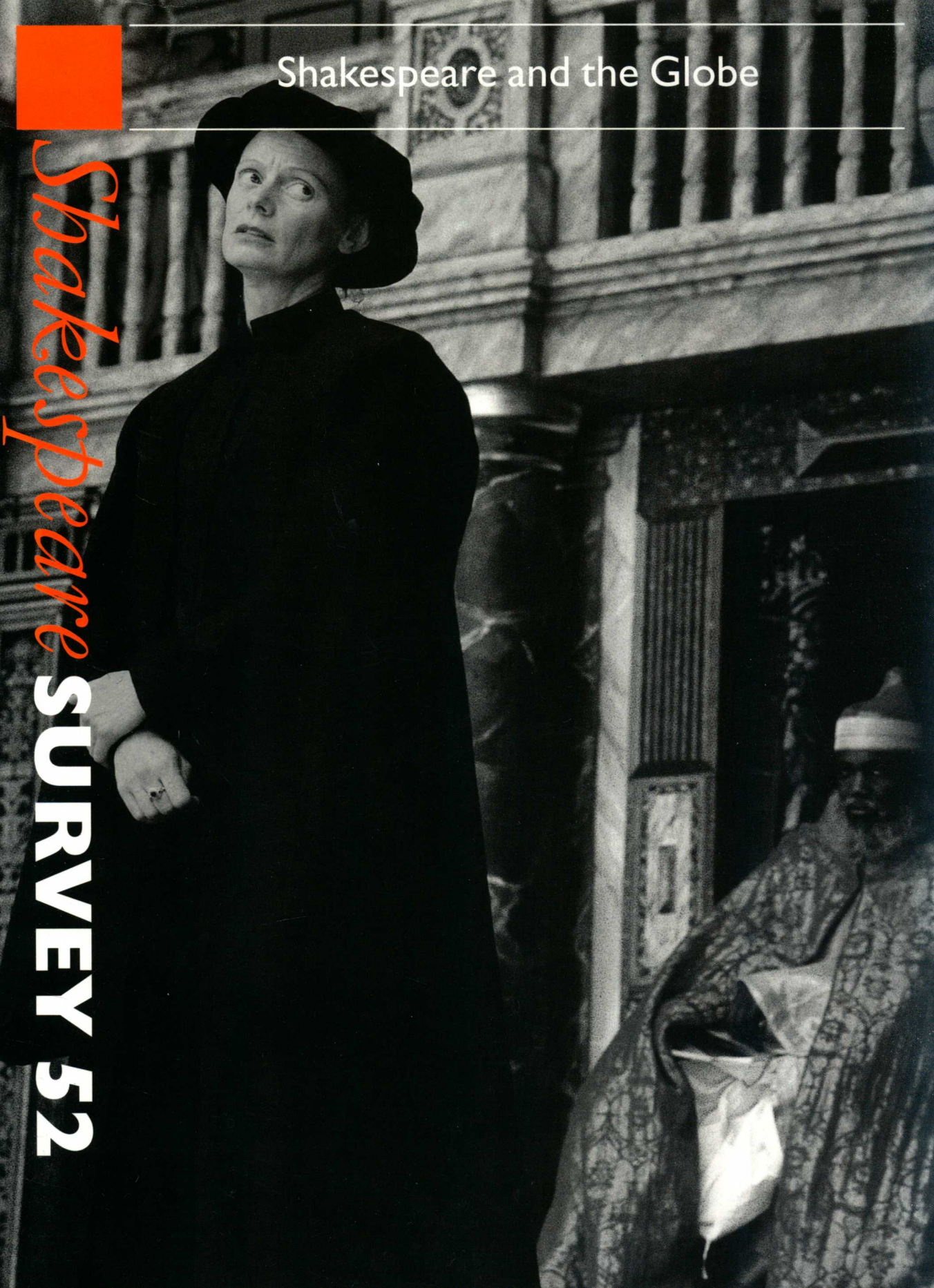


Shakespeare and the Globe

Shakespeare
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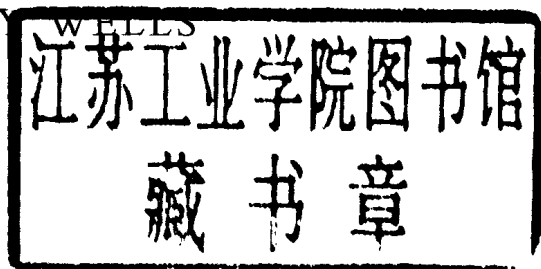


SHAKESPEARE SURVEY
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SHAKESPEARE STUDIES AND PRODUCTION

52

Shakespeare and the Globe

EDITED BY
STANLEY WELLS



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EDITOR'S NOTE

Future volumes of *Shakespeare Survey* will be edited by Professor Peter Holland.

Volume 53, on 'Shakespeare and Narrative', will be at press by the time this volume appears. The theme of Volume 54, which will include papers from the 2000 International Shakespeare Conference, will be 'Shakespeare and Religions'.

Submissions should be addressed to the Editor at The Shakespeare Institute, Church Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire CV37 6HP, to arrive at the latest by 1 September 2000 for Volume 54. Pressures on space are heavy; priority is given to articles related to the theme of a particular volume. Please either enclose postage (overseas, in International Reply Coupons) or send a copy you do not wish to be returned. All articles submitted are read by the Editor and at least one member of the Editorial Board, whose indispensable assistance the Editor gratefully acknowledges.

Unless otherwise indicated, Shakespeare quotations and references are keyed to the modern-spelling Complete Oxford Shakespeare (1986).

Review copies of books should be addressed to the Editor, as above. In attempting to survey the ever-increasing bulk of Shakespeare publications our reviewers inevitably have to exercise some selection. We are pleased to receive offprints of articles which help to draw our reviewers' attention to relevant material.

S. W. W.

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RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE GLOBE: A RETROSPECTIVE

GABRIEL EGAN

I ought not to have suggested in *The Stage of the Globe*, 356, that the first Globe might have been rectangular.¹

The Globe playhouse occupies special places in the collective conscious and unconscious of Shakespeare studies and – *where id was, there shall ego be* – the Wanamaker reconstruction has brought important theoretical and practical conflicts into the open. The validity of historical methods and pursuit of authenticity have always been contentious issues, but the act of making a physical reconstruction focuses the minds of supporters and objectors in a way that no hypothetical model can. The Wanamaker project can be credited with the achievement of accelerating research into the design and operation of the Globe so that in the last thirty years the body of published work on the subject has more than doubled. Whether or not the reconstructed building itself aids scholarship, the research underlying its claim to authenticity represents a considerable return on the capital outlay.

The first landmark in the scholarly reconstruction of the Globe is E. K. Chambers's *The Elizabethan Stage* which contained his hypothesized plans for the building.² All earlier attempts at reconstruction lacked Chambers's compendious knowledge of early modern drama and cultural history. Chambers argued that the movement of playing companies between different playhouses, especially in the period prior to the construction of the Globe, suggests standardization of design³ and he found few differences between late sixteenth-century plays and early seventeenth-century plays that might be taken to indicate that the Globe

or Fortune differed substantially from their predecessors.⁴

Chambers offered no precise defence of his drawing because it was intended to be schematic rather than architectural, and showed neither the dimensions nor the arrangement of structural members. General features, not unrecoverable particularities, were his concern. It is worth noting that Chambers's octagonal playhouse which was supposed to be Globe-like and typical seems dependent upon J. C. Visscher's engraving of 1616 called *Londinium Florentiss[is]ma Britanniae Urbs*.⁵ When Chambers's book was published in 1923 the Visscher engraving was still considered authoritative and of the several pictures which suggest that the Globe had as few as six or eight sides, it enjoyed the highest status. The belief that the Globe was six sided derived from Hester Thrale who, in 1819, recorded having seen its uncovered foundations some fifty years before.⁶ Interest in finding corroboration for Thrale's claim has persisted although most scholars disregard her evidence entirely.⁷

¹ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), vol. 2, p. 434n2.

² Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 3, p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103–104.

⁵ R. A. Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580–1642* (London, 1985), pp. 18–19.

⁶ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, p. 428.

⁷ Martin Clout, 'Hester Thrale and the Globe Theatre', *The New Rambler*, 9 (1993–4), 34–50.

In 1942 John Cranford Adams published his *The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment* and in 1950 Adams and Irwin Smith completed a beautiful scale model of the First Globe which was immediately incorporated into a public display at the Folger Library in Washington. Following the Visscher engraving, Adams made his Globe octagonal and from the Fortune and Hope construction contracts Adams deduced that the Globe was '84 feet across between outside walls, 34 feet high to the eaves, and 58 feet across the interior yard'.⁸ The Fortune contract specified galleries 12 feet 6 inches deep⁹ and Adams assumed that this included 6 inches for the outer wall, so the real centre-to-centre spacing of the posts was 12 feet. The Fortune would have been constructed from regularly shaped units, Adams reasoned, and the simplest arrangement would have been to repeat the 12 feet square bays that formed the corners of the auditorium. Six and a half such bays form a structure 78 feet between centres or 80 feet once the thickness of posts and exterior covering is added.¹⁰ The width of the enclosed yard would be that of four and a half bays, 54 feet between centres, or 55 feet to the furthest edges of the posts. Finding that his arrangements led so easily to the 55 feet and 80 feet specifications of the Fortune contract convinced Adams that he had hit upon the ground-plan.

What if the Globe also used 12 feet square bay units? Two such bays could form each of the eight sides of the playhouse. Adams calculated – wrongly, as it happened – that this would give the Globe an external diameter of 84 feet including the six inches of outer covering at either end;¹¹ the true figure was 83 feet. Adams constructed his Globe's stage from a line connecting 'the middle post of one sector across to the middle post of the next sector but one'¹² which gave a width of 43 feet. The Fortune's stage was 43 feet wide and Adams thought this correspondence could not be coincidence – he must have hit upon the groundplan of the Globe.¹³

Unfortunately, Adams's calculation of the width of his stage was also wrong. The correct figure is the width of one side of the playhouse yard, 24 feet, plus the width of the bases of two right-angled isosceles triangles whose hypotenuses are half the width of one side of the playhouse yard, which comes to very nearly 41 feet. A discrepancy of almost 2 feet – over $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent – is gross enough to invalidate his postulated correspondence with the Fortune contract and, since this correspondence validated all the assumptions which led to it, the entire reconstruction must be discounted as pure speculation.

Adams spotted the fatal error in his calculations and in 1943 he published a revised text of the book with the offending calculations emended. Although a note was added acknowledging the error,¹⁴ libraries frequently catalogue the 1942 and 1943 printings as a single first edition. Adams excised his insistence that the correspondence between the Fortune stage and his Globe's stage validated the method, but put nothing in its place to substantiate his claim to have discovered the precise dimensions of the Globe. However, it was not the mathematics in Adams's book that drew fire from scholars of original staging, but rather the interior features and facilities of his Globe.

Adams's Globe had a total of six main stage traps and a large recessed alcove discovery space. Suspended above this playing space was a second stage which was fronted with a balustraded balcony ('tarras') and which had another, smaller, recessed alcove discovery space at its rear. At either side of this balcony, and at 45 degrees to it, was a glazed bay

⁸ John Cranford Adams, *The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20–1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 90.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2nd printing with corrections (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 90.

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window which overhung a correspondingly angled stage door on the platform stage. Extending from the top of the tiring house, and connected to it at the eaves, was a 'heavens' covering the entire stage. At the height of the third auditorium gallery the tiring house had a music room. The upper stage (at the same height as the second auditorium gallery) had a trap door set in its floor which provided communication with the main stage.

Adams's Globe was rich in features to assist theatrical spectacle and to provide a physical referent for almost every scenic structure mentioned in Renaissance drama. If a scene required a 'corner' to hide around, or a 'balcony' from which to be wooed or to be thrown, Adams's Globe could offer a realistic analogue. Supporting his design with dramatic quotations, Adams cared not which playhouse a particular play was written for: the Globe was the finest playhouse and so it must have incorporated at least the major features of all the others.

The history of the scholarship of Globe reconstruction in the fifty years since its publication can broadly be characterized as one of reaction to, and refutation of, Adams's book. Adams shared Chambers's conviction that the playhouses were largely alike and he used a wide range of play texts as evidence for the staging needs which any playhouse might have to satisfy. But as a necessary consequence of this method one is able to reconstruct only an idealized 'typical' playhouse, not any particular playhouse. Chambers implicitly accepted this principle. Adams implicitly rejected it and produced highly detailed plans of the Globe which he misrepresented as reliable scholarly deduction.

Adams's aesthetic judgements were challenged by those who felt that he showed little appreciation of theatrical convention which, contrary to his assumption, would allow a scene set indoors to be played on the front of a thrust stage. But with the mathematical error glossed over, the first part of Adams's Globe to collapse was the octagonal outer wall. In the

first volume of *Shakespeare Survey*, I. A. Shapiro proved that Visscher's engraving was derived from the panorama in John Norden's *Civitas Londini* and was therefore entirely without authority.¹⁵ After considering several other pictures and rejecting their authority, Shapiro concluded that the Hollar engraving of 1647¹⁶ was the most reliable view of the Bankside playhouses. In Hollar's picture the Globe and the Hope appear to be round. A different approach was needed to demolish Adams's interior arrangements.

Before publishing his major work on Elizabethan playhouse design, *The Globe Restored*, C. Walter Hodges published two articles concerning the De Witt drawing of the Swan. In the first Hodges insisted that De Witt showed that the Swan was a polygon with sufficient number of sides that it was virtually round ('This to my mind rules out the notion of an octagonal building in favour of, say, a sixteen-sided polygon') and that the 'inner stage' 'was neither a permanent nor an indispensable part of Elizabethan public stage practice'.¹⁷ The following year Hodges published an article with Richard Southern which argued that De Witt's Swan was essentially a Renaissance rather than a Tudor design. In particular the stage posts being, as De Witt stated, painted to resemble marble, their ornate bases and capitals, and their entasis, all point to classical and continental influence upon the indigenous building tradition.¹⁸ Students of Elizabethan playhouse design can be assigned places along a spectrum of 'faith in De Witt' and the reaction to Adams's Globe was a collective move towards the 'greater faith' end

¹⁵ I. A. Shapiro, 'The Bankside Theatres: Early Engravings', *Shakespeare Survey* 1 (1948), 25-37.

¹⁶ Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, pp. 29-31, 36-38.

¹⁷ C. Walter Hodges, 'De Witt again', *Theatre Notebook*, 5 (1951), 32-4, p. 34.

¹⁸ Richard Southern and C. Walter Hodges, 'Colour in the Elizabethan Theatre', *Theatre Notebook*, 6 (1952), 57-60.

of this spectrum. The work of Hodges and Southern helped by showing that the sketch does not necessarily contradict anti-theatrical denunciations of playhouse opulence.

Despite its title, Hodges's *The Globe Restored* contained no representation of the first Globe. Instead Hodges offered a typical playhouse of 1595 and the second Globe of 1614¹⁹ for which Hodges had the authority of the Hollar engraving, validated by Shapiro. Hodges's decision not to reconstruct the first Globe appears to have been a reaction to Adams's over-confidence which went 'far beyond the warrant of evidence'.²⁰ Hodges attempted to reconcile the De Witt drawing with the needs of the plays and with George Kernodle's work on baroque decoration.²¹ Hodges's 'typical playhouse' of 1595 added no major features not present in De Witt. To provide a larger upper stage as well as a discovery space Hodges conjectured the use of a stage booth.²² Hodges rejected the staging principles of Adams's book and with them the need for a permanent upper stage.

In the same vein as Hodges, A. M. Nagler offered a thorough critique of Adams's Globe as an inappropriate venue for the drama. Nagler considered the only reliable evidence to be 'the stage directions in the quartos and the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays' and the documents of Platter and Henslowe²³ and he poured scorn on Adams's theory that many scenes were played on an inner stage and on a large upper stage. Nagler argued for acceptance of the evidence of the De Witt drawing, which shows a flat wall, and for discoveries and concealments achieved using a portable booth.²⁴ Instead of Adams's large upper stage Nagler, like Hodges, offered the stage balcony shown by De Witt, augmented at need by the solid upper surface of a stage booth placed against the back wall.²⁵

Adams's large upper stage had practical drawbacks too. Warren D. Smith noted that it caused a problem in Adams's reconstruction of the original staging of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.²⁶ The Folio text has a stage direction for

Edgar to come out from his hiding place immediately before Edmund's call 'Brother, a word, descend',²⁷ which Adams was forced to move down three lines to give Edgar time to descend from the upper stage.²⁸ Smith argued instead for a booth-like scaffolding serving for 'aloft' scenes. George F. Reynolds concurred and blamed Adams's errors on his misguided convictions about naturalistic staging.²⁹

The attack on Adams was sustained in three articles by Richard Hosley.³⁰ One demolished Adams's upper stage by showing that Shakespeare's use of a raised playing space was less frequent than Adams claimed and that it usually involved engagement with the main stage (for example a conversation or an observation) which kept the players near to the balustraded front of the 'aloft' space. The De Witt drawing of the Swan shows an upper playing space

¹⁹ C. Walter Hodges, *The Globe Restored: A Study of the Elizabethan Theatre* (London, 1953), pp. 174, 177.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²¹ George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1944), pp. 130–53.

²² Hodges, *The Globe Restored: A Study of the Elizabethan Theatre*, pp. 56–60.

²³ A. M. Nagler, *Shakespeare's Stage* (New Haven, 1958), p. 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26–32.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47–51.

²⁶ Warren D. Smith, 'Evidence of Scaffolding on Shakespeare's Stage', *Review of English Studies*, 2 (1951), 22–9, p. 24.

²⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Norton Facsimile of The First Folio of Shakespeare*, ed. Charlton Hinman (New York, 1968), TLN 948–9.

²⁸ John Cranford Adams, 'The Original Staging of *King Lear*', in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, 1948), pp. 315–35, p. 319.

²⁹ George F. Reynolds, 'Was There a "Tarras" in Shakespeare's Globe?', *Shakespeare Survey* 4 (1951), 97–100.

³⁰ Richard Hosley, 'Shakespeare's Use of a Gallery Over the Stage', *Shakespeare Survey* 10 (1957), 77–89; Richard Hosley, 'The Discovery-Space in Shakespeare's Globe', *Shakespeare Survey* 12 (1959), 35–46; Richard Hosley, 'Was There a Music-Room in Shakespeare's Globe?', *Shakespeare Survey* 13 (1960), 113–23.

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sufficient, Hosley argued, for the staging needs of all of Shakespeare's plays.³¹ In 'The Discovery Space in Shakespeare's Globe' Hosley argued against the inner stage by showing that there is no positive evidence to suggest such a space. The term 'study' appears in the stage directions of a few relevant plays, but Hosley argued that these were 'fictional' stage directions referring to the imagined location and not the playhouse fabric.³² To establish the body of relevant evidence, Hosley produced a list of thirty plays performed by Shakespeare's company between 1599 and 1608 when their only permanent London venue was the Globe. As George F. Reynolds argued in his work on plays at the Red Bull,³³ if a company had only one playhouse for a certain period of time then any play written for the company during that time ought to assume, and to reflect, the features and practices of that venue. Not least of the problems with this method is its potential for logical circularity: the staging of plays is generally inferred from performance conditions, and here the performance conditions are being inferred from the staging. Nonetheless, most people prefer a method that at least aims to be economical with evidence over one that, Adams-like, makes no distinction between public theatre plays of the 1580s and private theatre plays of the 1610s.

Of the thirty 'Globe plays' claimed by Hosley, twenty-one have no scenes using the discovery space and in the remaining ones the uses are 'few and infrequent', are 'essentially "shows", or disclosures of a player or object invested with some special interest or significance', and 'do not involve any appreciable movement within the discovery-space'.³⁴ Still, some kind of discovery space is needed and Hosley argued that a discovery 'can be effected without curtains in a tiring-house whose doors open out upon the stage',³⁵ with perhaps the assistance of a booth-like arrangement of curtains.³⁶

In 'Was There a Music-Room in Shakespeare's Globe?' Hosley used his list of Globe

plays to show that Adams's third-level music room is contradicted by the evidence of the drama. Most of the Globe plays have stage directions for music, but in only nine of the plays is the location specified. In these nine plays there are a total of seventeen such stage directions and in every case but one the music is described as coming from 'within'. The exception is the direction for 'Musicke of the Hoboyes is vnder the Stage' in *Antony and Cleopatra*.³⁷ This suggests that there was no elevated music room at the Globe before 1609.

In these three articles Hosley demonstrated by a strict economy of evidence that the De Witt drawing of the Swan shows everything needed to stage all the plays written for the Globe. This was a significant achievement because it placed the subject on what some consider to be the firmest evidential basis available: a contemporary drawing. Later, John B. Gleason provided impressively detailed evidence that we ought to trust the representational skills of De Witt and his copyist Van Buchell and should ignore John Dover Wilson's obscurely racist dismissal of 'one Dutchman's copy of another Dutchman's sketch'.³⁸

If the De Witt Swan is capable of staging all the plays written for the Globe then it, together with the Fortune contract, could form the basis of a Globe reconstruction so long as we assume

³¹ Hosley, 'Shakespeare's Use of a Gallery Over the Stage'.

³² Hosley, 'The Discovery-Space in Shakespeare's Globe', p. 35.

³³ George F. Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater 1605-1625*, MLA General Series, 9 (New York, 1940), pp. 1-29.

³⁴ Hosley, 'The Discovery-Space in Shakespeare's Globe', pp. 44-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

³⁷ Shakespeare, *The Norton Facsimile of The First Folio of Shakespeare*, TLN 2482; Hosley, 'Was There a Music-Room in Shakespeare's Globe?', p. 118.

³⁸ John B. Gleason, 'The Dutch Humanist Origins of the De Witt Drawing of the Swan Theatre', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 32 (1981), 324-38, p. 329.

that the outdoor playhouses of London were essentially alike. Two articles published in *Shakespeare Survey* 12 (1959) indicated the range of opinion about the homogeneity of the playhouses. W. F. Rothwell argued that playing conditions were far from standardized and that, at least until 1598, players were required to adapt to the exigencies of a variety of venues.³⁹ Conditions at court were unlike the conditions on tour – it was ‘an era of change and experimentations in matters dramatic and theatrical’ – and hence standardization of playhouse design is unlikely.⁴⁰ By Rothwell’s reasoning the De Witt drawing of the Swan and the Fortune contract are good evidence for the Swan and the Fortune, but not for any other playhouses.

Taking the opposite view about typicality, Richard Southern attempted to adjust the dimensions given in the Fortune contract to make them practicable for a ‘round’ playhouse with reasonable sight-lines.⁴¹ Because Hollar shows what appears to be a smoothly rounded exterior to the Globe, Southern’s model had a sixteen-sided polygonal frame which, from a distance, would look almost circular. Southern’s stage cover, stage posts, and *frons scenae* were derived from the De Witt drawing of the Swan with the exception of a small discovery space between the stage doors. This was justified, quite ingeniously, by supposing that on the day De Witt happened to attend the theatre the back-wall curtain was never parted and so the visitor ‘supposed it a mere decorative hanging against a solid wall’.⁴² Southern’s reconstruction used the 80 feet width and the gallery heights of the Fortune contract, displaying precisely the confidence about transference of dimensions from one playhouse to another that Rothwell sought to discredit.

In 1975 Hosley published an extended essay which represented his work on the Globe in the form of a single hypothetical model, and it was the first full reconstruction to be published since Adams’s assistant, Irwin Smith, had pointlessly re-iterated their discredited arguments.⁴³ Having shown that the De Witt Swan has

everything necessary to stage the Globe plays, Hosley based his model upon this sketch plus two additions: a trap and a flight machine.⁴⁴ From a revised list of twenty-nine Globe plays – one less than before because *A Warning for Fair Women* was inexplicably dropped – Hosley inferred the Globe’s fixtures and fittings.⁴⁵ Although three stage doors would be convenient for some scenes, Hosley concluded that two would suffice for all the plays. The need for a discovery space of at least 14 square feet could be supplied by one of the stage doors and an arrangement of curtains. The need for an ‘aloft’ playing space of at least 14 square feet could be satisfied by one or more of the ‘boxes’ in the gallery over the stage shown by De Witt. There was no need for the music room to be visible or elevated, and hence none is shown by De Witt.

Hosley defended his addition of a trap – De Witt shows none – by reference to four ‘Globe plays’. In *A Larum for London* there is a ‘vault’ into which a character is pushed and then is stoned,⁴⁶ and in the graveyard scene in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* a trap seems the logical way to provide a grave into which may descend Ophelia, followed shortly by Laertes and possibly Hamlet.⁴⁷ In Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*

³⁹ W. F. Rothwell, ‘Was There a Typical Elizabethan Stage?’, *Shakespeare Survey* 12 (1959), 15–21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴¹ Richard Southern, ‘On Reconstructing a Practicable Elizabethan Public Playhouse’, *Shakespeare Survey* 12 (1959), 22–34.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴³ Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare’s Globe Playhouse: A Modern Reconstruction in Text and Scale Drawings*, Introd. James G. McManaway (New York, 1956).

⁴⁴ Richard Hosley, ‘The Playhouses’, in *The Revels History of Drama in English*, ed. Clifford Leech and T. W. Craik (London, 1975), vol. 3: 1576–1613, pp. 119–235, pp. 165, 172.

⁴⁵ Hosley, ‘The Playhouses’, pp. 182–95.

⁴⁶ *A Larum for London, or the Siege of Antwerpe* (London, 1602), E4V–F1r.

⁴⁷ S. P. Zitner, ‘Four Feet in the Grave: Some Stage Directions in *Hamlet*, v. i’, *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship*, 2 (1985), 139–48.