that the mask is fashioned with the overhanging brows that might take focus away from the cheeks whether they are covered or not. It could be that Mercutio's character lacks confidence in his appearance and, therefore, a container for his face – a visor for a visor – would serve to replace one unhandsome visage with another. He may wish that he could woo the ladies unblushingly in any crude manner that takes his fancy and let his mask act as a blushing material, absorbing his own blushes behind its concrete frame.[302] In this way, he might be 'low-growing', like the Pink flower as described in the *OED* above. However, Mercutio's wish for a mask that he can blush behind suggests a sensitive man fearing the sense of self that is lost in unwanted blushes as one's metaphorical inner-lining seems to be fleetingly exposed to all. A dramatic blush can add a sense of authenticity and appeasement to a character that can seem overly full of jest. Blushes suggest a sudden change in the moment and – despite his Mercurial sounding name – Mercutio does not want to lose his friend to Rosaline or any woman's love and wants things to stay as they are. A mask that cannot blush in reality allows him to remain one step removed from things and perhaps even blush behind it, unseen. However, this dead piece of 'blushing' material is important in its anticipation of Romeo's seismic meeting with Juliet at the ball – one where his lips are 'two blushing pilgrims' –

[301] The distinction between blushing brows and blushing cheeks is seldom clear in this period. What is clear is that the blush can be associated with the brow at this time. The subject is beyond the scope of my current argument but is ripe for future research within the fields of early modern mind-body, affect, and physiognomy.

[302] Mercutio's beetle brows key into the theme of 'blushing materials' where I argue that the proximity of materials to the verbal yet invisible stage-blush (the subject of this thesis: the blush heard and not seen) might help to give the ineffable nature of such stage-blushing a more concrete 'presence'. See A. M. Butler, *Reversible Images*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis (King's College London, 2010).

rhetorical interpolations that allow him to engage with Juliet in intimate yet courtly safety. (1.5.94) As soon as Romeo sees Juliet, he is indeed 'empiercèd' with Cupid's needle and Rosaline is forgotten. However, Rosaline's 'presence' begins Romeo's shift from rhetorical infatuation to love for a flesh-and-blood woman and, hence, his progression from juvenility to maturity.

3.4.2. Blooms and a Pink

The play's blushes (mask and lips) herald some time for pause and reflection. In the orchard, Romeo declares his love for Juliet and she declares hers for him. Meanwhile, the former's friends spend parallel time speculating on what Romeo has been doing. Mercutio imagines Romeo 'already dead – stabbed / with a white wench's black eye, run through the ear / with a love song, the very pin of his heart cleft with the / blind bow-boy's butt-shaft […]' (2.3.12-16). Shakespeare's lines reflect the idea that small things can hurt the most as the imagery navigates the trajectory from surface - the eye, the ear – to depths, and the heart's very pin. Warming to his theme, Mercutio relates Tybalt's renown as 'the very butcher of a silk button […] a duellist' (2.3.21-24). The use of 'button' is an example of small things that can cause great damage – ones that even a touch of the 'silk' on which they sit cannot assuage. In a subversion of the 'pink of courtesy' (the smallest amount of courtesy required to express the greatest courtesy), here, a tiny cut – one no bigger than a buttonhole's eyelet – is enough to kill a man when the jagged blade is in the right hands. Ewan Fernie notes that in early modern society 'the ears of convicted criminals were cropped, their noses slit, their foreheads or cheeks branded'.[303] Here, there is something heart-breaking in the body's small apertures and portals being so assaulted. Mercutio's language here

[303] Ewan Fernie, *Shame in Shakespeare* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002). p. 60. It is well documented that Ben Jonson's thumb was branded in this manner.

anticipates the small slit that will prove his own undoing at Tybalt's hand a little later in the play. Small things that kill prepare the way for Romeo's reappearance and for the 'Pink for flower' scene to begin. The scene is quoted in full so that the wider implications of 'Pink for flower' can be appreciated:

> Romeo: Good morrow to you both. What counterfeit did I / give you?
>
> Mercutio: The slip, sir, the slip. Can you not conceive?
>
> Romeo: Pardon, good Mercutio. My business was great, and in such a case as mine a man may strain courtesy.
>
> Mercutio: that's as much as to say such a case as yours constrains a man to bow in the hams.
>
> Romeo: Meaning to curtsy.
>
> Mercutio: Thou hast most kindly hit it.
>
> Romeo: A most courteous exposition.
>
> Mercutio. Nay, I am the very pink of courtesy.
>
> Romeo: Pink for flower.
>
> Mercutio: Right.
>
> Romeo: Why, then is my pump well flowered.
>
> Mercutio: Sure wit, follow me this jest now till thou hast worn out thy pump, that when the single sole of it is worn, the jest may remain, after the wearing, solely singular.
>
> Romeo: O single-soled jest, solely singular for the singleness!
>
> Mercutio: Come between us, good Benvolio. My wits faints.
>
> Romeo: Switch and spurs, switch and spurs, or I'll cry a match.
>
> Mercutio: Nay, if our wits run the wild-goose chase, I am done, for thou has more of the wild goose in one of thy wits than I am sure I have in my whole five. Was I with / you there for the goose?
>
> Romeo: Thou was never with me for anything when thou wast not there for the goose.

> Mercutio: I will bite thee by the ear for that jest.
>
> Romeo: Nay, good goose, bite not.
>
> Mercutio: Thy wit is very bitter sweeting, it is a most sharp sauce.
>
> Romeo: And is it not then well served in to a sweet goose?
>
> Mercutio: O, here's a wit of cheverel, that stretches from an inch narrow to an ell broad.
>
> Romeo: I stretch it out for that word 'broad', which, added to the goose, proves thee far and wide a broad goose.
>
> Mercutio: Why, is not this better now than groaning for love? Now art thou sociable, now art thou Romeo, now art thou what thou art by art as well as by nature, for this drivelling love is like a great natural that runs lolling up and down to hide his bauble in a hole.
>
> Benvolio: Stop there, stop there.
>
> Mercutio: Thou desirest me to stop in my tale against the hair.
>
> Benvolio: Thou wouldst else have made thy tale large.
>
> Mercutio: O, thou art deceived, I would have made it short, for I was come to the whole depth of my tale, and meant indeed to occupy the argument no longer.
>
> *Enter the Nurse, and Peter, her man*
>
> Romeo: Here's goodly gear.
>
> [Benvolio] A sail, a sail! (2.3.44-94)

Working from the scene's beginning, it is useful to imagine Romeo lurking in the shadows during his friends' conversation so that he has a chance to register the tone of their dialogue and one that he too must uphold if he is to keep his newfound love with Juliet a safe secret. The physical mask worn at the ball (an event that now seems so long ago) becomes a rhetorical mask of self-fashioning and dissimulation for Romeo. In questioning what 'counterfeit', or falsity, he could possibly be being

accused of, attention is called to his true counterfeit – that he is no longer the man he was, but for now he must pretend to be the same (2.3.45).

Scholarly attention has been paid to the bawdy undertones and double meanings in these lines. In keeping up with Mercutio's bawdy register, Romeo protects his new status (he is no longer a single soul) whilst keeping Mercutio in the dark regarding the true tenor of this change. Romeo honours his affection for his friend – an affection that must necessarily change soon because Romeo's true kin are now of the Capulet faction. [304] Such a reading, along with a rhetorical reading of 'pink of courtesy' as 'the epitome of courtesy', works fine for the scene. But Romeo's response to Mercutio's 'I am the very pink of courtesy' – his 'Pink for flower' (Q2) or 'Pinke for flower?' (Q1) still seems an odd response to make unless an early modern audience is party to a language of flowers that associates the Pink flower with courtesy. Such ideas are engrained in the popular imagination for other flowers; for example, in *Hamlet*, Ophelia knows that pansies are 'for thoughts' (4.5.176-177).[305] As we have seen earlier, 'Maiden Pinks' are known for having an 'odour faint' (*TNK*, above). I suggest that the Pink, here, starting the sentence as it does, and minus an epithet such as 'Maiden', refers to male attributes of being like the Pink flower.

A reading that focuses attention on the 'real' rather than a rhetorical reading of the Pink allows the flower's attributes to be brought to bear on Mercutio's relationship with Romeo; the line that stimulates such a reading is his note that Romeo has 'most kindly hit it'. So far, they have been of the same kind – both

[304]In the brief span since the orchard and now, Tybalt, Juliet's cousin, is now by implication almost a relative through Romeo's engagement to her.

[305] Some floral meanings continue to be engrained in the cultural imagination. For example, it would seem inappropriate for a wedding guest to bring roses (the flowers of love) as a gift. It is unclear if the flower Pink has ever been associated with courtesy: with thanks to Josephine Farley and Jane Jupp for helping to corroborate this point. However, this suggests to me that for early moderns, 'pink' could have acted as a catalyst to embellish other meanings and have nothing to do with the Pink flower *per se*. It is interesting to note that carnations are today thought of as filler flowers. This area is ripe for further research.

enjoying the single life yet enjoying it together. Mercutio is not ready for the single life that beckons when Romeo does find love. It may be recalled that for John Gerard, Pinks are of 'divers sorts […] whereof to write particularly were to small purpose, considering they are all well known to the most, if not to all.' This presents the Pink family as a popular one, but also somehow plebeian with so many kin that it is impossible to name them all individually. Roy Genders, in his writing on Pinks, uses this quotation from Gerard to support his point that for Elizabethans, 'the pink had become everyone's flower'.[306] But Mercutio does not want to be 'everyone's flower' – he wants to be special to Romeo. The word 'kind' permits a return to being part of a clan (relative or no) and being alert to another's pain. And Romeo does want to be kind. It is for this reason that he does not totally abandon the tone that Mercutio has established and there is debate about Romeo's reference to his 'pump' being well flowered. [307]

Romeo's rising maturity seems to come to the fore here: he knows that he must not seem too unlike his former self and reinstates their bawdy register, both to be kind to his friend and to keep Mercutio in the dark regarding his (Romeo's) new status. It is of course possible that a pump is merely flowered – and such flowering returns us to the ornamentation of pinking that could be equally achieved on leather as on cloth. The question of whether or not such flowers refer to *flowers* (prosthetic blooms attached to shoes) or 'pinks' that are perforated in the shape of flowers (creating a Russian Doll effect), as for the jerkin mentioned in Chapter Two, is still unclear.[308] The scene now continues on to the arrival of the Nurse and her man.

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[306] Genders, *Garden Pinks*, p. 12.
[307] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series, ed. by Brian Gibbons (London: Methuen, 1980; reprint 2008), 2.ii.n.69.
[308] Loehlin notes that in productions today, this bawdy connection is made very clear where, for example, 'Sean Bean put his shoe on the café table to demonstrate the surface meaning of this quip [but] Leonardo DiCaprio grabbed his crotch to suggest another meaning.' See Loehlin, *Romeo and*

3.4.3. Blast, holes, and gold

The whole 'Pink for flower' scene has been subject to cuts in modern productions.[309] Jill Levenson notes that 'the exchange between Mercutio and Romeo is often cut, *especially* between lines 59-94' (i.e. between Mercutio's 'sure wit, follow me this jest now […]' and Romeo's 'Here's goodly gear'): therefore we stop on Romeo's 'Why, then, is my pump well flowered' and resume with the entrance of the Nurse and her man, Peter.'[310] In such a case, 'Pink for flower' is retained and the meaning is complete. But what we lose is precious time for things to be unravelled.[311] It is notable that the dialogue stretches far beyond the lines that are of particular interest to this chapter. But what the post-'flower' lines achieve is a slowing down of time that allows their effect to unfold. Alan C. Dessen addresses this issue in his discussion on modern cinematic cuts to Juliet's soliloquy in Act Four as she waits for her now-husband Romeo to return, noting that, through such cutting, 'the moment when Juliet attains a stature granted to no-one else in the play, including Romeo' is lost when in fact 'the potential horrors detailed in the *what ifs* [are] essential to conveying the difficulty of her choice and the courage needed to make it.'[312]

Juliet, Shakespeare in Production, p. 151, n. 52. Shakespeare, aware as he is of the cloth-cutting use of 'pink' (he has already used 'unpinked' in *The Taming of the Shrew* at this point in his writing career), may also be associating the 'pinking' of cloth or leather with the idea of a delicate member of the male body studded with tiny, eye-shaped apertures.

[309] It is of note I feel that the lines that form the basis of this chapter are retained in both Q1 and Q2, suggesting that they were important to Shakespeare.

[310] See Levenson, *Romeo and Juliet*, 2.3.n. 53, p. 231.

[311] Other cuts are more severe. James N. Loehlin records slashes that include 'Romeo's apology: "Pardon, good Mercutio. My business was great, and / in such a case as mine a man may strain courtesy" (2.3.47-48) and resume with the stage direction announcing the entry of the Nurse and Peter (2.3.92).' In this case, the whole of 'Pink for flower' is lost. See William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare in Production, ed. by James N. Loehlin, n. 44-82, p. 150.
For Edward L. Rocklin, the complex and witty exchange between Romeo and Mercutio 'does not produce much laughter for readers and is not an option for spectators'; ways for directors and actors 'to deal with this problem' include cutting 'almost the entire segment [and] leaving only the short exchange about straining courtesy before the Nurse enters.'[311] Again, here, 'Pink for flower' is lost. See Edward L. Rocklin, *Romeo and Juliet: The Shakespeare Handbooks* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 40.

[312] See Alan Dessen, 'Teaching What's Not There', in *Shakespeare in Performance: A Collection of Essays*, ed. by Frank Occhiogrosso (Newark and London: Rosemont, 2003), pp. 104-111 (pp. 108-109).

In a similar way, a great deal has happened in this play within a very short space of time and some slowing down is necessary. When we first meet Romeo, he is a lovesick fool, desperate for recognition from the unseen Rosaline. By the end of 2.3, he is a new man with new responsibilities and allegiances. Banter between these friends, rather than tedious and superfluous to the plot, forms an important bridge that spans the space between juvenility and maturation. As the jesting continues now throughout the remainder of the extract, Mercutio, reassured that all is well, concludes 'is not this better now than groaning for love? Now art thou sociable, now art thou Romeo' (80-85). But of course, Romeo is anything but the man he was before.

That the banter does continue until the Nurse's arrival is evidenced by the fact that she must have caught the tail end of it for her to comment that, in her opinion, Romeo 'is not the flower of courtesy' (2.4.43). Ironically, it is Romeo's being 'the pink of courtesy' to his new kinsman, Tybalt, that leads to Mercutio's fall in the duel scene of Act 3. As Levenson observes, Romeo does not 'observe punctilio […] he does not accept Tybalt's challenge' to a duel. [313] In an ironic twist, Romeo is the 'butcher' and Mercutio the 'button' because, as Mercutio admits, it is not a big cut, perhaps only the size of a pinked aperture, but it is 'enough' (3.1.96-104).

To finish, I want to consider how questions concerning the time of year when a Pink blooms can help to mark the span from juvenility to maturation for Romeo that I have argued in this chapter. This playing with the idea of night involves three moments of artificial time. The first is the play's beginning, as Montague recalls that his Romeo (sick with lovesickness), 'private in his chamber pens himself, / Shuts up his windows, locks fair daylight out, / And makes himself an artificial night' (1.1.135-137). This is of course a doubly artificial affair in that Romeo's love for Rosaline is

[313] Jill Levenson, "*Alla stoccado* carries it away", p. 88.

rhetorical and not real. A second occurs in the orchard as Juliet's luminosity (from her window) causes Romeo to remark that 'birds would sing and think it were not night' (2.1.64). The third concerns events way past the 'Pink for flower' scene when the lovers have consummated their marriage and Juliet, anxious for it to be night and not morning, tells Romeo that 'the nightingale, and not the lark […] pierced the fear-full hollow of thine ear. Nightly she sings on yon pom'granate tree.' (3.5.2-4). Here, a small aperture (the ear) is full of fear – not in a physical sense, but because of the knell of morning that it will hear unless deceived. This notion of shifting time – of making time what we want it to be – is embodied in the Pink: possibly an early summer flower but - according to Perdita's authority in *The Winter's Tale* - a late-summer flower, verging on the autumnal. If so, the flower not only 'speaks' of time but can also represent the named male 'flowers' of *Romeo and Juliet's* field – Mercutio and Romeo – both of whom will ultimately die before they can reach full bloom. At the play's end, after the death of Mercutio, Tybalt, and the lovers, Montague declares that he will 'raise [Juliet's] statue in pure gold' in a gesture of shared grief towards Capulet (5.3.298). In an alchemical sense, dross has been turned to gold – the families' feuding is over. But the reversal means that a blush of gleaming metal is all that will remain.

Conclusion

Released from its rhetorical moorings of courtesy, the Pink's qualities can come to the fore. The plant is confused with other flowers, has little use in medicine, and its time of blooming is not certain. Yet the Pink is small enough to make a difference, is beloved, and helps to mark shifting and transient time. There could be a disjunction between the 'pink' that is used for courtesy and the 'Pink' that is a flower. The word 'pink' – as we saw in Chapter Two – refers to a hole that is in effect, a nothing.

Decoration of cloth is via an absence (a hole) rather than a presence (material that is uncut and therefore perfect). The Pink flower may simply be a bloom that has a function to perform that is independent of courtesy. In this chapter, I have determinedly refused to allow colour to brighten proceedings, in an attempt to demonstrate an early modern Pink as a flower *per se*. In preparation for Chapter Four, it is now appropriate to bring some colour back. Roy Genders notes that Pinks 'derive a great deal of their popularity [because] they bloom during that in-between period, when there is little colour in the garden.'[314] It transpires that the flowers of the pomegranate tree – the tree from which Juliet's preferred bird, the nightingale, sings – has flowers that are Carnation colour. [315] As Perdita notes, Gillyflowers are 'streaked'. What colours, then, might the Pink, the Carnation and the Gillyflower bring to the early modern garden world and, by extension, to the colours of cloth and fashion? And how can we account for the presence of 'pink colour' in the Wardrobe Accounts of Queen Elizabeth I, and in a sole play by John Marston, Shakespeare's contemporary? I will attempt to unravel some of these answers in the chapter that follows, by turning to the subject of an early modern colour that is 'nor red, nor white'.

[314] Genders, *Garden Pinks*, p. 13.
[315] *Herball*, pp. 1261-1262.

Chapter Four

Nor red nor white: the emergence of the colour pink on the early modern stage[316]

Introduction

> [one mantle] with a traine of pale pincke coloured networke; [one mantle] of pincke Colour net striped with silver or copper.
> – Queen Elizabeth 1st, Wardrobe Accounts, 1600 [317]

> He eates well and right slouenly, and when the dice
> fauor him goes in good cloathes, and scowers his pinke collour
> silk stockings.
> – John Marston *What You Will*, 1601

> You must grind your Pinke, if you will haue it sad coloured, with saffron.
> – Henry Peacham (1606) [318]

In Chapter One of this thesis, I read the word 'colour' in its rhetorical sense. In this chapter, I turn to 'colour' in its guise as a hue to argue that the blush's transience plays a part in helping to capture and unravel the complex 'birth' and 'death' of an early modern colour/material substance. So far in this thesis, I have stripped the word 'pink' of its colour in order to imagine what Shakespeare might have thought about seeing the word written down or hearing it spoken. If Shakespeare's use of the word is used as a guide, then so far, for him, it is an eye-shape and a cloth-cutting term relating to ornamentation, and a small flower named Pink for its attributes rather than for its colour. Sujata Iyengar writes of the face-painting techniques that make 'pink cheeks unreadable as signs of innocence or guilt, prurience or purity, Englishness or strangeness' – but for Shakespeare at this point in time, the phrase 'pink cheeks'

[316] I use pink colour to signify our modern sense of pink as a hue within a range of shades that can be placed on the spectrum between the colours of red and white.
[317] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd,* pp. 257-258, f.13.18; and p. 258, f.32. Arnold lists pink as a cloth-cutting technique in her index.
[318] H. Pecham, Gent, *The Art of Drawing with the Pen, And Lim-ming in Water Colovrs, More Exactlie Then Heretofore Tavght, and enlarged: with the true manner of Painting vpon glasse, the order of making your furnace, Annealing, & c.* (London, 1606), I2^{r}, p. 59. There is no 'a' in Peacham on the title page of this edition: spelling at this time was not standardized. Henceforth, 'Peacham', and page reference.

might conjure up the notion of a face that is covered in little cuts rather than a cheek to which a certain amount of blood gives a tint to make passing feelings apparent. [319] How then do we explain my three epigraphs above? In the first, an item of haberdashery from the Queen's Wardrobe Accounts (*c*.1600) is described as netting that is pink coloured. In the second, stockings are of a pink hue. And in the third, pink seems to be a substance that can be ground into a powder that is added to another substance. What therefore is the story behind the early modern pink colour? In this chapter, I argue that the colour pink is a present yet absent in early modern drama and culture. I use the blush model from my previous chapters to show that the colour pink, too, can be said to have a free-floating tenor with potential at this time – but it is a potential that seems to be thwarted because the colour – having been 'born' – then disappears until the mid-seventeenth century, exceeding the parameters that I have set for this thesis.

The human blush marks a moment of transience that is well suited to the subject of the fleeting presence of a colour. The blush might be termed as a natural dye on the face (and hence a sign of innate virtue) because the process of blushing produces an involuntary internal change that is independent of guile or prosthetic ornament – a change that registers just below the skin's surface. As such, the blush as an exploratory lens opens up the possibility of broad discussions of early modern dyes and the chemical/alchemical processes involved in their making.[320] Nevertheless, red and white together *do* make the colour pink. How, then, was this colour generally described in early modern terms? And what did the word 'pink' mean – both when aligned with the word 'colour' and on its own, but out of its cloth-cutting and flower contexts? Moreover, if the colour pink is too early for Shakespeare and he never

[319] Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 123.
[320] The relationship between blushing-red fabric dyes is a subject rich in potential that is beyond the scope of my current thesis.

makes use of it, how can the word's presence in certain early modern works be accounted for, as exemplified in the three epigraphs in this chapter, to which I will return? Might the word mean a 'not' colour – something neutral, or something more of a catalyst in its colour sense? Or is the hue silently present, lurking, and simply ahead of its time?

The history of colours and dyes is fraught with complexity and a method is needed to aid its disentanglement. Bruce R. Smith provides such a model in his groundbreaking work, *The Key of Green*, where he states that in the pre-Cartesian period of study, 'thinking color, like thinking anything else, was a whole-body experience' and supports this claim by reading green through wide-ranging frames of reference that include early modern psychology, botany, chemistry, and geometry.[321] Can the colour pink be studied in a similar fashion? A problem occurs because one can count on the word green as an established colour term but the same cannot be said for pink at this time. A spectator watching a play at The Globe in, say, 1598 might see Romeo in a green mantle and think that it is a cloak that is coloured green. However, a rosy coloured item must have generally been described in terms that I will consider shortly when I consider how the colour pink might have translated for Shakespeare. Another way to exemplify this major difference is to take a twenty-first century example of the apparent influence of the colour pink. For Barbara Nemitz:

> Pink addresses our senses in more ways than other colors. Our eyes blend white (the color of brightness and light) with dominant red (which radiates warmth and vitality), and elicits the sense of touch (the human skin, the organ responsible for physical feeling), the sense of closeness, the sense of taste (sweetness and fruitiness) and the sense of smell (the fragrance of blossoms).[322]

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[321] Smith, *Key of Green*, pp. 3, 26. Smith studies green in all of its early modern permutations including the period post-Descartes, that is outside of my range for this thesis. For more detail on Smith's method and work in this book, please see my introduction to this thesis.

[322] Barbara Nemitz, ed., *Pink: The Exposed Color in Contemporary Art and Culture* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2006), p. 27.

This quotation's mention of a red/white blend for skin (eliciting the sense of touch) offers an opportunity to repeat an important point mentioned in my introduction that everyone has the potential to blush, regardless of skin-type, and hence a modern phrase such as 'the pink blushes of embarrassment' that Michael Neill deploys in his discussion of *Othello* might be taken rhetorically rather than literally.[323]

The use of this modern quotation may seem to go against the grain of my thesis's aim to be non-anachronistic. Indeed, the account can be served by early modern equivalents: the eyes see the eyelet shaped 'pinks' of ornamentation on the clothes that are worn, which either touch the skin or suggest its concealed presence; and John Gerard's fruits and flowers might elicit the senses of taste and smell – senses that are closely connected. However, once again, Nemitz has an accepted colour term in 'pink' but, more importantly for my argument, her account omits the sense of hearing. As I have been saying, the blush that is of interest to this thesis is in real life visible but silent, but on the stage is invisible yet audible via the performer's voice. The colour term 'pink' – if heard – need not be seen for its dramatic effect to be realised.

In the first section of this chapter, I consider the rosy colours that were available to Shakespeare before the colour pink was generally available. I then move on to the strange alchemy that is presented in the colour term, pink-yellow, to see if the roots of early modern pink colour may lie here. Finally, I use Shakespeare's Sonnet 99 as a springboard into a discussion of two plays – John Marston's *What You Will* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night or What You Will* – to explore new connections between the two playwrights that arise by way of their shared titles and shared stocking motifs (pink for Marston, yellow for Shakespeare) and, overall, to

[323] Sujata Iyengar in *Shades of Difference* offers a recent discussion on issues of race and skin colour, as mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis.

investigate whether John Marston is the first early modern playwright in extant drama to refer to the colour pink.

4.1. Blush colour and carnation colour are not pink colour

Shakespeare and John Fletcher in their final play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613), capture beautifully the prevailing debate of nature versus art. In the garden, Emilia asks if her maid can 'work such flowers in silk' and decides that they should leave the sun's midday heat before it ruins both their delicate skin and the delicate blooms they have been gathering, go indoors, and 'see how close art can come near their colours' (2.2.127; 149-150). Some of these fictional flowers may have been Pinks. Writers today find that it is the Pink flower that names the colour term. Roy Genders notes that:

> The word 'pink' denoting the hue, which is now so familiar a word in the English language, actually takes its name from the plant. It is, surprisingly, a word of quite recent introduction, the garden writers of pre-Restoration days rarely making mention of the colour. Pink flowers were always known as 'flesh' or 'blush', whilst Shakespeare alluded to the colour by using the word 'carnation'. It was not until about the middle of the eighteenth century that the word 'pink' for the colour came to be widely used in the English language.[324]

But Emilia cannot make the same connection and, as I will show, Shakespeare's use of 'carnation' as a colour term is complicated, as are colour terms in general at a time when spelling was not standardised and etymology was emergent but often obscure. It may be partly for this reason that Henry Peacham, in the second book of his treatise on drawing and painting, advises his readers that, 'I will shewe you next the righte mingling and ordering of your co-lors that after you can draw indifferent well (for

[324] Genders, *Garden Pinks*, p. 13. In Gender's note above, the sccond paragraph begins with 'Pink [flowers] and is therefore automatically capitalised. This allows for some ambiguity in that, as for Shakespeare's 'Pink for flower' in *Romeo and Juliet* beginning the line (with or without a question mark at the end), we cannot be sure if the flower that is a Pink is being inferred. It is not clear if Genders means the flower that is called a Pink, or flowers that are pink-the-hue in general.

before I woulde not haue you know what colors meaneth) […]'[325] Peacham seems to know instinctively that giving too much information would confuse his reader, who needed first to grapple with ideas of portraiture that included the geometrical aspect of human faces before being ready for colour. I have kept colour from my previous chapters about pink. However, I now return to a quotation that I used in Chapter Three when introducing the *Cariophyluss* family, to which the flowers Pink and Carnation belong.[326] Withholding Pinks for a moment (as Gerard himself places them in a separate chapter), I can now flesh out some of the 'divers and sundry sorts of plants [of] severall [many] shapes [and of] large volume'; we find that this constantly building family – one 'of [such] various colours' – includes carnations and gillyflowers that are coloured by names such as 'Sops in wine', 'Pagion color', 'Horse-flesh', 'blunket' and the more common terms purple, white and yellow.[327] Sops in wine, horseflesh, and blunket are flower colours that remain a secret in Gerard, but are explained perhaps by colour fashions that have chronological parity and that I will turn to shortly.

In a similar way to Peacham holding back in terms of his explanations of colour, Gerard gives Pinks their own chapter, and for this reason I leave them here for a moment to consider some of the shades of pink-hue that were available to Shakespeare via Gerard's descriptions in the *Herball*. For Gerard's readers, the 'rose without prickles' is a colour 'between the Red and the Damaske rose.'[328] In order to picture the 'between-ness' that this hue suggests, it is necessary to determine the colours of the red rose and the Damask. The 'common Damaske rose' seems to be special rather than the 'common' that its name suggests because this rose has an

[325] Peacham, *Art of Drawing*, G3^{v}, p. 46.
[326] As for Chapter Three, I capitalise flower names to distinguish them from colour terms.
[327] *Herball*, p. 135. 'bluncket' is listed as a light blue colour by Janet Arnold. See *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, Index II, p. 360. Gerard describes some Pinks as being of a light blue colour.
[328] *Herball*, p. 1080.

'especiall difference' to other roses which 'consisteth in the colour [petals being of] a pale red colour'; the thornless rose is therefore less than red, but in its 'pale red' is a little more coloured than white – a light pink colour to our eyes, perhaps.[329] Echoes of Gerard's training as a physician seem apparent in his 'Late Flowering Tulip', with flowers 'of a scarlet colour [with the middle] like unto a hart tending to whiteness.'[330]

The Carnation flower could be said to have something of free-floating tenor in the *Herball* in that it is omitted from Gerard's index of English names despite the plant's prevalence in the volume. This omission is understandable in early days of classification and for a work as wide-ranging as Gerard's. But it is an omission that reinforces the strange absence of the colour for the bloom and offers the potential to consider what the omission brings to light. Gerard's use of 'carnation colour' for his flowers is interesting because he does not describe the colour: he seems to rely on the implicit knowledge of his contemporary readership. He tells us a bloom is 'carnation colour' in a similar way to Antony's description of a crocodile being its 'own colour' – whatever colour that may be – that I discussed in Chapter Two (*AC* 2.7.45-46). Gerard also states that the 'great Carnation Gillofower' has 'flowers of [a] pleasant Carnation colour, whereof it took his name.'[331] The 'Tabaco or Henbane of Peru' has [v]ery faire flowers [of a] light carnation colour, tending to whiteness toward the brims'.[332] Once again, a 'light carnation' does not describe the colour in its pre-lighted form. We know from Perdita's account in *The Winter's Tale* that Carnations and Gillyflowers (and potentially Pinks that fall under the same early modern

[329] *Herball*, p. 1080. It may be of note that in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* when Emilia is at the altar, 'bride habited but maiden hearted', in trying to decide between Palamon and Arcite, she sees a vision of a rose without thorns – giving colour, perhaps, to this moment of mid-way decision/indecision. See (5.3.14-15).
[330] *Herball*, p. 118. William Harvey's contemporary experiments on animals mask the horror of vivisection with lyrical explanations of arteries that when pressed by the finger lead to a whiteness, meaning that the direct relation between heart and the vessel has been temporarily severed, and therefore proving its existence.
[331] *Herball*, p. 472.
[332] *Herball*, p. 285.

botanical umbrella) are considered to be striped or maybe pied because of their manual grafting, in which case, as for today, a Carnation-Gillyflower-pink might resemble the pink/white ripples of streaky bacon.

The Pinks described in Gerard seem somewhat aloof from the *Caryiophyllus* brood because, as he says, 'there be sundry sorts [...] comprehended under the same title, which shall [therefore] be described in a severall chapter.'[333] Of the many Pinks in Gerard's account, these flowers came in a range of colours that could include yellow, purple-ish, red-ish, blue-ish, white, and light blue.[334] But as for the 'pale red' of the Damask rose above, some Pinks are distinctive because of their particular shade of pink colour: 'blush'. It is this 'blush colour' that holds the key to unlocking what carnation colour is (both for the flower and for fashion). However, what colour is 'blush' exactly? As for the pinks of cloth cutting that may have been named after sounds (in the workshop) or sights (of a small pink eyelet), something informs the naming of blush. The blushes of nature might include the sight of a ripening apple (the bloom of its 'cheek'), or the tint on a flower petal. But in both of these examples, the blush only changes gradually; apples take a while to change colour, and flowers may have transient lives *per se* but some time is needed from bud to bloom/blast. Gerard's interest in movement in general is clear in the *Herball*. For example, in his beautiful description of the 'Woodbinde, or Honisuckle' he describes flowers 'shining with a whitish purple colour, & somwhat dasht with yellow, by little and little stretched out like the nose of an Elephant'.[335]

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[333] *Herball,* p. 35.
[334] The *Herball* offers Pinks in a range of colours: yellow (the Gillyflower from Poland), purple (The Double Purple Pink); bright red (The Single Red Pink); purple/blue (The Purple Coloured Pink); white (The White Jagged Pink); red (The Mountain Pink); light blue/sky colour (The Leafless Pink); reddish (The Wild Creeping Pink); red tending to purple (The Wild Pink); and blush colour (The Virginlike Pink), pp. 473-478. The spellings of names have been modernised here for ease of reference.
[335] *Herball*, p. 743.

I suggest that Gerard is trying to capture the transience of a facial blush, involuntary and in the moment. This is a confusing bodily phenomenon to emulate and its confusion is mirrored in Gerard's description of the blush-coloured Tulip, where 'flowers hereof are white dashed about the brims or edges with a red or blush colour'; the deep red that is implied here in the either/or of 'red or blush colour' continues in Gerard's convoluted syntax where he says that the flower's 'middle part is stripped [striped] confusedly with the same mixture wherein is the difference.' [336] Once again, there is uncertainty as to what scale of the blush's transience this flower illustrates but it is the flowers' brims that are 'red or blush colour', which suggests a facial blush making its retrograde pace towards 'non-blush'. Similarly difficult to pin down is the 'blush-moment' of the apple tree's flowers that are 'whitish tending to a blush colour.'[337]

The facial blush's constant state of transition may inform the naming of a special 'Pinke' for Gerard that is associated with maids and virgins. Young women of marriageable age (in Shakespeare's day, as young as thirteen) present a liminal state of being in the mean between girl and woman, and virgin and non-virgin – always on the cusp of things.[338] Gerard informs us that the Virginlike Pinke has flowers 'of a blush colour whereof it took his name, which showeth the difference from the other.'[339] How might a Pinke be like a virgin? The link is the colour of the blush. This implies that at this time, blushing is a natural sign of virginity but how much of a blush colours the idea of a 'virgin' is questionable. If virginity is imagined as white as snow, then a virgin's blush must surely be just enough to tint it. This I suggest is what Shakespeare has in mind when Helena in *All's Well That Ends Well* speaks of the

[336] *Herball* p. 118.
[337] *Herball*, pp. 1272-1273.
[338] Capulet's Wife confirms that it is just over two weeks to Lammastide. On the Nurse's evidence, Juliet will then be fourteen. See *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.2.13-17.
[339] *Herball*, p. 475.

blushes in her cheeks that 'whisper' her (2.3.70). The answer comes by way of 'the blush Rose' in Gerard, which seems apt, bearing in mind that the rose is the 'very emblem of a maid' in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (2.2.137-138). This rose in Gerard has flowers 'of a white colour, dasht over with a light wash of carnation which maketh that colour, which we call a blush colour'.[340] Carnation colour then is the colour that in diluted form makes a 'light wash' for blush colour.

That the Pink and the Carnation are often confused and conflated is reflected in the colour that links them – blush – a colour that today we might name as a type of pink-hue. Carnation and blush colours need each other: blush needs carnation for the light wash it provides, and the colour carnation is defined by the wash of colour it lends to blush. In a spiritual sense, blush colour might give a tint of grace to carnation via the proverbial link of blushing and grace that I discussed in Chapter One, and perhaps the carnation/incarnation dyad touches the colour blush. It might be recalled from my previous chapter that when Juliet wants Romeo to stay with her, she states that 'It is not yet near day / It was the nightingale and not the lark, / That pierced the fear-full hollow of thine ear. / Nightly she sings on yon pom'granate tree. (*RJ* 3.5.1-4). Gerard informs us that this tree has flowers of a carnation colour and its relationship with the colour blush seems an apt hue for the oscillating liminal time that Juliet hopes to create.[341] However, it may be asked how close colours from nature can be reproduced in art. Taking art as fashion, I now consider some corresponding colours to explore fusion between the two.

4.1.1. Fashioning Pinks and Carnations

As Emilia seems to know when she asks her maid to come close to the colours of nature for the skirt she is making, the colour names of cloth can never quite match the

[340] *Herball*, p. 1085.
[341] *Herball*, pp. 1261-1262.

natural colours from which their names derive. One such example is found in Marie Channing Linthicum's seminal work, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (1936).[342] Here, the mysterious 'horse flesh' (one of Gerard's Gillyflower family) is, for fashion, 'the bronze shade peculiar to the hide of bay horses' – a brown hue that seems unlikely for a flower.[343] The mystery of Gerard's 'Sops in Wine' remains unsolved, as we are told that 'soppes-in-wine' is a cloth-shade 'fashionable by 1559' but are not told what the colour looks like.[344]

Linthicum's Index lists 'blush colour' or 'maide's blush' as a colour from 1590. The reader is directed to a page of 'Reds' of which Linthicum explains that "as one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon terms for colour [red] designated during Elizabethan times [there are] over a dozen tones varying from the delicate 'maiden's blush' to the vivid 'lusty gallant'".[345] These colour names suggest not only the continuum of the spectrum between red and white on which blush and carnation must fall, but also says something of early modern conduct, where a maid or virgin should blush just enough whereas a young man may blush with abandon. A date of 1590 for the fashion 'blush colour' suggests that, with a publication date of 1597 for the *Herball*, art may have informed nature with Gerard borrowing from fashion rather than vice versa. [346] If this is the case, he associates the words blush and maiden with the word Pinke (for the flower not colour) – a word that appears in Linthicum in its cloth-cutting guise only.[347] Carnation colour gives blush colour its wash in nature. But what of carnation colour in fashion? M. St Clare Byrne finds 'a vivid and attractive picture of the

[342] Linthicum takes many of her fashion examples from the plays of the time, thereby providing a snapshot of early modern life and playhouse practice. The play from which most examples are taken is John Marston's *What You Will*.
[343] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 39.
[344] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 14.
[345] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 36.
[346] See Linthicum, *Costume*, Index, and entry for'Blush colour'.
[347] Although Linthicum takes the majority of her clothing and colour examples from Marston's *What You Will*, she does not make reference to the 'Pinke Collour' silk stockings worn by Noose's gallant.

ordinary daily life of Shakespeare's fellow-citizens' in the *Diologues* of Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondell. Here, 'we escape from the gulls and the gallants: we are allowed to cross the threshold and to penetrate into the privacy of the Elizabethan home'. When Lady Ri-Mellaine demands of her servants '[…] where be my stockens? Give me my Carnation silk stockins', we still do not know what carnation colour looks like.[348] This is a colour that in fashion terms seems to have caused some upset. I have shown that in Gerard it was necessary to find carnation colour through its job of providing the light wash required to make blush colour. A similar circuitous route is needed for fashion's carnation colour, and the colour we find is perhaps not the 'streaky-bacon' colour we might expect for a carnation today. Linthicum illustrates the carnation via a reddish colour called Catherine Pear that 'evidently shared the odium attached to all yellow-reds'; and that 'Carnation', a shade deeper than 'Catherine Pear', resembled incarnate', adding that the colour 'incarnate' and carnation had dual properties.[349] The notion of carnation being one shade deeper than Catherine Pear (a hated red-yellow) is supported by Linthicum's noting of:

> disagreement as to the symbolism of carnation [that] supports the conclusion that there was an ecclesiastical and a secular meaning which were connected but not alike, and that this shade, once meaning pure love and desire, had, through evil associations, acquired also a meaning of questionable qualities.[350]

These properties are not explained, nor is the 'odium' attached to yellow-reds. If double colours such as yellow-reds bring opprobrium, could the same be said for carnation as a colour, and is this why the colour is often concealed? For Linthicum, the carnation colour's attributes and its association with incarnation can open a window onto Falstaff's apparent dislike of carnation in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. At

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[348] M. St Clare Byrne, *The Elizabethan Home, Discovered in Two Dialogues by Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondell and Edited by M. St. Clare Byrne* (London: Methuen & Company Limited, 1949), p. ix, introduction, and pp. 37-38.
[349] Linthicum, *Costume*, pp. 36-37.
[350] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 38.

this point in the play, Mistress Quickly (the Hostess) recalls Falstaff's last moments where she saw him 'fumble with the sheets, and play with flowers, and smile upon his finger's end […]' (2.3.13-15).[351] It is notable that flowers have already been mentioned and are in Mistress Quickly's mind as everyone chips in to comment on Falstaff's failings: Nim recalls the knight's love of alcohol ('sack'), Bardolph mentions the women, and the boy says that for Falstaff, women were 'devils incarnate'. It is the mention of 'incarnate' (post 'flowers') here that leads to Quickly's sober comment that Falstaff 'could never abide carnation, 'twas a colour he never liked.' (2.3.26-32). Linthicum's reading of the passage is that Mistress Quickly, '[w]omanlike […] interpret[s] incarnate as a colour and as synonymous with carnation' and because 'carnation was a tone resembling raw flesh [and] an Elizabethan audience probably enjoyed her remark as an excellent characterization of Falstaff who had played such a passive part in the Battle of Shrewsbury.'[352]

This is the first clear description of what fashion carnation might be like, although it is hard to picture an exact hue relating to raw flesh. Whose flesh might be raw? Perhaps we can return to Gerard's illustration for 'the great double Carnation' with the flower's jagged edges resembling ripped flesh. Having held colour back for this chapter, it can now be revealed that these petals are shaded in what might today be perceived as a deep pink.[353] Andrew Gurr in his commentary on the line provides an interesting gloss that '[t]he colour 'carnation' was pink like white flesh, which makes it an apt understanding'. His direct link here between our 'pink' and *their*

[351] The elderly who are close to death do (very touchingly) play with their fingers. In Chapter One I suggested that Shakespeare may have witnessed death because the cheeks blush, too, when death is imminent. This area is open for future research.
[352] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 37.
[353] See *Herball*, p. 127. It should be noted that colour is largely subjective. What is 'red' to one person can be 'scarlet' or 'crimson' to another.

carnation does suggest parity between now and then.[354] It is possible that carnation/incarnation provides a fusion between the idea of dead bodies strewing the fields (carn) and the irony that Shakespeare needs to bring back at least some mention of the ever-popular Falstaff, embodying his abstract presence 'incarnate' in the text for all time. Further, Linthicum notes that carnation colour was associated with the court but 'was not limited during the latter part of the century to use by nobility'.[355] This suggests a relaxing of the Sumptuary Laws for carnation – making it a colour available to the common man.

An association of carnation with the quotidian might offer another reading of Falstaff's hatred of the colour – one that I suggest begins at the end of the former play, *Henry IV, Part Two*. Here, Falstaff pays the ultimate price of having been too common with the future king. This becomes clear when Falstaff, believing that he has been re-called to court and is in the new king's favour, is instead met with the crushing comment from Henry IV that 'I know thee not, old man' (5.5.47). If carnation is a colour associated with the court – a court from which Falstaff has latterly been excluded – then another reason for his distaste for carnation is revealed: the colour, for him, embodies the idea of Hal and their former friendship, and that is now lost. We might today blush at such a situation and find it 'embarrassing' because our fault is unintended – we may have simply got the wrong idea about something – and the scene is played out in front of interested parties who may or may not wish us well. Here, however, we might imagine a collection of upwardly mobile young gallants eager to ingratiate themselves with the new court and king, and eager to see another's downfall.

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[354] William Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, updated edition, New Cambridge, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; 2005), 2.3.28, n. 28.
[355] Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 37.

If Falstaff hates the colour carnation, then Costard the clown in *Love's Labour's Lost* appears to relish it. Having been recently caught in the park in a compromising position with Jacquenetta, and having served his punishment for this offence, he is then given the job of delivering love letters for the play's high-born characters. On receiving 'remuneration' from Biron, he asks '[p]ray you, sir, how much carnation ribbon may a man buy for remuneration?' (3.1.141-142). As for Mistress Quickly's misinterpretation of 'carnation', Costard does not really understand what the word means but his interest in this specific colour could, I suggest, offer an early modern audience carnation's ambiguity as a good/bad symbol. Roy Genders notes that '[b]y Shakespeare's time, both the carnation and the pink had become highly esteemed in spite of their rather pale colour [and were considered] most suitable for the small knot gardens of that time'.[356] Although the pale colour of the blooms does not square with the 'raw flesh' fashion colour of carnation, it is interesting to note that Costard's former liaison with Jacquenetta takes place in the king's knot garden.

It is reasonable to assume that Shakespeare consulted Gerard's *Herball* throughout his career and perhaps, particularly, here. His use of carnation in drama (for Falstaff and for Costard) is certainly perplexing, entangling, and confusing. Finally, the implication of 'carnal' that is couched within the word 'carnation' might suggest that Costard enjoyed the carnal side of Jacquenetta, but also feels relief that the Armado's love for her brings Costard relief from responsibility. This idea bears fruit at the play's end when Jacquenetta's pregnancy is revealed and Armado is encouraged by Costard to do the right thing and stand by this woman and her unborn child.

[356] Genders, *Garden Pinks*, p. 12.

Today it seems logical to 'find and replace' an early modern colour for a modern one. It is a way to make the past seem closer to us and more translatable. Such is the case for a current exhibition of The Great Bed of Ware in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London – an early modern tourist attraction immortalised in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, Or What You Will*.[357] In 1999, a report was commissioned on behalf of the museum to find the most appropriate dressings for their replica of the bed. Dr Charles Kightly, charged with the task of re-producing the past by way of cloth and colour, recommended that the dyes used for the bed's coverings should be organic (animal, vegetable, or mineral, and not chemical, which would have been anachronistic for the period of study); should not be intentionally 'distressed' or 'aged' but appear as they would have in 1600, reflecting the 'Elizabethan mind' rather than 'modern notions of taste, restraint or colour matching'; and that 'carnation threads' be used on the bed's coverlet. [358] It is interesting to note that on the information plaque provided for modern visitors to the exhibit, these same 'carnation' threads have been translated as 'pink threads'. What this suggests is that our modern colour term 'pink' is considered analogous to early modern carnation.

It does seem from this then that early modern associations between the words blush and Pinke/pink are being forged – much earlier than the date suggested by Roy Genders. And although the colour named 'pink' is yet to emerge, there are signs of its potential in the dyes of the period: in mysterious 'penk' and in the equally odd 'pink yellow' to which I now turn.

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[357] At this point in the play, Sir Toby Belch advises Sir Andrew Aguecheek to challenge Viola-Cesario to a dual for Olivia's hand. Toby says that this written challenge should be impressive: '[t]aunt him with the licence of ink […] and as many lines as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware, in England, set 'em down, go about it' (3.2.42-47).

[358] This evidence is from an internal (unpublished) document in the V&A Furniture Department Archive entitled 'The Great Bed of Ware in the Victoria and Albert Museum – suggestions for dressing the bed with replicated historic textiles and other fittings, including detailed estimates of costs' (1999), pp. 6, 43). The letter attached to the report was written by Charles Knightly to Frances Collard and is dated 18 June 1999. With thanks to Kate Hay, Curator, The Departments of Textiles and Clothing, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.2. Strange alchemy: mysterious 'penk' and pink-yellow on the cusp

It is now time to introduce a slightly different path for 'pink' as a colour – one that will be useful for my discussion of the use of pink-yellow in Marston and Shakespeare. If what is past can be prologue, then we must step back to a draper's ledger and a record in now fading ink recording that between 1522 and 1527, a Mr Hooke was owed money for 'Pukes, Tawney, Redds, Violets, Light Green, Penk, Croyde Blue, Popinjay Green, Brown, Blues', at a total debt of £23 4s. 6d. Two entries for 'penk', on the same day and at the same price, suggest that the word as representing a dye of some sort.[359] It is possible that 'penk' could be *our* 'pink': if so, this might account for Mulcaster's entry of 'pink' (with one letter changed – a common occurrence at the time) in his Elementary of 1582 – a word spelled as we spell it today and with no accompanying gloss, as I mentioned at the beginning of Chapter Two. If so, a spelling change might not be a problem for mapping penk/pink onto another instance of a substance, presumably a liquid, that seems to reference a word that is similar in sound, at least. This word is found via Laura Wright's work on the history of London dialects by way of a document listing commodities purchased for a royal celebration that included the odd alliance of 'pink yellow' - as in, '*j lagena de pynke yelow*' (one gallon of pink yellow), glossed as 'yellow paint'. Wright continues that 'pink' – up until the seventeenth century – meant 'yellow', and she is

[359] Howells Ledger, 1522 to 1527, +404, Folio 294 r. I wish to thank Penny Fussell (Archivist) at The Drapers' Company, London, for her help in translating this section of Howells' Ledger, and for her identification of 'penk' and for her knowledge on the draper's mark as a + sign (as in this citation).
[359] Linthicum's account of this event records that Thomas Howell, a member of the London Drapers, owes said money to Thomas Huck, a dyer, for 'pukes, Redds, Light Green, Pink, Croyde, Popingay Green'; it is clear here that the 'penk' from the original ledger has been amended to our modern 'pink'. Linthicum's source for this entry is A. H. Jonson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914-22. 5 vols. Linthicum's footnote cites page 252 instead of page 253 of the original ledger. See Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 11, n. 2.

not aware of any satisfactory reason as to why the word's meaning changed.[360] It is not clear from this quotation how far into the 1600s 'up until the seventeenth century' is: we could, equally, be talking about 1601 or 1699. Further, although no known link between the 'penk' of Mr Hooke's account and the 'pynke yelow' of the above account has been found, both terms open up the possibility of early modern dyes that key into the still obscure history of the word 'pink' in general, and for paints and dyes in particular.

Henry Peacham, in his *Art of Drawing*, references the word 'pinke', apparently without the need to explain the word's meaning. In his section, 'Of Yealow', Peacham notes the principal yellows – Orpiment, Pinke yealow, Masticot, Oker de Luce, Saffron, and Vmber [Umber]; the second item on this list, Pinke yealow, has its own entry (rather like the separate chapter afforded to Gerard's floral Pinks) and the instruction that '[y]ou must grinde your Pinke, if you will haue it sad coloured, with saffron; if light, with Ceruse: temper it with weake gumme water, and so vse it.'[361] Pinke, therefore, seems to be a hard substance in its original state that can then be ground into a powder and, hence, added to liquid. It is useful for making '[a] grassy or yealowish greene' by 'grinding Ceruse with Pinke, or adding a little verditure with the iuice of Rue or herbe Grace'.[362] In a section devoted to cloth – 'Of mingling Colours for all manner of Garments and Drapery' – 'a straw cullor' is made with 'Masticot and white heightened with Masticot, and deepened with Pinke'; 'yellowish garments' are also described as needing 'thinne pinke […] deepened with pinke and greene.'[363] Peacham's audience seems to be young gentlemen who want to

[360] Laura Wright, 'On some Middle English Colour Terms, including *pink*', in *Studies in Middle English Forms and Meanings*, edited by Gabriella Mazzon (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 6, 57-72.
[361] Peacham, pp. 78-79; 80.
[362] Peacham, pp. 92-93.
[363] Peacham, p. 94.

learn to draw and paint. How could they implicitly know what a 'pinke' is? Could it be that the word is so engrained in the general early modern vernacular as a type of catalyst that needs no gloss? In Philip Ball's *Bright Earth: The Invention of Colour*, a sole entry for pink offers 'a further glimpse of the mercurial propensities of colour terms' in the seventeenth century. Ball explains that while other colours had chemical preparations, pink -

> was a pigment of diverse provenance – recipes identify it as an extract of weld, broom, or unripe buckthorn berries – but often of an indisputably *yellow* hue. Pinks were in fact defined in terms of neither their ingredients nor their colour – for there were also green pinks, brown pinks and rose pinks, and the noun, pink, refers to the method of synthesis.[364]

The use of the phrase 'in the seventeenth century' – like Wright's 'up until the seventeenth century' – makes it difficult to pinpoint exactly when these methods involving pink occurred. But as the coverlet for the Great Bed of Ware confirms, for Shakespeare and his fellow playwrights, and for Peacham, 'the pink' is a natural catalyst rather than a chemical one.[365] What is interesting is that at the turn of the century, both John Marston and Shakespeare refer to pink and yellow and that these colours seem to have meant something to them both that perhaps has not yet been explored – and is a subject to which I will turn in this final section of my chapter. However, rather than starting with pink-yellow, I begin by looking at a potential meaning for 'pink colour' in Shakespeare that was nipped in the bud before it could take hold.

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[364] Philip Ball, *Bright Earth: The Invention of Colour* (London: Viking, 2001), pp. 157-158.
[365] Ball, in *Bright Earth*, notes that 'towards the late eighteenth century yellow pink fell into disuse, and although 'brown pink' remained in circulation into the nineteenth century, 'pink' gradually became synonymous with the light red 'rose pink' – until eventually the connotation changed from one of manufacture to one of colour', p. 158.

4.3. Pink-yellow in Marston and Shakespeare

John Marston is the only playwright to use the phrase 'pink colour' in extant drama of the period of study (for this thesis, up to 1613). This suggests that Shakespeare could, also have used the colour term, but does not. The term is potentially available to him in his Sonnet 99, which I reproduce in full:

> The forward violet thus did I chide:
> 'Sweet thief, whence didst thou steal thy sweet that smells,
> If not from my love's breath? The purple pride
> Which on thy soft cheek for complexion dwells
> In my love's veins thou hast too grossly dyed.'
> The lily I condemned for thy hand,
> And buds of marjoram had stol'n thy hair;
> The roses fearfully on thorns did stand,
> One blushing shame, another white despair;
> A third, nor red, nor white, had stol'n of both,
> And to his robb'ry had annexed thy breath;
> But for his theft, in pride of all his growth,
> A vengeful canker ate him up to death.
> More flowers I noted, yet I none could see,
> But sweet, or colour, it had stol'n from thee.[366]

The analysis so far in this chapter has revealed a sometimes reciprocal and often complex relationship between nature (flowers) and art (fashion) when the terms 'blush-carnation-pink' are involved. In Sonnet 99, it is nature that borrows from the 'nature' of a beautiful young man's face, which in turn becomes art contained within the sonnet's lyrical form. The sonnet has received critical comment for it being the sole poem of the sequence to have fifteen lines instead of the fourteen that are standard for the form. Katherine Duncan-Jones finds the sonnet to be incomplete and

[366] William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1997; repr. Thomson Learning, 2001), pp. 308-309. Duncan-Jones proposes four possible dates/timeframes for the sonnets: 1598, 1599-1600, 1603-4, and August 1608 – May 1609). See Introduction, p. 13.
If some of the sonnets are written as early as 1598, then Shakespeare's third rose, one 'nor red, nor white', would share chronological parity with the emergence of 'blush colour' as a fashion colour (1590), the publication of Gerard's *Herball* (1597), and with Marston's use of 'pink colour' stockings in 1601/2.

'extra long', with its ending 'somewhat lame [and] slack rather than rich'[367] However, I suggest that these extra lines are useful because it means that the volta, or 'turn', is free-floating. The volta is not pinned down to a particular line and the turn therefore has the potential to occur just at the moment that the colour 'pink' seems to be 'born' in the sonnet – when two blushing roses create a third rose from their union of red and white. The potential, here, is that pink is offered as a third colour. For us, it would be logical to substitute the colour term 'pink' for the word, 'third': 'pink' has become shorthand, for us, for a range of shades between red and white. Duncan-Jones finds that the colour is 'presumably pink or 'carnation', flesh pink in colour'. [368] But, of course, Shakespeare does not yet have this colour in his chromatic toolbox.

In this way, blushing roses might be considered in an alchemical light. Like alchemy, the desire to transform from one thing to another (base metal to gold, for example) is thwarted because the third rose ('pink') is eaten in the bud before it has a chance to bloom. The blush *per se* might be considered an incomplete alchemy of the body in a poetic sense, because blushing is 'only constant in inconstancy', as I argued in Chapter One. Blushing is never complete: there is always the possibility to blush again. But at the same time, blushing offers a semi-metamorphosis because, unlike a permanent 'dyeing' of the skin caused by, say, alcohol (the example of Bardolph's continually blushing nose springs to mind), a blush by way of its transient nature gives contained relief for the blusher in the moment of 'blush', and in the blush's return to normal. Shakespeare's non-use of pink colour is echoed in Linthicum's omission of reference to the term in her exhaustive study.[369] This lacuna for pink

[367] See Duncan-Jones, *Sonnets*, Sonnet 99, p. 308, n.15.
[368] For Duncan-Jones definition of Shakespeare's 'third' colour, see *Sonnets*, p. 308, n. 10.
[369] This lacuna could be a mere oversight in a work of a breadth and content that is yet to be equalled. But the omission could suggest a recognition on Linthicum's part that 'pink colour' did not yet belong in the English vernacular: as her index confirms, the only 'pink' in early modern culture belonged to the world of cloth cutting and fabric ornamentation. I feel that Linthicum could be silently

colour reinforces the idea that – like a blush – the word pink being missing once again has a free-floating tenor that offers potential for study. It certainly offers potential when aligned with yellow.

4.3.1. Pinke Collour silk stockings: John Marston and potential coinage

John Marston's *What You Will* has to date largely been recognised for helping to date Shakespeare's more famous *Twelfth Night, Or What You Will*, with both plays being given contextual placement within the so-called Theatre Wars that involved various young playwrights on the cusp of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[370] The shared title/subtitle means that critics over the past thirty years or so have placed the two plays, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* and *What You Will*, together. Matthew Woodhead, the editor of the sole modern annotated edition of the play to date, notes that '[t]here is nothing in the play to fix its date precisely, but the idea that it forms part of the so-called Theatre Wars has led scholars to put it unanimously at 1601.'[371] In this light, the *OED's* use of Marston's 'Pinke Collour' silk stockings as their first citation for pink as an adjective and giving the publication date of 1607 eclipses the fact that the playwrights were probably writing at the same time, and that Marston may have come first with his title. This is contrary to some scholarly opinion. For George Geckle, similarities in the plays' plotlines suggested that Marston had 'more than Shakespeare's subtitle in mind when he wrote *What You Will*'.[372] James Bednarz finds that Marston was 'clicking at [Shakespeare's] heels' and that despite his artistic merit, the younger playwright 'pilfered Shakespeare's subtitle for his own

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acknowledging here that the early modern world of Marston and Shakespeare is too early for pink-colour; I will return to this point in my conclusion to this chapter.

[370]The Wars are beyond the scope of this thesis but have been widely written on. For a recent analysis, see James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare & The Poets' War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[371] John, Marston, *What You Will*, Nottingham Drama Texts, ed. by Matthew Woodhead (Nottingham: Nottingham University Press, 1980), intro, p. iii. Line references in are from this edition.

[372] Geckle, *John Marston's Drama*, p. 93. Both plots involve shipwrecks, fashion, use the phrase 'what you will' to varying degree, have characters driven to near madness (Albano for Marston, Malvolio for Shakespeare); both feature stockings at roughly the same position in the play (Act 3, scene 3-4)

comedy.'[373] Such attitudes support Shakespeare's presumed superior status as a playwright and indeed his play has stood the test of time with Marston's relegated to near-obscurity. Katherine Duncan-Jones presents a different picture or the times. In *Shakespeare: An Ungentle Life*, she presents a picture of pleasant competition between Shakespeare and Marston. Writing on life in the Middle Temple, she finds that the younger Marston

> proclaims his own leading membership of that fan club of bright young men who idolize "sweet Master Shakespeare" [thereby offering] a glimpse of the parallel, yet connected, lives led by the two writers during these turn-of-the-century years.

During this cusp period, both men

> wrote comedies called *What You Will*. Shakespeare's was performed as the climax of the Candlemas 'feast' at the Middle Temple, while Marston composed his as an active member of that same community. Even the shared title has an 'Inns of Court' feel, suggesting the 'quodlibets', or playful, free-ranging debates in which the students learned to sharpen their wits through disputation.[374]

It is possible then to imagine the two playwrights perhaps meeting and talking about exciting new things such as new words and new fabrics and new paints. Both writers were facing a cusp moment in their lives, as Keir Elam suggests: *What You Will* was Marston's last play for the boys of St Paul's before a two-year absence that resumed with *The Malcontent* in 1604; Shakespeare's, *Twelfth Night, Or What You Will* can be seen as representing a period of liminality in being either the last of Shakespeare's 'happier-style' comedies or as 'a beginning-of-century play.'[375] Both plays, then, suggest moments of change and potential. The fact that both playwrights use coloured

[373] Bednarz, *Shakespeare & The Poets' War*, pp. 158, 167.
[374] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: An Ungentle Life* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2001 [first published as *Ungentle Shakespeare*]; reprint. Methuen Drama, 2010), pp. 165-166.
[375] See William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Keir Elam (London: Methuen, 2008), p. 2.

stockings as major motifs has to my knowledge escaped critical attention. I turn first to a pair in Marston that are heard of but never seen. That John Marston relished the inclusion of new words is borne out by W. Reavely Gair's criticism that in *What You Will* there is a drop in 'verbal invention' with the coining of only 'six new words'. Marston's use of 'pinke collour' could suggest the opposite for this play in quite a major way because Marston seems to be the first and only playwright for the period to use the dyad.[376] The play's plot does share similarities with Shakespeare's but the same could be said for Shakespeare's plotline mirroring Marston's. Here, Jacomo's love for the recently widowed Celia is unrequited due to her infatuation with the young French knight, Laverdure. This attachment is deemed inappropriate by Celia's brothers who plot to thwart the impending marriage by staging the 'return' of Celia's supposedly drowned husband, the merchant Albano, in the guise of Francisco Soranza – a man who resembles Albano, particularly when dressed in the merchant's clothing. Meanwhile, Albano returns and fights for his sanity and his identity. Sub-plots involve an ineffectual Duke, wars of wit between chief-satirist Quadratus and soured-scholar/would-be gallant Lampatho Doria, flirtations with various women, and the gulling of the small-witted Simplicius Faber.

In the midst of all this action, a small scene takes place involving a group of young pages, each employed by a particular gallant that falls on a hierarchical ladder. This, in turn, produces a corresponding hierarchy of pages. The scene is one of pathos as each boy is allowed a few minutes' peace from the business of the day as respite from servitude. Duncan-Jones argues that 'Marston wrote *What You Will* primarily for performance by Paul's Boys in their playhouse.'[377] Knowing this, we might imagine the smallness of boys playing boys (rather than boys playing women) in relation to

[376] W. Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: The story of a theatre company, 1553-1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 141.
[377] Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, p. 178.

the other boys in the play, who must surely have seemed large/tall enough to personate men. One little page, called Noose, holds the key to Marston's use of pink-stockings in the scene but it is not him who wears them but his anonymous gallant. The name Noose says much about the character – a small boy who is trapped and under the collar. At Bidet's invitation to 'stand forth ordinary gallants page' and invitation to reveal 'what is the nature of your master?' Noose responds

> He eates well and right slouenly, and when the dice
> fauor him goes in good cloathes, and scowers his pinke collour
> silk stockings: whe he hath any mony he beares his crownes, whe
> he hat none I carry his purse, he cheates well, swears better,
> but swaggers in a wantons Chamber admirably, hee loues his
> boy and the rump of a cram'd Capon, and this summer hath a
> passing thrifly humor to a bottle ale: as contemptuous as Lucifer,
> as arrogant as ignorance can make him, as libidinous as Priapus,
> hee keepes mee as his adamant to draw mettell after to his
> lodging, I curle his periwig, painte his cheekes, perfume his
> breath, I am his froterer or rubber in a Hot-house, the prop of
> his lies, the bearer of his fals dice, and yet for all this like the
> Persion Louse that eates byting, and byting eates, so I say si-
> thing and sighing say my end is the payst vp a *Si quis* my Masters
> fortunes are forc'd to cashere me and so six to one I fall to be a
> Pippin Squire. H*ic finis priami*, this is the end of pick pockets.
> (3.2.1203-1320)

This extract is rich in contemporary information about life in early modern England at the turn of the century for a page and a would-be gallant; on fashion and clothing; on sex; and on the desire to escape one's situation. But the line that jars is the idea of Noose's man scouring his silk stockings. That stockings are the only fashion item mentioned by Noose suggests their prestige and value at this time. Knitted stockings were an expensive item, especially when knitted in silk rather than wool, hence the need to wash and re-wash one pair rather than purchase a new pair.[378] In their work on

[378] This expense is confirmed by way of the only surviving knitted silk stocking in this country, currently on display at The Museum of London.

stage properties, Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda note that '[t]he pawn value of a pair of silk stockings was enough to pay for 72 visits to the theatre (which means that the stockings themselves might cost as much as 216 cheap theatre tickets, since pledges were usually worth two to three times what they could fetch at the pawnbroker).[379] The value of silk stockings does not square then with Noose's description of them being 'scowered' – a word that suggests rough treatment for stockings of this delicate material, particularly as 'laundry methods' of the time 'were pretty brutal' in general.[380] It must be remembered that Marston's play is satirical. The word 'pink' could be applied to a 'beauty, a dandy […] an exquisitely dressed person.'[381] Pink could also just be a pretty colour that defines a pretentious young man at this time. However, Noose's gallant scouring his silk stockings seems unlikely and poses the question that maybe 'pinke' here is not a colour *per se* but a catalyst to make materials more durable or economical.[382] This would mirror Peacham's 'Pinke' that is added to 'Yeallow'. Whatever the case, Noose's potential lies on a cusp that mirrors that of his gallant who could rise to be a courtly gallant but could equally fall from ordinary gallant to pippin squire – a decline that will render Noose, by association, a type of early modern rent boy.[383]

What, then, of yellow stockings? In *Twelfth Night, Or What You Will*, Malvolio is in love with his Lady, Olivia, but she is out of his league. Sir Andrew Aguecheek (also in love with Olivia), Sir Toby Belch, and Olivia's maid, Maria, famously plot to gull Malvolio with a letter, written by Maria in Olivia's 'hand',

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[379] Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 182.
[380] For "scower" gloss, see Woodhead, Nottingham, p.44, n. 1306.
Santina M. Levey, The National Trust, *Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick* (London: The National Trust, 2001), p. 10. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 3.5.104-105.
[381] OED Online, pink, n.5., adj, 2. II. 4. (1602).
[382] I would like to thank Laura Wright for our discussion on pink as a liquid that might make other liquids go further.
[383] Other terms were apple-squire, basket-bearer, or page of the placket. For this "degree" of pimps, see *What You Will*, Whittingham and Rowland, 1814, p. 255, n. 3., n. 4.

suggesting that his love for Olivia is reciprocated, and that he should appear doing the things she hates: pulling faces and wearing yellow stockings that cut his skin by way of their cross gartering, of which Malvolio opines, '[t]his does make some / obstruction in the blood […] but what / of that?' (3.4.23-25). His legs are in their own constrictive 'noose'. This image calls to mind a scene from Marston's earlier *Antonio and Mellida* where Balurdo announces that he is going to court 'in a yellow taffeta doublet cut upon carnation'. As W. Reavley Gair glosses, the doublet is 'tailored in such a way that the red velvet shows through the yellow silk.'[384] This is of course slashing rather than pinking, but it does suggest an alliance between pink and yellow that seems to be borne out, too, in Ben Jonson's description of a character resembling a sponge in their pinked-yellow doublet in *Every Man Out of His Humour* (see Chapter One). If Pink-Yellow are interchangeable, how might this affect our reading of these scenes in Marston and Shakespeare? An odd alliance of pink-yellow allows both plays to be read in a different and more opalescent light. Returning to the pinks of cloth-cutting for a moment, it will be recalled that pinks are cut on the cross grain, or on the bias: it is this cutting that gives the cloth its mobility for the wearer, as seen earlier in Janet Arnold's description of the pinked leather doublet.

Moving forward in my thesis to the current chapter's world of paints and substances, Peacham advised his artistic readers to grind some 'pinke' into their yellow if they wanted to make the said yellow more 'sad' or serious. Both uses of pink present a fusion between concrete materials and abstract human feelings. In this way, pinked-cloth forms an alliance with shot silk – a technique where cloth is cut on the bias to produce movement within the colour.[385] Shakespeare seems to be implying

[384] John Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, The Revels Plays, edited by W. Reavley Gair (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), v.i.81-84, n. 81-82.
[385] In 'The Renaissance Unchained', Episode 3., Presented, Written and Directed by Waldemar Januszczak, ZCZ Films, and first shown 29.2.16., Januszczak highlights the work of the Italian

as much in *Twelfth Night* when Feste is trying to comfort Orsino (lovesick for Olivia) and says 'the tailor make thy doublet of changeable taffeta, for thy mind is a very opal.' (2.5.72-74). If yellow cloth can retain a bit of 'pinke' within its threads, and if an early modern audience understands the strange alliance of pink-yellow, then Malvolio's yellow stockings might contain a certain melancholy or pathos within their hue that is now lost to us. Malvolio is the over-reacher who has been hurt by love and who misunderstood a situation (he thought the letter was from Olivia): he believed that she liked him best pulling faces and wearing artery-restricting stockings that leave welts upon his skin. For Marston, in a similar fashion, the word 'pink' might call to mind the dyad 'pink-yellow' and reflect not only the anonymous Noose's man as an over-reacher who will never reach court, while enhancing Noose's predicament that he too is likely to fall.

Focusing on pink stockings in Marston can obscure the fact that he ends his play with a blush-coloured suit. In Act V, Simplicius Faber's passion for fashion drives him to agree to terms that will prove to be blushful. Having already used 'pinke-collour' for Noose's man's stockings, it may seem odd that Marston does not repeat the possible neologism for the suit – but he does not. However, a linking device between the little pages and the final Act presents itself by way of Noose's return to proceedings; although we do not hear from him, his presence is noted in a stage direction and it is somewhat enjoyable to find Noose unleashed and able to have fun with the other pages at a gallant's expense. It a similar way to the gulling of Malvolio, Faber is gulled into believing that Mistress Perpetuana will be his ticket to a better life. Bidet, now in the guise of a type of bawd, tells Faber that for this dream to

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Renaissance Painter Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) via his painting of 'Europa and the Bull' where the star of the painting is Europa's dress which is pink and yellow at the same time – a Venetian speciality of shot silk, known as *Cangiante*. This material is woven from two colours that change before your eyes.

become a reality, he must first hand over his 'hat, cloak, rapier, purse, or such trifle, give't, give't (V.i.1830-1833). Faber agrees to part with his personal possessions because '[t]he first thing her bounty shall fetch is my blush-colour satin suit from pawn' (V.i.1830-1836-1837). More than anything else, Faber wants the return of his 'blush-colour' suit. I suggest that for a Middle Temple audience watching this play – one full of fashionable young men – a blush-colour suit would suggest a luxurious item that was familiar to them but also anticipates the denouement that is about to take place for Faber when it is revealed that 'Mistress Perpetuana' is the schoolboy, Holifernes Pippo, in disguise. That perpetuana was the name of a coarse cloth heightens the fact that a reverse alchemy is about to take place: rather than his items being turned into gold, they will become as base as Perpetuana, and his elevation will be fleeting rather than perpetual. The transience suggested in a 'blush colour' suit is important, too, for appreciating this dramatic moment: the blush may be fleeting, but the suit will remain with the pawnbroker. It is notable that at the very moment when Faber is finally humiliated, Bidet changes the suit's colour from blush to crimson. He says:

> I know the fool well; he will stick to you – does not use to forsake any youth that is enamour'd on another man's wife; he strives to keep company with a crimson satin suit continually […] he is all one with a fellow whose cloak hath a better inside than his outside, and his body richer lin'd than his brain (V.i.1893-1901)

Here clothing is used to represent the interplay between surface appearance and inner truth. But all is topsy-turvy for Faber: that his cloak lining is better than its cover is fair enough, but his brain – the home of reason – lacks any 'lining' of intelligence. To add to his woes, his metaphorical de-frocking is played out in front of other interested parties: Quadratus, the play's clever character who may well be a personation of Ben Jonson; Laverdure, the young French knight who continually has clothes in pawn but

is always beautifully dressed; and the ladies of the play. That Faber's suit changes from blush to crimson reflects, in material form, Faber's social awkwardness as his 'suit' 'blushes' for him. If 'pinke' is a colour in this play, it may have been too solid a hue to reflect this fleeting but moving moment. If pink-yellow, it could reflect the 'very opal-ness' of sentient material and might in fact be coterminous with the blush's transience. It could be that blushing and pink-yellow are both 'very opal'.

Conclusion

To conclude, can pink, as for Bruce Smith's green, be considered a whole-body experience in early modern terms? This chapter has revealed several options for pink: as a colour term informed by nature and art; as a colour of thwarted potential; as a partner in crime with the colour yellow (via pink-yellow); and as a no-thing or catalyst. The ambiguous dating of Shakespeare's Sonnet 99 means that it could have been written during those cusp years between 1598 and 1603 when an interest in the colour 'pink' seems to have been emergent – when 'blush colour' is already a fashionable shade for gallants and a presence in Gerard's *Herball*, and when Marston places a pair of 'pink colour' silk stockings into his small scene for small pages in *What You Will*.[386] A temporal theme has coloured several of the works that I have highlighted in my thesis so far. For Elizabeth Carey in Chapter One – a play written in 1603 and reflecting the 'cusp' feel of the day, which was not published until 1613 when Shakespeare was writing his final play – the phrase 'pink-eyed' *could* have been coined by William Horman in 1519, but if ante-dating for Skelton's *Garlande of Laurel* is correct, then it is possible that Skelton's came first. Marston's *What You Will* seems to have been written in 1601 but its publication date means that Marston

[386] Katherine Duncan-Jones proposes four possible dates for the sonnets: 1598, 1599-1600, 1603-4, August 1608 – May 1609). See *Sonnets*, Introduction, p. 13.

seems to come after Shakespeare. However, there is no doubt that – be it in 1601 or 1607 – Marston is the first playwright in extant drama to use the phrase, 'pinke collour'. It is possible that the function of Peacham's 'Pinke' as a no-thing – a neutral something that can be ground into other materials such as paints – was the main meaning for pink at this time. This would explain the anomaly of pink colour seeming to colour a pair of silk stockings in Marston's play. Philip Henslowe's diary – a mine of material information for the period – records stockings that have no particular colour as in a 'payer of sylk stockenes'.[387] Bruce R. Smith, in his work on early modern green, notes that '[i]mplicitly, at least, what connects mind to soul is imagination, the mind's capacity to take remembered sensations and to use them to represent objects that are not physically present.'[388] At the very beginning of Marston's play, Atticus poses the question, 'What stuff must clothe our ears: what's the play's name?' (*WYW*, Induction, line 85). The anticipation of a link between clothing and hearing is clear and, indeed, we do not see the pink stockings of Marston's play. We hear them described.

If a customer in London at the turn of the seventeenth century were to ask a tailor for a 'blush colour' suit, this would be normal, with 'blush colour' a fashion shade since the 1590s. The request for a 'pink colour' suit might cause confusion on the early modern tailor's part, and he might reasonably mishear 'pink' for 'pink-ed'. The importance of hearing chimes with a blush model, which drives the methodology for this thesis, where I argue that, whereas the blush in real life is seen (fleetingly) but not heard, the blush in drama is heard but not seen. 'Pinke collour', then, need only be heard. But would this fleeting reference to a colour have been heard within the context of a Middle Temple audience of young and fashionable educated men,

[387] *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 111.
[388] Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 123; Bruce R., Smith, *The Key of Green*, p. 35.

lawyers in training, courtiers in hope, and writers, such as John Marston himself – and perhaps, even, Shakespeare? That such a contemporary audience might form something of an early modern 'clique' is reflected in the satirical language used in the play – language that is at times impenetrable for a modern audience.[389] But arguably they were ready to hear of a new colour.

It could be considered that the compositor may have made an error, and that Marston wrote 'pink – ed colour' [i.e. the word pink in the past tense, used for the action of pinking] rather than 'pink colour'. However, evidence suggests that Marston was renowned for his precision and it is thought that the manuscript for *What You Will* is, unusually for the times, little changed: this suggests that, when Marston writes 'pinke collour', he means it.[390] If we accept that pink is a colour for Marston, then why does it disappear until much later in the seventeenth century? Could an explanation lie in the presence of pink colour in the Wardrobe Accounts of Queen Elizabeth I that formed an epigraph to this chapter? Juliet Dusinberre notes the three colours associated with Elizabeth as black, white and – a third – eglantine or sweet-briar.[391] These flowers are wild roses that offer a shade of pink: it is perhaps the shade that *should* have represented the intermixed House of Tudor that was now 'nor red, nor white' but a third colour. For some reason, this colour remains veiled in speculation. It is possible that the opprobrium mentioned by Linthicum towards 'red yellows' may have extended to mixed colours of any sort at this time. But if a pink

[389] Antony Caputi, writing in the sixties, noted that '[s]atire is in many respects the most difficult of the Renaissance genres for modern readers [because it is] highly topical and allusive [and is] based on a set of assumptions with which [we] have almost wholly lost touch.' See *John Marston, Satirist* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), pp. 23-24. However a recent read-through of the play by professional actors proved that the play has great stage potential with the right direction. With grateful thanks to Emma Bown, Callum Coates, Julian Eardley Amy Finegan, Will Harrison-Wallace, Peter Kenny, Sonya Raymond, Matt Steinberg, and Joan Walker.

[390] See Woodhead, *What You Will*, Intro p.iv. Although, note that the Victorian editors (1814) hyphenate "pink-colour".

[391] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Edition, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), p. 105.

colour was associated with Elizabeth I for a brief period around 1600-1602 – during the years that represent the cusp between the ageing Queen's Court and the new Jacobean era - it is possible that courtiers at the Middle Temple might have heard the colour term. One of those courtiers, Marston, may have heard pink colour whispered as the Queen's colour and placed it within a play that would only be heard by those in the know. It could be, too, that with the Queen's death in 1603 and the birth of a new, masculine court – replete with new colours – 'pink colour', temporarily at least, ends with the death of Elizabeth, and with Marston's sole entry in *What You Will.* In her twenty-first-century description of pink, Barbara Nemitz adds that the colour 'may be perceived as unpleasant, perhaps even embarrassing at times, or as appealing and enjoyable.'[392] She does not say why. But the word 'embarrassing' provides a lead into my final chapter of this thesis. Here, I seek an early modern idea of what 'embarrassment' might have been like, given that the word would not be in use in the modern sense until the latter part of the seventeenth century.

[392] Nemitz, *Pink: Exposed Color*, p. 26.

Chapter Five

Turning nothings into monsters: making a case for "embarrassment" in Shakespearean drama

Introduction: early modern embarrassment in the midway

> The roses fearfully on thorns did stand,
> One blushing shame, another white despair;
> A third […] had stol'n of both.
>
> William Shakespeare, Sonnet 99, lines 8-10 (*c.* 1609)

> Abash, blush.
>
> Robert Cawdrey (1604)

> Embarasment, a perplexing, intangling, hindering.
>
> Elisha Coles (1675)

Sujata Iyengar, in her work on skin colour and race in the early modern period, asks if we can 'distinguish between modern embarrassment and early modern shame'.[393] In this final chapter of my thesis, I will seek out links between modern embarrassment and early modern embarrassment. Michael Neill's description of the relationship between blushing, colour, and emotion, is useful to repeat:

> In European culture, the language of the face includes the propensity of the countenance to change colour in response to inward feelings: the inwards truths of emotion reveal themselves in the pink blushes of embarrassment, shame, or guilt, the red flush of anger, the 'dark looks' attributed to suspicions and suppressed fury, the pallor of fear and cold rage, the supposed 'yellow' of cowardice, and even the 'green-eyed' gaze of jealousy.[394]

This important definition has been a touchstone for my thesis because it has provided a hook for the linking of blushes of pink embarrassment from an earlier period. In this way, anachronism (intended or not) is a valuable tool in helping us to access the past. Neill's 'inward truths' are a reminder of the blush's ability to reveal one's inner

[393] Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 104.
[394] Neill, 'The look of Othello', p. 115.

linings, which are truthful in that they are unbidden and valuable for ruffling the surface of the self. Without such access, we would be like perfect material that is unpinked and in need of ornamentation. Shakespeare, as I have been saying, with the exception of 'blushes', could not have used this phrase but this does not mean that the concept of embarrassment did not exist during his lifetime.

In my previous chapter, I argued for the 'birth' of the colour pink in Sonnet 99. Although quashed by a canker in its floral incarnation, the word in its colour-sense was reincarnated in the queen's cloaks that were decorated with pink colour netting, and in a pair of stockings of interest to John Marston. How, then, can embarrassment be a part of this early modern picture? Returning to the sonnet, the 'birth of pink' occurs I suggest when one rose blushes red for shame and another for sad despair.[395] The third rose, that is neither red nor white - like a little imp - steals just enough from the red rose and from the white rose, each. This potential birth of pink the colour, although the colour is un-named, occurs at a moment of instability in the sonnet due to its having fifteen lines instead of the fourteen that is usual for a sonnet as discussed in Chapter Four, and for this reason the point of transformation, or metamorphosis, occurs thanks to a perhaps fortuitous volta that is free-floating, with no fixed abode.[396] This moment in the sonnet is recalled here, too, because of the so-called passions that are attributed to the roses. The red rose blushes shame and the white rose blushes sad despair. The third rose's stealing from both presents not just the possibility for a new colour, but also provides an exploratory space mid-way between shame and despair. Could this be a prototype for the un-named passion of early modern embarrassment? It will be recalled that the word 'embarrassment' is not

[395] There is a gap to be filled here: Shakespeare does not use 'blanching' and my argument that the blush is on a continuum between the poetic colours of red and white means that blushing on the reverse journey (its ebb) might be termed as white.
[396] It is possible that the sonnet's having fifteen lines and a shifting volta is an intentional move.

coined until 1675, when it is entered in Elisha Coles' *An English Dictionary* as one of his 'difficult and hard words', spelled 'embarasment' (of French derivation) and glossed as meaning 'a perplexing, intangling, hind'ring'.[397] It is possible, then, that early modern embarrassment could lie somewhere between shame and despair – akin to a feeling of personal momentary impasse.[398]

If Shakespeare does not have the word embarrassment to hand, what words/ideas might he have used to describe an emotion that Christopher Ricks has described as 'small hot pricklings'?[399] One word is 'abash', which Robert Cawdrey glosses by the word 'blush', with the dyad 'abash, blush' forging a fusion between the two.[400] Cawdrey in 1604 may have found antecedents for his definition in the proverbial, 'Blushing (Bashfulness) is virtue's color (is a sign of grace)' from 1562 and introduced in my first chapter as a way of reading the blush by way of body, colour-as-rhetoric, and conduct (grace) – a conduct based on how one presented oneself to the world and how an involuntary bodily phenomenon such as blushing might fit into discussions of self-fashioning and self-presentation. I noted the proverb's possible links with Diogenes the Cynic, who is believed to have said, on

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[397] Coles, a London schoolmaster and 'Teacher of the Tongue to Foreigners', produced his dictionary including 'difficult terms', 'hard words' and their etymologies. See Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary, 1675* (London: Samuel Crouch, 1675).
Christopher Ricks focuses on John Keats, but draws on early modern examples, noting embarrassment as the 'constrained feeling or manner arising from bashfulness or timidity', which found itself called for at the end of the eighteenth century [1774]'; he mentions earlier dates for the adjectival sense 'embarrassed' but finds these to be 'dubious instances in 1683 and 1761 (in that they may represent perplexed and confused rather than constrained and bashful)' (p. 3). But this excludes Coles' 'embarasment' from the French in 1676. See Christomer Ricks, *Keats and Embarrassment* (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). p. 3; Theresa M. Krier notes that embarrassment was not yet coined in *Gazing on Secret Sights*, p. 156; Sujata Iyengar notes that 'the word "embarrassment" did not enter the English language until 1676 when it means "a perplexing, intangling, hindering," and quickly moves from meaning material encumbrances, like debt, to evoking a state of mental discomfort and shyness.' *Shades of Difference*, pp. 104.
[398] W. Ray Crozier notes that '[t]he etymology of embarrassment is the French *embarrasser*, meaning to block or to obstruct'. See *Blushing and the Social Emotions*, p. 105.
[399] Ricks, *Keats and Embarrassment*, p. 2.
[400] Cawdrey, *First English Dictionary*, p. 45.

observing a boy's blushing face, '[t]ake courage, that's the hue of virtue'.[401] The simple life that he advocated, stripped of all materialism, seems an apt world in which to place the native blush that provides natural ornamentation and is given for free. However, blushes are at the mercy of the observer, as suggested in William Horman's '[o]ften tymes he that is gyltlesse blussheth rather than he that dyd the dede' and in Claudius's charge to Hero in *Much Ado About Nothing* that she is a 'rotten orange' whose blushes (real or invented to colour an invented fault) do not represent 'simple virtue' but are signs of 'guiltiness' (4.1.30-42).

Shakespeare wrote *The Tragedy of Coriolanus* in *c.*1608. In his source material, Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives of the Greeks and the Romans*, the protagonist, Martius, 'neither in his countenance nor in his gait did ever show himself abashed […]'.[402] Shakespeare uses 'abash' and its derivatives to some extent.[403] In *Troilus and Cressida* (*c.*1602), as Agamemnon tries to reassure his men that their seven years' failure so far in the Trojan Wars should not be viewed as a failure, comments:

> […] Why then, you princes,
> Do you with cheeks abashed behold our works,
> And call them shames, which are indeed nought else
> But the protractive trials of great Jove
> To find persistive constancy in men […] (1.3.16-20)

It is all down to fate and not their fault and if it is a fault it is not intended – a point that will be important for my model of early modern embarrassment where I suggest that when we are embarrassed there is a sense of confusion in the moment in that

[401] See *Diogenes the Cynic*, pp. 62, 269.
[402] See T. J. B. Spencer, ed., *Shakespeare's Plutarch* (London: Penguin, 1964), pp. 7-9, 333.
[403] For recent work on shyness and its connection to abash/abashedness and shamefastness in Shakespeare, see Tiffany, Hoffman, 'Virtuous Passions: Shakespeare and the Culture of Shyness in Early Modern England', unpublished thesis, McGill University, August 2013.

events are snowballing in a way that we cannot quite understand. So much for us, today: but what for the earlier period? Scholars who gloss concepts of shame by using the word embarrassment (and its cognates) provide corroboration for the existence of an early modern passion that is perhaps somewhere on the spectrum between guilt and shame and more akin to the awkward feeling in certain social situations that we might today term as embarrassing. Such is the case for Antony B. Dawson's note on the same play, *Troilus and Cressida*: at this point in the play, Cressida's uncle Pandarus (something of a male bawd, as his name suggests) shows over-enthusiasm as the returning soldiers cross the stage before them:

> Cressida: What sneaking fellow comes yonder?
> Pandarus: Where? Yonder? That's Deiphobus. – 'Tis Troilus! There's a man, niece, h'm? Brave Troilus, the prince of chivalry!'
> Cressida: Peace, for shame, peace (1.2.223-225).

Dawson finds that Cressida is embarrassed here, as any young girl might be when the particular man she desires suddenly comes into view. If her exclamation of '[p]eace, for shame, peace!' can be read as embarrassment, rather than the 'shame' suggested by the text, then there may be a space for Shakespearean embarrassment before the word was coined.[404] Other scholars support this view. In *Red Faces in Plato*, Paul W. Gooch offers support for early modern embarrassment when he tries to disentangle embarrassment from other social emotions including shame in classical antiquity; the sense is that there must have been *something* different about embarrassment.[405] For Krier, the use of the word -

> to signify the momentary fluster and self-consciousness we feel in an awkward situation did not begin until the late seventeenth century, but the phenomenon,

[404] Dawson notes that 'Cressida is embarrassed at the fuss Pandarus is making', wee William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by Antony B. Dawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), (1.2.193-195), p. 91.
[405] See Paul W. Gooch, 'Red Faces in Plato', *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (Dec., 1987 – Jan., 1988), pp. 124-127.

> being the result of an unexpected breach in social expectations, might be expected in any society as reliant on ceremony and elaborate codes of conduct as Renaissance England.[406]

The words shame and blushing occur together in Shakespeare, like the rose blushing for shame in Sonnet 99, but this is not always the case. When Aufidius in *Coriolanus* tells his men, 'you have shamed me' (1.9.16), the blush is absent. Perhaps embarrassment might have been used, had Shakespeare had the word in his lexical toolbox.[407] How, then, to approach the study of a word that is 'not'? Like the Carnation and the Pink, the terms shame and embarrassment are often confused and conflated and it can be difficult to determine if a definition is a modern view or not.[408]

Shame can be 'absolute failure' or emanate 'from the conflict between a social and a secret self'.[409] Ray W. Crozier's modern viewpoint finds that shame 'involves the whole self' and the transgression element of shame 'causes a deficiency of the self': shame belongs 'to the moral sphere' and can therefore provoke a 'negative evaluation of the core-self.'[410] Embarrassment, for Gail Kern Paster, is a 'somewhat diminished variant' of shame' that began to be called for when 'thresholds of shame' changed due to 'an emergent ideology of bodily refinement and exquisite self-mastery'. It is a 'less searing, less intense form of shame that is more readily acceptable to most people'.[411] For Fernie:

> Embarrassment is a weak and transient form of shame […] failure in a given situation [and] arises when the subject feels degraded in a way which does not implicate what it essentially is. An embarrassing situation typically presents a

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[406] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, p. 156.
[407] In *Shame in Shakespeare*, Ewan Fernie notes that 'Shakespeare uses the word 'shame' 344 times'. See p. 2.
[408] Krier notes that in Spenser, '[s]hame and embarrassment can occur together and reinforce each other', see *Gazing on Secret Sights*, pp. 159-160. However, I am seeking to disentangle embarrassment from shame for the later Shakespearean period. Please see my introduction for more on critical views of embarrassment.
[409] Fernie, *Shame in Shakespeare*, p. 13; Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 104.
[410] Crozier, *Blushing and the Social Emotions*, pp. 104-10.
[411] Paster draws on the work of Norbert Elias's 'Civilizing Process'. See *The Body Embarrassed*, pp. 3, 14, 19.

> difficult demand: a table laid with unfamiliar cutlery, a question imperfectly understood, being all of a sudden confronted by a person with no clothes on.[412]

Christopher Ricks finds that embarrassment involves 'the sense not just that something is happening but that something is being watched' – for example,

> [w]hat is embarrassing about watching somebody asleep is their no longer having command of their features [and, equally] we are embarrassed either to sleep in public or to watch the sleeping, for instance in a train.

Thus, another aspect of embarrassment is introduced in 'the relinquishment of conscious control' when in front of others.[413] For Crozier, in a view that is modern but that seems apt for *Coriolanus*, the 'minor flaws and errors' of embarrassment provoke 'a deficiency of the socially presented self' but, because embarrassment belongs to the 'realm of social standards, manners and etiquette', it is 'more transient' [than shame].[414] Some key words emerge that might associate early modern embarrassment with blushes. Embarrassment is considered transient and somewhat mysterious: the subject is not sure why they feel as they do; we might say that they are perplexed over *something* but the moment is fleeting and passes quickly, to be coloured by a blush. One may recall Perdita's blood looking out at 'something' that Florizel says, that was discussed in Chapter One. This might suggest a triviality for embarrassment if its momentary cause cannot be pinned down. However, evidence finds the emotion to be far from trivial and even life threatening in that it can prevent some placing themselves in potentially embarrassing situations, such as seeking medical help for awkward ailments. [415]

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[412] Fernie, *Shame in Shakespeare*, p. 13. Fernie shares the consensus that embarrassment is less troubling than shame. In one of his rare references to embarrassment he observes that '[i]n the cosmic perspective not infrequently adopted by *Measure for Measure*, human life is simply an excruciating embarrassment'; however, because his subject is 'shame', we are not entirely clear what this 'excruciating embarrassment' is. See p. 105.
[413] Ricks, *Keats and Embarrassment*, pp. 9, 13.
[414] Crozier, *Blushing and the Social Emotions*, pp. 120-121.
[415] See Christine R. Harris, 'A Form of Social Pain: This enigmatic emotion likely evolved to smooth social interations, but it can have less desirable consequences in the modern world', *American Scientist*, Vol. 94, No. 6 (November-December 2006), pp. 524-533, esp. pp. 524, 532.

In the remainder of this introduction, I seek a model for 'early modern embarrassment' by borrowing from 'abash' and its connection with shamefastness to consider an audience that matters to the subject: from Sonnet 99's shame/despair to show how misunderstanding can fuel embarrassment, and from Coles, whose perplexing, entangling, and hindering prove to be non-anachronistic and apt for encapsulating the stay-wait-go motion that is key to embarrassment in *Coriolanus*.

5.1. Embarrassment and the need for an audience

The stage blush of interest to this thesis is heard and not seen. We cannot see our own blushes unless in a mirror or a photograph and in both cases the image is in reverse. An audience for the blush is necessary. Cawdrey's 1604 definition of audience as 'hearing, or hearkening, or those that heare' highlights the importance of sound in the playhouse.[416] However, sight is important because embarrassment, as a social emotion, requires an observer. Fernie points out that 'if we are to reconstruct even an approximation of the experience of the persons of the early modern period, we must imagine them as more or less aware at any particular moment of existing simultaneously in society and before God'.[417] Bearing this in mind, there is always an audience of at least one other. Krier notes that '[c]ommentators on Genesis inevitably remarked on the link between the Fall, sexuality, and shame, and expressed nostalgia for the prelapsarian lack of shame.'[418] However, a depiction of Adam and Eve carved in stone might indicate something other than shame.[419] They have disobeyed in acquiring human knowledge and are now aware of their own nakedness. Their

[416] Cawdrey, *First English Dictionary*, p. 55.
[417] Ewan Fernie *Shame in Shakespeare*, p. 69.
[418] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, p. 16.
[419] The figures are depicted on a sarcophagus that commemorates the life of Junius Bassus – a Roman soldier and senator perhaps in a similar social role to that of Shakespeare's Coriolanus. See *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. ix, 6 (diagram 1-1).

discomfiture can be read as threefold. The genitals of each are already covered by fig leaves. There should be no need for further concealing, but each figure places their hands over their own leaves in a double form of insulation; finally, as if embarrassed in front of each other, they turn away. They are embarrassed by God's observing of them and the punishment of each being the other's accusative audience.

That the blush works on a continuum as it marks moments of emotional flux is mirrored in Krier's note on Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* where characters are given 'reactions along an emotional spectrum of embarrassment, shock, and shame' for which he uses the collective term 'abashedness'.[420] Abash appears to be a stronger word than its soft sound suggests.[421] In commenting on Book II, Canto 9, Krier notes that, 'Spenser's phrase for that core of identity is "the secret of your hart"[and] provides the prototype of what we now call embarrassment, the mildest form of abashedness'.[422] Any spectrum has now become more specialised, with embarrassment linked to the female personification that is Shamefastnesse. Writing extensively on this part of the poem, Krier notes that 'Guyon turns away, blushing, until he can reassemble himself before this charming embodiment of his own modesty.'[423]

In Chapter One, I considered Lodowick Bryskett's interpretation of shamefastness in *A Discourse of Civil Live,* within his discussion on moral virtues and how to keep to the midway. Although it might be thought that shame is within the moral realm (and embarrassment not), shamefastness found a place in the work due to

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[420] Krier, "All suddeinly abasht she chaunged hew": Abashedness in "The Faerie Queene", *Modern Philology*, Vol. 84, No. 2 (Nov., 1986). pp. 130-143, p. 130.
[421] 'Abash' is 'to frighten, amaze'; and 'Bash' as 'to be ashamed, abashed'; see *Spenser: The Faerie Queene, Book II*, ed. by P. C. Bayley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; repr. 1978), pp. 327-328.
[422] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights,* pp. 157-158.
[423] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, pp. 158-159. See Chapter Four 'Vision and Defense', pp. 148-198 for a detailed account of this episode from Spenser.

its supporting of temperance.[424] This quality was not quite in the midway because the maintenance of temperance was so hard to do that it needed several helpers, of which shamefastness (and its accompanying blush) was one. Both Bryskett and Spenser, friends in life, described shamefastness in feminine terms. Spenser's poetical portrayal says much about the time of blushing that will be important to a character such as Coriolanus. At this point in the poem, as the Knight Arthur talks with 'Prays-desire', dressed in a purple robe (one that might recall Bryskett's male-purple blush), Guyon is deterred by another beautiful woman -

> […] That was right faire, and modest of demaine,
> But that too oft she chaung'd her native hew:
> Straunge was her tyre, and all her garment blew,
> Close round about her tuckt with many a plight;
> […]
> Did sit, as yet ashamd, how rude *Pan* did her dight. (II.9.40)

The 'native' feature of blushing and the impossibility of controlling one's blushes is reinforced by her unusual clothes with many folds.[425] In the next stanza, Guyon fears that 'the secret of your hart' (interpreted by Krier as 'that core of identity') is vexed because of his attention to her.[426] But she replies:

> […] Why wonder yee
> Faire Sir at that, which ye so much embrace?
> She is the fountaine of your modestee:
> You shamefast are, but *Shamefastness* itself is shee. (II.9.43).

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[424] It transpired that Bryskett and Spenser, friends in life, were writing on the subject at a similar time. See Chapter One.

[425] Spenser's use of the colour blue here has been questioned and there may be a link to the hue associated with the Virgin Mary. However, I suggest that blue might symbolise the blue veins that could suggest the transparency of facial skin. Fenja Gunn notes the detail on 'an engraving, by William Rogers, which illustrates a bizarre cosmetic fashion. The painting of artificial veins on the forehead was probably adopted by Elizabeth in middle age to simulate a youthfully translucent complexion.' See Fenja Gunn, *The Artificial Face: A History of Cosmetics* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p. 80., plate 16.

[426] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, p. 157.

The Russian Doll effect of who is feeling which passion in these complex lines reflects the complexity of blushing and emotion *per se* – so complex that Spenser found it necessary to create two figures for the same person of Guyon himself. Like Adam and Eve, together forever in the stone sarcophagus mentioned above, we can never leave our selves; however, Spenser, who influenced Shakespeare's writing, was attempting to show how the blush can help us to do just that through his example of Shamefastnesse as a female persona who can absorb his blushes like a willing scapegoat. This state of being has been likened to an 'internalized audience'.[427] Other types of audience can help to unravel a potential template for an early modern "embarrassment" model. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the tale of Medea and Jason provides an example of a plus-one audience. Having fallen in love with Jason at first sight, and feeling vexed at how this makes her feel, Medea begins a dialogue with the core of her own self as she debates the pros and cons of following her desires or being a dutiful maid, eventually deciding that 'virtue, daughterly feeling and maidenly conscience' should prevail (72-37). On visiting Hecate's altar to pray, all is well – '[h]er purpose […] firmly set and the flame of her love had subsided' – until Jason 'appeared on the scene' and then,

> [t]he fire which had died was rekindled. A blush came over her cheeks and the whole of her face glowed hot. As a tiny spark that is hidden under a pile of ashes is fanned and fed once again by the wind and grows to recover its earlier strength, so the love you might have supposed was dwindling and dying away flared up when she saw young Jason before her.' (76-83).[428]

These lines encapsulate the fact that a former embarrassment can recur like the aftershocks following an earthquake when feelings that we think have passed resurface

[427] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, p. 156.
[428] For Medea and Jason, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 7, pp. 248-255..

in the 'small hot prickings' that Ricks describes. For Crozier, embarrassment can be triggered,

> when some event – often, but not necessarily, a flawed public performance [causes] a predicament for the individual by putting his or her social identity at risk, either by threatening loss of public esteem or 'face', or giving rise to uncertainty about how to behave.[429]

The use of 'performance', here, introduces a dramatic element to embarrassment, whereby, in public, we are always performing, even when just walking down the street. Opinions today are divided over whether or not one can feel more or less embarrassed in front of friends or strangers. Ricks suggests comfort with the stranger in his example of 'the unfortunate who collapses in a railway station' hoping for aid from one who is 'undeterred by the small hot pricklings of embarrassment.'[430] In *The Tragedy of Mariam* discussed earlier in this thesis, the protagonist's downfall is watched by 'a curious gazing troop' that combines those who know Mariam and those who do not. (V.i.21). Falstaff is surely embarrassed when he assumes that Henry (now king) will welcome him as of old but instead is spurned publicly before a court that might be ambivalent about his misfortune with some enjoying it, as discussed in Chapter Four. Embarrassment can be intensified, I suggest, when it involves those with whom we have enjoyed some kind of former intimacy that has now (unbeknownst to us) gone sour.

5.1.1. Misunderstandings that can kill

The assumption of presumed intimacy (now lost) and a feeling that the particular situation – in the present moment – is not one's fault, can feel perplexing and is encapsulated most painfully in the famous encounter between Essex and Elizabeth

[429] Crozier, *Blushing and the Social Emotions*, pp. 104-105.
[430] Ricks, *Keats and Embarrassment*, p. 2.

that has received much comment. As Fernie notes, '[i]n September 1599, the Earl […] returned in disgrace from Ireland and embarrassed the Queen by bursting in while she had her hair about her face.'[431] The implication here is that Elizabeth alone feels embarrassed because Essex has embarrassed her. A feeling of shock and exposure at this sudden intrusion would be understandable for an ageing queen, devoid of her masks of ornamented security, such as painted white face, painted blue veins and wig. However, the example shows that Essex, as the instigator of Elizabeth's embarrassment, is embarrassed in turn, thereby illustrating the traffic between subject and object that can be important for embarrassment. Unlike the softer part of one's own self that is represented in Spenser's personification of Shamefastnesse, here the other woman (Elizabeth) shows decreasing sympathy that ranges from intermittent incarceration to the removal of Essex's sweet wines, and finally, his execution. The episode begs the question: who in the Queen's household revealed these secrets to Rowland Whyte, the recorder of events.[432] The eyes, ears and tongues that grace the Queen's gown in the Rainbow Portrait have free reign as dangerous 'holes' in such situations.

5.1.2. Motion: feeling perplexed, entangled, and hindered in the moment

Returning to Spenser for a moment, Robert A. White offers a complex reading of the same account involving Shamefastnesse that reveals the importance of motion, where the condition of being shamefast/shame-faced is personified as two maidens within the long narrative poem: one is 'verecundia' that incorporates a fear of disgrace and the desire to recoil/move away from it; the other embodies 'pudicitia' […] – a

[431] Jonathan Bate and Ewan Fernie comment on the same scene, with Fernie citing Bate. See Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (Picador: London and Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 218-219; and Fernie, *Shame in Shakespeare*, p. 60.
[432] See my Introduction for a more detailed account of Whyte's correspondence.

primarily feminine quality which accompanies chastity.[433] This blend of motion and the female suggests a masculine need to embrace yet recoil from the feminine side of his nature that might be revealed in an involuntary blush, but it depends on context. As I discussed in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Armado's blush for Jacquenetta heightens rather than diminishes his masculine qualities. White's account, too, highlights the importance of motion for embarrassment, be it a moving forwards, a retreat backwards, or staying put – aspects that I suggest are encapsulated in Coles' definition of 'embarasment' as 'perplexing, intang'ling, hind'ring' and that may be considered for the slightly earlier period being discussed in this thesis.[434] However, Coles' later definition for embarrassment as a 'perplexing, entangling, hindering' of an individual hints at how embarrassment might have been experienced as an early modern passion.

Critics have noted nuances in how the word 'emotion' was understood in Shakespeare's time. Katharine Craik mentions that '[t]he etymology of the word 'emotion' comes from the Latin *emovere*, to move out or stir up.'[435] For Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills, 'emotion meant physical motion – a moving away from in the physical sense, rather than the inner feelings that we use emotion to describe, today.'[436] The word in early modern terms, then, suggests moving the body and just enough movement of the mind for it to be stirred up. Early modern physiology involved a war between desirable passions and unwanted passions – the concupiscible and the irascible.[437] The space between these two states of motion offers just enough

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[433] Robert A. White, 'Shamefastnesse as "Verecundia" and as "Pudicitia" in "The Faerie Queene"', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (Autumn, 1981), pp. 391-408

[434] Iyengar finds that Coles' definition 'quickly moves from meaning material encumbrances, like debt, to evoking a state of mental discomfort and shyness.' See *Shades of Difference*, p. 104. This suggests that before 1676, Coles' definition did not touch on the stirring up of the passions.

[435] Craik, *Reading Sensations*, p. 5.

[436] Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills, eds, *Representing Emotions*, p. 1.

[437] See Wright, *Passions* (1601*)*, p. 35, D2^{r}.

of a gap to be filled with *something* else – perhaps something between shame and despair, as Essex must have felt in front of Elizabeth – when an unexpected event causes pause. Such a feeling might be described in modern terms as stasis – 'a feeling of stagnation, forces held in balance, suspended animation' – and in early modern terms as feeling perplexed, entangled, hindered in the moment.[438] Coles' definition of 'embarasment', then, might also describe that feeling of being in no man's land and unsure of which action to take. This feeling of being rooted to the spot may emanate from the fact that the 'etymology of embarrassment is the French *embarrasser*, meaning to block or to obstruct'.[439] I suggest that Shakespeare rehearses a connection between feeling barred and feeling embarrassed (by a moment that might seem couched in triviality) in *Henry V,* in a complicated scene involving discussions of (female) Salic Law.[440] Here, Shakespeare's use of 'bar' (to block) and 'embar' (to make bare) colour a moment when Henry (informed by Canterbury) gleans that the French court is trying to invoke old laws to obstruct his claim to the French throne. Armed with such knowledge, Henry is able to counter the embarrassing gift of placation – tennis balls, delivered not by the French King in person but by his ambassador (a slight in itself) – by embarrassing the ambassador in turn. He returns the unwanted gift (an embarrassing moment – a gesture spurned) and, after the ambassador's exit, announces to Exeter that '[w]e hope to make the sender blush at it' (1.2.299).

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[438] John Bush Jones, 'Stasis as Structure in Pinter's *No Man's Land*, *Modern Drama*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Fall 1976, pp. 291-304, p. 292.
[439] See Crozier, *Blushing and the Social Emotions*, p. 105.
[440] The scene's complicated discussion of Salic Law is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a fine explanation, see Andrew Gurr, *Henry V* (New Cambridge), introduction, pp. 17-19. Gurr finds such a link between 'embare', 'bar' and the heraldic use of the word 'bar' as a pair of broad horizontal bands across a shield but concedes that the 'spelling and the meaning of the word have provoked considerable speculation.' See p. 88, n. 94 (glossing 1.2.94).

In the above analysis, I have pulled together many strands in an effort to build a picture of "embarrassment" in early modern terms. The feeling of being 'between' something, the notion of an audience (be it a deity, one's self, one other, or a group) whom we may want to embrace, but regarding whom we might feel barred or misunderstood, and the anxiety of wanting to move/stay, or feeling entrapped and rooted to the spot, comes into play in my analysis of *Coriolanus* – analysis aided by the fact that embarrassment's position as a word as yet un-coined offers the 'passion' as having a free-floating tenor with the potential for exploration.

5.2. You have shamed [*embarrassed*?] me: a test case for 'embarrassment' in *Coriolanus*

> Identity is born at the interface between the public and the private realms.[441]

Ralph Berry, in 'The Metamorphoses of Coriolanus', calls attention to certain stage productions that could reflect the societal attitudes and staging of their own historical moment. One historical moment that he highlights is the period 1789-1817, when the actor John Philip Kemble, 'the Coriolanus of his day' gave a performance that 'appear[ed] [to] have been a study in marble pride.'[442] But there are moments in the play when that marble's smooth surface is scratched to reveal an underlay of something else and moments are coloured by invented blush references. The blush, of course, is not a body part in the sense that it can be cut out and seen, like a heart. And this is a play that Zvi Jagendorf notes as 'unerotic' because everywhere we encounter legs, arms, tongues, scabs, scratches, wounds, mouths, teeth, voices, bellies, and toes

[441] Burton Hatlen, 'The "Noble Thing" and the "Boy of Tears": "Coriolanus" and the Embarrassments of Identity', *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Autumn 1997), pp. 393-420, p. 39.
[442] Ralph Berry, 'The Metamorphoses of Coriolanus', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Spring, 1975), pp. 172-183, pp. 173-173.

together with such actions as eating, vomiting, starving, beating, scratching, wrestling, piercing, and undressing'.[443] The body's parts that allow access and egress – its precarious natural holes (mouths, tongues); its inflicted holes (scabs, scratches, wounds) and the holes that are filled by eating, or left wanting by starving, or purged by vomiting – certainly do not qualify as erotica, but 'undressing' suggests the body's sweet vulnerability, as for the person we observe dribbling while sleeping, in Ricks' account of embarrassment mentioned earlier. The blush, too, has been described as a native apparel in this thesis and can play a part in suggesting virtue or vice – good or bad feeling – for the characters that it touches. In Burton Hatlen's 'The "Noble Thing" and the "Boy of Tears": "Coriolanus" and the Embarrassments of Identity' the author claims 'shame' as the work's keyword, with just one reference to the word embarrassment, for which he notes that '[…] Coriolanus finds dependence on any kind of Other acutely embarrassing.'[444] In my reading of the play, I suggest that desire for the other is key to the protagonist's downfall – and it is a downfall that is driven by Aufidius's embarrassments that begin and end the drama. I will address three main episodes in the play that are driven by feelings of being perplexed, entangled, and hindered. But I begin with Aufidius's flee to the Cypress Grove.

5.2.1. Sad cypress for Coriolanus.

In what seems to be a familiar pattern of loss for the Volscian general Aufidius, Martius beats him yet again at the beginning of the play and boasts that his own face is covered in a mingling of blood, none of which belongs to him (1.9.9-10). The implication is that Martius has a mask of blood that he can hide behind in the manner of Mercutio's beetle brows that have the potential to blush for him in Chapter Three's

[443] Zvi Jagendorf, 'Coriolanus: Body Politic and Private Parts', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Winter, 1990), pp. 457-458.
[444] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', pp., 409,. 414.

examination of *Romeo and Juliet*. Here, the words blood/blush – that I read as synonymous in Chapter One – find a natural separation. It would be preferable for an early modern player to wear such a mask made of cosmetic painting because a real blush would simply get in the way of stage business: unlike an actor who can obey cue-lines, an involuntary blush cannot be a party to stage-management. A stage direction informs that 'certain Volsces come in the aid of Aufidius. Martius fights till the Volsces be driven in breathless, [Martius following]'.[445] Aufidius responds not to Coriolanus but to his men - '[o]fficious and not valiant, you have shamed me / In your condemned seconds' (1.9.15-16). Cawdrey's dictionary defines 'officious' as 'dutifull, dilligent, very readie or willing to please'; these fine qualities are dampened by Aufidius's claim that they are 'not valiant' and it is as if the enthusiasm of his men to help him is simply a spark for his feelings of emasculation.[446] Thomas Wright's observation that 'superiours may learne to coniecture the affections of their subiects mindes, by a silent speech pronounced in their very countenaunces' says something of the way that Aufidius might be feeling in the moment.[447] What has been revealed is something of their master's personal inner lining (his secret self), fleetingly exposed, and this is embarrassing for Aufidius. After an embarrassing event, we might ponder on how our story is being related by others to others and it is these little earthquakes of embarrassment that I suggest are implicit in Aufidius's responses. This embarrassing moment drives his decision to fight dirty from now on, to 'potch' at Martius, and to use 'wrath' or 'craft' to chip away at the other man's exterior as if he were indeed marble and devoid of feeling (1.11.15-16).

It is telling that instead of returning to the ensuing battle, Aufidius informs his men: 'I am attended at the cypress grove. I pray you - / 'Tis south the city mills –

[445] It should be noted that stage directions might have been entered/altered by editors.
[446] Cawdrey, *First English Dictionary*, 'officious', p. 118.
[447] Wright, *Passions* (1601), E3^{r}, p. 53.

bring me word thither / How the world goes' (1.11.30-34). The mention of Cypress may have suggested death to an early modern audience. George Ferguson, in *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, explains that the tree was so associated because of its 'dark foliage' and the fact that, 'once cut, it never springs up again from its root.'[448] In stalking off, Aufidius acts like a petulant boy because he has been made to feel one and he will ensure that Martius feels the same way at the play's end. Meanwhile, it is now that Shakespeare introduces the idea of a blush for his cold protagonist.

5.2.2. Perplexed: to blush, or no?

There is no blush in North's translation of Plutarch's account of the life of Coriolanus, and we are told that the hero 'neither in his countenance nor in his gait did ever show himself abashed, or once let fall his great courage'.[449] If abash/blush are almost synonymous, as argued earlier, then there may be no place for a blush in the text. I suggest that Shakespeare invents for his Coriolanus the potential for blushing to scrape at his exterior, just a little, in order to show something of the softer man lies. Theresa Krier has noted in her work on Ovid that 'the blush […] generally has the effect of arousing tenderness or desire for intimacy in any observer, even against the consent of the blusher'; in this way, the blush offers the opportunity for a type of appeasement.[450] But in this play, spoken blushes rather than bodily blushes mean that the chance for appeasing is lost. The play's major reference to a blush happens just at the moment of shedding one name and assuming a new one – when Martius is on the cusp of – yet equally in the wake of – being renamed as Coriolanus. He has been fighting for his country and the action has been driven by the blush's notional poetic

[448] George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, with Illustrations from Paintings of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, repr. 1961), p. 30.
[449] Spencer, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, p. 333.
[450] Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, p. 168. Krier does not write about this play.

colours of red and white. Martius is initially driven by the red implied by his name, as noted by Lois Potter.[451] For Martius a little earlier, the nobles' acquiescing to the rabble's quest for food at a fair price makes 'bold power look pale' - like a masculine blush in reverse (1.1.209). He calls on 'boils and plagues' (red) to 'plaster o'er' those men who retreat instead of advancing into battle, noting then as 'souls of geese, / That bear the shapes of men, how have you run / From slaves that apes would beat! […] All hurt behind! Backs red, and faces pale / With flight and agued fear!' (1.5.2-9). Hatlen notes that the language here 'suggests that what we would today call "losers" are not only un-Roman but subhuman – a disease, an excrescence on the face of the earth' and that if Martius identifies with them, then 'his own identity is infected.'[452] Men's faces should be red with choler as they advance and their backs should be white because they are doing the piercing and pricking. By retreating, the opposite has occurred: men have faces pale with fear and their backs – because they have turned – are blood-red: the result of piercing from arrows in the back. This imagery foreshadows a reversible image for Martius when later in the play – now re-named Coriolanus – he spurns those who have spurned him (his fellow Romans) with 'thus I turn my back' in transferring his allegiance to the enemy side (3.3.138).

Martius does not want his wounds displayed. They are a part of himself that he keeps within himself. He has no need to project a softer side onto anything else at this point, unlike Guyon, who finds relief by having Shamefastnesse (his feminine inner self) at his disposal, and therefore, within his control. The nearest he can manage is to personify his wounds so that they 'smart' in protest when mentioned, but his burden

[451] In *The Two Noble Kinsman* (2.2.21), Palamon notes the 'red-eyed god of war' (2.2.21), although he will be later associated with Venus. Lois Potter glosses, 'the planet [Mars] got its name because of its red appearance, and the god was often associated with the colour of blood.' See William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, ed. by Lois Potter (London: Thomson Learning, 1997), p. 183, n. 21.
[452] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', pp. 399-400.

remains an interior one (1.10.27-28).[453] In a similar situation from an earlier play, *The Tragedy of Othello the Moor of Venice*, Othello is unable to master the trick of successful self-separation when being taunted by Iago over Desdemona's apparent unfaithfulness with Cassio; whilst in the process of being belittled by a man of inferior rank, he *should* be able to manage his passions by keeping the mean and perhaps projecting them onto a secret self that might be imagined as being one step removed and outside the body: instead, he becomes confused by another's opinion – entwined and enmeshed within his own misery and demands to see the other man's thoughts as if they, too, could be made concrete and manageable: his '[b]y heaven I'll know thy thoughts' is answered by Iago's warning that he '[…] beware […] jealousy. It is the green-eyed monster which doth mock / The meat it feeds on' (3.3.1667-171). Martius's marble-like exterior – as yet un-stained by the mention of a blush – recalls something of Saint Sebastian, whose iconography ignores the fact that he miraculously survived the experience of being pierced with holes, only to be beaten to death afterwards; instead, he is commemorated as a marble-like figure, his skin like 'pinked' cloth, with the merest trickle of rosy blood emanating from each wound, his face, beatific, and un-moved by pain.[454]

The re-naming of Martius is key to his potential for blushing. Hatlen notes Kenneth Burke's cogent comment that the protagonist is named for the city that he has helped to capture and destroy and *not* for his home-town of Rome (in which case, his name would need to have been 'Romanus').[455] It is this cusp moment that

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[453] In a similar way, Winston Churchill is said to have invented the notion of the 'black dog' of depression: here, depression is imagined as an animal that is outside of the/Churchill's body and can therefore be 'seen', trained, and controlled.

[454] 'Sebastian', *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, fifth edition, ed. by David Hugh Farmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, repr. 2004), pp. 470-471. For the myth of Sebastian, see George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, p. 142. For an example of Sebastian in art, see Bernardino Zaganelli, 'Saint Sebastian', 1499-*circa*. 1509, NG1092, Screen 10, National Portrait Gallery Education Centre, Orange Street, London.

[455] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', p. 416.

Shakespeare fills with his invented blush – one that I suggest is rhetorical rather than intended as real. The fleeting moment occurs when Martius is praised by his long-term comrade, Cominius, and is renamed Coriolanus; a clamour of praises encourages Coriolanus's 'I will go wash, / And when my face is fair you shall perceive / Whether I blush or no.' (1.10.67-68). As Raymond Tallis notes, '[b]lushing is associated with undesired social attention and heightened self-consciousness. We blush with embarrassment, with shyness, with uncertainty, with a sense of exposure, of undress.'[456] At this moment, the character of Coriolanus may well feel all of these things. By posing the mystery of 'blush or no', Shakespeare adds to the mystery of the man. Can we really believe that a man like Coriolanus might blush? But why not, if blushes are involuntary and beyond the will of the person? Brian Cummings highlights the ambiguous message that the blush can convey: on the one hand, the proclaiming of a 'scandalous confession [yet] also a balancing re-assertion of modesty, a self-defeating openness to fault which nonetheless triumphs by gaining simultaneous credit for moral honesty.'[457] And it is the word 'fault' that is key to early modern discourses of blushing. For a man, as Bryskett tells us, and as discussed in Chapter One, the acknowledgement of a fault – or even the thought that others may *think* a fault has been committed – provides a reassertion of virtuous leanings, even if one is not particularly grounded in virtue at that moment. But Coriolanus at this point in the play has no notion of having committed any fault. He has in his mind quite plainly fought for his country. In a moment of dramatic irony, we, the audience, know that this will be his undoing because pride in the play cannot be endured. The blush here sits on the interface between his private and his public self and the public self wins to the detriment of the private. He says he will wash, as if washing will make

[456] Tallis, *The Kingdom of Infinite Space*, p. 17.
[457] Cummings, 'Animal Passions' in *At the Borders of the Human*, p. 30.

everything the way it was. It could also be that, on a physical level, Coriolanus has no blood to offer to a blush. He has lost too much in battle and there is none spare to even look out sub-surface. But the word 'blush' – simply heard by the audience – is enough to bring it 'warm physicality' to the surface of the drama.[458] Hatlen observes that critics 'have often seen the play as working not so much upon our passions as upon our analytic faculties.'[459] The idea of a blush – real or not – warms our passions to the idea of Coriolanus.[460] As they go to wash, we are reminded of the wash of carnation that created the soft blush colour for the Virgin Pink Flower, which would have no hue without it; in turn, the blush helped to name the Carnation's absent colour. And yet, dilution to a softer more feminine colour is not in his best interests. As his new name is conferred – Coriolanus – he becomes a slightly watered-down version of himself.

5.2.3. Entangled in the Senate House

The authors of *Reading the Passions* note a sense of belatedness for the emotions in general when they observe that:

> By the time a person consciously experiences an emotion – feels angry or fearful, perceives his heart to be racing or his face to be blushed – the physiological response triggered in his brain has already occurred.[461]

This temporal aspect to the emotions explains why they can seem to play with personal time: a happy event can pass quickly, an unhappy one last an eternity, and vice versa. An embarrassing moment can seem eternal to the subject, whereas in real time it is as fleeting as a transient blush that may or may not colour that moment. As I

[458] Tallis, *The Kingdom of Infinite Space*, p. 118. Tallis notes that the blush brings 'its warm physcailty to the surface' but things of the blush as sub-surface.
[459] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', p. 393.
[460] In a modern production of *Coriolanus* at the Donmar Warehouse, London (2014) the line 'I will go wash […] blush or no' received nervous laughter from the audience on at least three occasions. It was difficult to explain why but perhaps the sudden levity involved in seeing a softer side of Martius was unexpected.
[461] Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, eds., *Reading the Passions*, p. 4.

have argued, the blush is not an emotion of itself: it is a bodily phenomenon that occurs in the wake of emotion. In the wake of the potential for a blush (or no) a small bridging scene marks the time between Coriolanus's renaming and his visit to the Senate House to be considered in the role as consul. A scene of near hysteria is described as crowds await a glimpse of their hero: curtains are draw, caps are thrown in the air, and 'veiled dames / Commit the war of white and damask in / Their nicely guarded cheeks to th' wanton spoil / of Phoebus' burning kisses' (2.1.212-215). Philip Brockbank notes these lines as a lyrical commonplace for the war of red and white.[462] In Chapter One I discussed Shakespeare's use of the war of red and white/the reason of white and red, and what the subtle change in word order might reveal about the body-mind connection (red coming first suggests more of the involuntary body; whereas (white) reason implies the mind's workings. Blended, the two suggest the pre-Cartesian continuum that prevailed when Shakespeare was writing his plays. I suggest that in this way the bush posits a paradigm for such a continuum, operating as it does somewhere in the mysterious interstices between body and mind. Here, the word order is white and damask (rather than red and white) and red has been tempered by the less intense shade of damask. This tempering to damask could imply a young maiden's rosy colouring but Shakespeare describes these ladies as 'dames'.

It is rare to find mature women depicted in this way: they are not used for comedic effect as in *Hentry VIII (All is True)* for the haberdasher's wife who loses her pinked hat or the gossipy old lady sharing Anne's counsels, both in mentioned earlier in this thesis. They are an important addition to a scene that encapsulates an early modern form of fan-worship as all and sundry lose control in trying to glimpse a sight of the superstar that Coriolanus has become. That they are mature women amongst

[462] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Coriolanus*, ed. Philip Brockbank, n. 214-16, p. 164.

the crowd is possible, too, by their wish to protect their ageing skins from the sun. For them, it is a double war between over-blushing (not suitable for older women who, like *Hamlet's* Gertrude, might be considered wanton) and fighting the men who have momentary control over them – the personified sun (Phoebus) and the unwilling hero, Coriolanus.

Once at the consulate, Coriolanus now faces the daunting task of performing in public before an audience that is largely familiar to him. This blend of the eminent and the plebeian is encapsulated in an accompanying stage direction, the length of which suggests its importance to the play and to Coriolanus himself:

> A sennet: Enter the Patricians, and Sicinius and Brutus, the tribunes of the people, lictors before them; Coriolanus, Menenius, Cominius, the consul. [The Patricians take their places and sit.] Sicinius and Brutus take their places by themselves. Coriolanus stands (2.2.35).

Menenius now introduces Coriolanus '[m]ost reverend and grave elders' – a description that corroborates their importance to Coriolanus. He sits, and all could be well. However, the First Senator's urgings that Cominius should '[l]eave nothing out for length' suggests a lengthy eulogy to come. Interruptions from the tribunes allow Coriolanus more time to be vexed. Knowing his own limitations, he offers to leave but is instructed by Menenius to 'keep your place'; it is a well-meant instruction, but when this command is reiterated by the First Senator - '[s]it, Coriolanus. Never shame to hear / What you have nobly done' – it is all simply too much to bear (2.2.66-68). Embarrassment is encapsulated in the seam between the red shame of praise that Coriolanus feels is undeserved, and the white despair of wanting to be somewhere else. Hatlen proffers a picture of 'the ideal Roman' who possesses 'unflinching courage, absolute devotion to the state [and] disdain for a "Greek" predilection for

reflection over action.'[463] Too much time for reflection can increase our anxieties. Brutus, keen to destroy Coriolanus, knows the correct hot buttons to press when he asks if Coriolanus has been 'disbenched'. Luisa Dãnobeitia finds that '[w]hen Brutus talks about 'disbenching' him to anger him, he is not very far from the actual truth. He does not want to be 'benched'. For him 'benching' entails lack of action, lack of physical activity, confinement and immobility (2.2.70-72).[464] Despite further urging from Menenius to sit, Coriolanus declares, 'I had rather have one scratch my head i'th' sun / When the alarum were struck than idly sit / To hear my nothings monstered' (2.2.75-77). Nicholas Royle notes of Othello's green-eyed monster, 'Shakespeare plays on the putative etymological link between 'monster' and the Latin verb *monstrare*, 'to show'.[465] Here, Othello needs his famous ocular proof. But Coriolanus does not want his deeds to be concretised. At this moment, too, Coriolanus feels like a no-thing – a monstrous amalgam that may include reference to the 'nothings' of *Much Ado* - trivial and yet highly suggestive and that play's driving force. The push and pull between motion (trying to leave) and stasis (being told to sit) is stress-inducing, and Coriolanus runs. He should have stayed in the room. His leaving the scene is misread as bombast. Had he stayed, his anxiety may have been read as a sign of appeasement and warmed him to his audience.

5.2.4. Hindered in the market place

Modern social scientists posit the idea that embarrassment can lead to 'increased forgiveness, trust, and liking'.[466] But how do we know that embarrassment has

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[463] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', p. 399.
[464] Luisa Dãnobeitia, 'Rôle-Playing and Rôle-Taking: A Study of Coriolanus', *Atlantis*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (June 1990), pp. 25-50; p. 47.
[465] Nicholas Royle, *How to Read Shakespeare* (London: Granta, 2005), pp. 74-57.
[466] For a modern discussion on the blush's role in appeasement, see Dacher Keltner and Cameron Anderson, 'Saving Face for Darwin: The Functions and Uses of Embarrassment', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (Dec., 2000), pp. 187-192, p. 191.

occurred if there is no blush? Another embarrassing moment occurs when, in the second stage of his progression from patrician to consul, Coriolanus must don a 'womanish toge' – the gown of humility – and beg for the people's votes, or 'voices'. He pleads to Menenius: 'Let me o'erleap that custom, for I cannot / Put on the gown, stand naked, and entreat them / For my wounds' sake to give their suffrage'. His oxymoron here (being clothed, yet being naked) is telling: so humiliating is the gown (as it is meant to be) that he mentally discounts its existence (2.2.137-139). He claims that to stand thus exposed is 'a part / That I shall blush in acting' (2.2.145-146). From a modern perspective, what Coriolanus could mean here is that he would feel the passion of 'embarrassment' in undertaking and enduring such a task. Without the word to hand, he cannot say it: but the blush as a word plays a role by simply being available; it is a verbal part of stage craft that in the right conditions, as here, stands in for the missing word – embarrassment. The use of the word 'part' is a reminder, here, that the blush of this thesis, and in this scene, plays a silent yet important part in stagecraft. It is language that conjures the image.

The stage blush can be implied and assisted by gesture, as in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*: when Wendoll encourages Anne Frankford to be unfaithful with, '[y]our husband is from home, your bed's no blab - / Nay, look not down and blush', the invisible blush would be implied in the boy player's action of lowering his head to the ground (Scene V1, 163-164).[467] Coriolanus's embarrassing moment is, too, supported by the movement afforded by gesture. He is standing in front of an impartial audience (the plebeians) but also in front of those who do matter to him. Stage directions for Menenius differ in this scene

[467] Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, New Mermaids, ed. by Brian Scobie (London: A&C Black, 1985; repr. 2003). For more work on the blush within performance studies, see Natalie Bainter, 'An Exercise in Shame: The Blush in "*A Woman Killed with Kindness*"', in *Affective Performance and Cognitive Science: Body, Brain and Being*, ed. by Nicola Shaughnessy (Bloomsbury: London, 2013), pp. 91-102.

and have been noted.[468] The character of Menenius might be said to have a free-floating tenor in that he hovers midway between being a something and a nothing to Coriolanus in this moment; if Menenius exits, then Coriolanus is left alone with the plebians. That this crowd is below Coriolanus is corroborated by Gail Kern Paster's work on embarrassment where she notes Norbert Elias's argument that

> the rules of hierarchical society allowed the great to expose their bodies before their inferiors without shame or self-consciousness precisely because the knowing gaze of their inferiors did not count socially.[469]

Therefore, in theory, Coriolanus is doing nothing wrong here. But he is performing in front of an audience that does matter to him and, although he rages against the idea of standing still while *they* pass by, demanding a suitably traditional performance from him, he does not feel the same need to flee as he did in the Capitol but nevertheless is hindered from feeling like his true self – one that bears no relation to anyone else at this point.

As Hatlen notes, '[a]s a soldier he can – or so he believes – stand alone, but as a politician he is dependent upon the good will of his fellow Romans […] twice at the decicive moment he balks and begins to berate the very people whose votes he needs.'[470] In a way, Coriolanus cannot win. His softer side, advanced by his acknowledgement of a propensity to blush, means that he is simply too sensitive to stay in the consul and hear the monstering of his 'nothings'. The coldness that he reverts to in his 'womanish toge' means that any chance of humility in front of the people (a people whose minds are being constantly twisted against Coriolanus through the tribunes' plotting) is lost. In naming one such tribune, Sicinius, a 'Triton of the minnows' a little later on, Coriolanus seals his fate because in making a

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[468] Peter Holland discusses this point in an informative footnote; see Willam Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Peter Holland (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), (2.3.46), n. 46.
[469] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 32.
[470] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', p. 400.

dangerous man feel small by comparing him to something large – a tiny fish (a minnow) compared to the 'Triton' or god of the sea – Coriolanus turns a 'nothing' into a 'monster' (3.1.93).[471]

5.2.5. An epilogue to make pages blush

Events lead to Coriolanus's banishment from Rome – a motion that leads to passion of another sort as he is driven into the arms of the man whose attention he seems to desire. Having been bloodied and washed and stripped and humiliated since the play's beginning, he assumes something of the mien of Shakespeare's earlier Richard II who realises at a moment of crux that 'I live with bread, like you; feel want, / Taste grief, need friends'. (*R2*, 3.2.171-173). It is as if a propensity for blushing has opened up a seam of something else for the character. Following his departure a culture for embarrassment has continued as the tribunes note that, '[h]ere do we make his friends / Blush that the world goes well' (4.6.4-5). After the hyperbole at the mere mention of his name earlier, everything now is working just fine without him. Once in Corioles with Aufidius, Coriolanus is now in the place that matches his name. However, as Hatlen cogently observes, 'the issue of identity is posed first of all [and throughout the play] as a debate over the question of what it means to be a Roman'.[472] This notion of identity reaches a crisis point when, in a state of jealousy, Aufidius asks his man, '[d]o they still fly to th' Roman?' (4.7.1). That Coriolanus is merely the 'Roman' for Aufidius affirms that he has never been anything else. Formerly 'Martius' and now 'the Roman', Coriolanus is suspended midway in the interface between being something and being nothing. Coriolanus has become a Christ-like figure for the Volscians; as the Lieutenant (somewhat callously, perhaps) informs

[471] Today, a minnow is also known as a 'pink' – but a minnow is never a 'pink' for Shakespeare.
[472] Hatlen, 'Noble Thing', p. 398.

Aufidius, ‘I do not know what witchcraft’s in him, but / Your soldiers use him as the grace fore meat, / Their talk at table, and their thanks at end’ and his note that ‘you are darkened in this action’ confirms that something must be done and soon. (4.7.2-5). Coriolanus’s popularity is engrained into society and has become as familiar to the people as their daily communion with God in asking for his grace. This humiliation – this embarrassment – means that action must be taken for a final ‘potch’. This ‘potch’ is anticipated when, during the Volscian sacking of Rome, Cominius (earlier, aware of Martius/Coriolanus’ on-the-cusp ‘blush or no’ speech, and perhaps hoping for some softness) attempts to beg pardon on Rome’s behalf and – when he is unsuccessful – informs those back home that ‘Coriolanus’ / He would not answer to, forbade all names. / He was a kind of nothing’ (5.1.12-14). However, his mother, wife, and little boy succeed in bending Coriolanus’s will towards their own. A man should not bend to his inferiors in this world. But when they kneel, he is willing to meet them at their level. Such bending, conversely, means that in Aufidius’ eyes, Coriolanus is on the ground but not grounded in virtue – he has committed a fault. In embracing his family, Coriolanus has embraced embarrassment. This is confirmed by a mother’s tears – cries that whine and roar – and even blushing pages who cannot encounter the ‘boy of tears’ that the hero has become (5.6.94-103).

Conclusion

Every small part has a purpose

> Pallas was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might,
> The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright,
> Elizabeth then came.
> And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took to flight;
> Pallas was silenced; Venus blushed for shame.[473]

This thesis began with a portrait of Queen Elizabeth 1 and the Three Goddesses and I want to return to it for a moment to consider the potential presence of blush-pink-embarrassment in the scene. The roses at Venus's feet seem to be red ones and white ones which would be in line with the Tudor dynasty embodied in the portrait in the figure of Elizabeth, where there was no perfect pink colour for a Tudor rose. Juno seems to be embarrassed in that she cannot compete with the sight in front of her (Elizabeth) and in her rush she has left one of her sandals behind. Her half turn suggests the embarrassment one might feel in the push and pull, and feeling of stasis or paralysis that I have argued for in this thesis. Juno may want to retrieve her sandal but her half-turn implies that she is not sure what to do, as if a little of her inner self has been publically revealed in both the act (losing the shoe), the need for motion or non-motion, and in the particular moment. Juno however does not blush. It is Venus (we are told) who blushes and yet no blush is evident on the gleaming white surface of her skin. It is perhaps unlikely to expect a blush on a non-human form. But the portrait encapsulates the mystery of a blush that has a free-floating tenor and is difficult to pin down, yet that has the potential to stir interest by way of its mysterious provenance, locus, and form. In this thesis, I have applied a model of blushing, based on the blush being involuntary, difficult to pin down, and therefore open to possibility

[473] See Introduction, n. 2., for details of this portrait.

of interpretation that I have encapsulated in the phrase, 'free-floating tenor with potential', and that has been applied to readings of early modern pink and embarrassment that are also in transition and flux. It is through the blush that we learn of the early modern physiological grounding of a relationship between the heart and the face and the difficult task of fashioning that is constantly pressuring the subject. The blush has offered a platform for thinking about what loss of control means for the subject. The blush indirectly has offered insights into the techniques of pinking in early modern England by the fact that the words blush and pink today, placed together, suggest a face that is at some point along the continuum of blushing and not blushing, and in seeking to find such references in early modern texts we fall short. What is revealed is that the word pink has more to do with small cuts on cloth and less to do with colour, although the pink-colours which appear in Elizabeth's Wardrobe Accounts and in a play by John Marston do present anomalies worth further investigation.

I have demonstrated that when a word such as 'pink' is stripped from its modern meaning, then early modern meanings can come to the fore. The work may be of interest to clothes historians of the early modern period seeking to augment their knowledge of 'pinking' within the cloth-cutting trade of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England. Similarly, Chapter Thee involved a shift into the world of botany and early modern gardening in an attempt to uncover plant meanings for the word 'Pink'. This is indeed a complicated field, full of twists and turns regarding the naming of plants and plant families - and especially for the early modern period when, as the entries in Gerard's *Herball* prove, new plants were being imported and developed at a rate that may be correlative to the coining of new words. It is hoped that the project will contribute to early modern botany and garden/plant history in offering a pre-

history for Pinks and Carnations. Chapter Four focused on colour, about which more information is available than on cloth-cutting or plant history. I demonstrated here that the colour that we stripped away from the word's usual concept - so as to be able to think about 'pink' as a cloth-cutting term and a flower - now needed to be replaced with a colour that was still not quite yet pink-colour.

There is the potential for profitable work beyond the scope of this thesis. As I have argued, our modern triad of 'blush-pink-embarrassment' was not available to Shakespeare. But a change occurs for 'pink' and 'embarrassment, interestingly, at almost the same moment in time. Around the time of the Restoration (1660), pink becomes a colour term on its own, without the need for the qualification 'colour'. And, embarrassment, as we have seen, enters the English vernacular at a similar time. Both these arrivals coincide with women actors first being allowed to perform on the public stage and I feel that this is more than a coincidence. It would be interesting, too, to take a look at plays such as John Dryden's *All For Love* - a Restoration adaptation of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* - to see what happens to the blush that is so emasculating for Antony – as a homager to his wife and for the young Caesar – in the later play. Meanwhile, I offer this thesis as an original contribution to the burgeoning field of mind-body studies but hope that the work might cross boundaries into fields of early modern botany and the history of fashion. The thesis began with William Horman's adage that [t]here is none so lytell a parte in mannys body but it serueth for somwhat' and I hope to have shown that the blush is indeed a small part with purpose.

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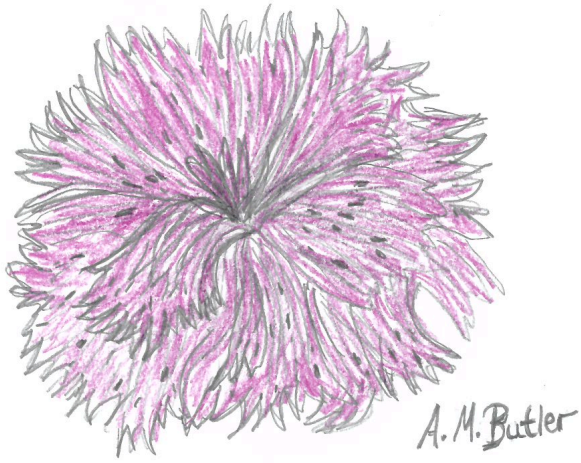
Appendix 1.

The great double Carnation: *Caryophyllus maximus multiplex*
[*Herball*, Fig. 1. p. 472.]



'very faire flowers [of] a pleasant Carnation colour, whereof it tooke his name.'
[Description, *Herball*, p. 473.]

Note:

John Gerard's illustration of 'The great double Carnation' in the *Herball* on p. 472 (fig 1.) is partially coloured, with petals of a dark-pink shade, to modern eyes. This colouring may have been done at any time since the publication of the work and might not be 'early modern': however, I reproduce it here to show the petals' likeness to ripped-flesh. Gerard does not tell us what 'carnation colour' is.

Gerard's image is labelled 'The great double Carnation', but it is described on p. 473 as 'The great Carnation Gilloflower'. I suggest this gives the Carnation in Gerard a 'strange-joining' with the Pink as they are often confused then, as now: but the common denominator for both, in early modern botanical terms, is the Gillyflower. This is my own impression of the flower's petals, and is drawn with the permission of The British Library, London.