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Use and Uniformity in Elizabethan Architecture and Drama

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"Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had."[1] This famous opening sentence from Bacon's essay "Of Building" is often quoted as expressing a common-sense attitude toward the exorbitant demand for symmetry created by Elizabethan architectural taste. Seldom taken into account, though, is the force of its final clause: "except where both may be had." The Elizabethan way, in this as in other matters, was to have both wherever possible. On the face of it, Bacon's statement echoes sentiments to which the Elizabethans always paid lip service, from Sidney's description of Kalander's house in the *Arcadia*—"The lightes, doores and staires, rather directed to the use of the guest, then to the eye of the Artificer"[2]—to Jonson's praise of Penshurst as opposed to the "proud, ambitious heaps": "their lords have built, but thy lord dwells."[3] The balanced constructions and antithetical terms of each passage suggest that the form of such statements concedes more to the eye—or in this case the ear—of the artificer than the content allows. These statements, in other words, cannot be taken at face value but are typical of the disingenuousness usually found in Elizabethan discussions of the rival claims of nature and art.

Bacon's statement, in particular, while downgrading "uniformity," betrays its own euphuistic symmetries of paired contrasts between verbs and nouns, between the concrete and the abstract, between utilitarian and aesthetic motives—alliteration serving to reinforce the dichotomies Bacon seeks to establish. In its literal sense the statement expresses Bacon's characteristic preference

for matter over manner, but in its form it expresses something rather more complicated and ambivalent. The only off-balance clause is the last one, "except where both may be had," which actually resolves the polarities of the statement as a whole by abolishing the dichotomy between "use" and "uniformity"; they are not, after all, mutually exclusive alternatives facing the Elizabethan house-builder. Similarly, Sidney's antithesis between "the use of the guest" and "the eye of the Artificer" may be mainly rhetorical, but it does express a felt sense of competing emphases. The alternatives, as Sidney recognized, were not altogether incompatible, for he goes on to add: "and yet as the one cheefly heeded, so the other not neglected." But the priorities were perceived to be in conflict, and the resolution of this conflict may well have been the chief business of Renaissance architecture in England. Such a resolution, I shall argue, was also a primary concern in the drama of the period, where a similar tension existed between forces making for the preservation of "use" (in the sense of custom, convenience, and utility) and the advancement of "uniformity" (in the sense of obedience to an aesthetic imperative).

Although Bacon probably intended these terms as alliterative signifiers of function and symmetry respectively, their meanings expand to embrace related concepts, as Sir Christopher Wren recognized when he classified beauty as either natural or customary. Natural beauty, wrote Wren (almost certainly echoing Bacon), "is from Geometry, consisting in *Uniformity* (that is Equality) and Proportion," whereas "Customary Beauty is begotten by the *Use* of our Senses to those Objects which are usually pleasing to us for other Causes, as Familiarity . . . breeds a Love to Things not in themselves lovely."[4] "Use" is here, in effect, redefined as that to which our senses are accustomed and thus has at least as much to do with habit as with function; it suggests a survival or persistence of what Madeleine Doran has called Elizabethan (and medieval) "ways of seeing."[5] If, therefore, in the drama of Shakespeare's time, the unities—as impositions of Renaissance aesthetic theory—represent "uniformity," then multiplicity with regard to time, place, and action—because inherited and habitual—exemplifies "use."

The three statements by Bacon, Sidney, and Jonson were written well after the rule of symmetry had become absolute in Elizabethan domestic architecture, at least in the larger houses

where the normative tendencies of Renaissance humanism overrode the local vernacular. While all three writers praise utility and hospitality, the values associated with the traditional English manor house, none would seriously have advocated a return to the asymmetrical facades—or rather, the facadeless ensembles of discrete functional units—that made up medieval houses like Penshurst. Sidney, in describing Kalander's house as "not affecting so much any extraordinarie kinde of finenes, as an honorable representing of a firme statelines," may have been referring to his own birthplace—which Jonson years later would eulogize as an "ancient pile" (l. 5). We should remember, however, that it was only with an apology for his "own barbarousness" that Sidney could admire the old border ballad of Chevy Chase; far from valuing the intrinsic merit of its Gothic qualities, he would have preferred to see it "trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar." The building of Penshurst had commenced in about 1340, the year of Chaucer's birth in an age regarded by Sidney as "that misty time" in contrast to "this clear age," the Renaissance.[6] His deprecation of elaborate architecture should perhaps be taken in the same spirit as his artful disclaimers of art in *Astrophil and Stella*; in truth, the English Renaissance wanted to combine the "firm statelines" of the ancient manor house with the "extraordinarie . . . finenes," the "gorgeous eloquence" of the new architectural fashions that had just arrived from the continent. English builders would have been reluctant to choose between "use" and "uniformity," and their principal surviving monuments show that, had they been forced to make such a choice, they would not necessarily have shared Bacon's stated preference for the former. Houses, for better or worse, had become conscious of being "look[ed] on" and have remained so ever since; the change was fundamental and irreversible.

Bacon's convenient formula for having both is explicitly given in the essay "Of Building":

> I say you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides. . . . I understand both these sides to be . . . uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand.[7]

The key phrase here is "uniform without, though severally partitioned within," which explains how the Elizabethans were able to combine symmetrical facades with more traditional internal arrangements of rooms. The "great and stately tower in the midst of the front" is, of course, the uniting member that gives central emphasis to the design, thus making up the familiar tripartite Elizabethan facade consisting of a "frontispiece" or multi-tiered porch embellished with classical orders, flanked by a pair of identical side elevations. Lord Burghley responded to precisely these qualities—absolute external symmetry with a strong central emphasis—when he visited Sir Christopher Hatton's Holdenby in 1579: "I found a great magnificence in the front or front pieces of the house, and so every part answerable to other, to allure liking."[8]

Indeed, the most arresting characteristic of great Elizabethan houses is probably their absolute symmetry of facade, especially when contrasted with their medieval or Tudor predecessors. Since, however, this effect is likely to be achieved in spite of, if not at the expense of, the internal arrangement of rooms ("uniform without, though severally partitioned within"), perhaps the term "facadism"[9] would be more appropriate, to describe the Elizabethan way of combining such "uniformity" with "use." In strictly classical architecture, such as that of Andrea Palladio or Inigo Jones, there exists an organic symmetry; that is, a symmetrical facade will express a symmetrical disposition of living space within, however inconvenient and uncomfortable it may be to those using it: plan and elevation, the horizontal and vertical planes of a building, are integrated into a single composition. In Elizabethan architecture, on the other hand, a symmetrical elevation will, as likely as not, mask an asymmetrical plan—of the sort found in almost all medieval and early Tudor houses. The traditional function and predominant status of the hall required that this unique two-story room, with its obligatory dais-end bay window, be placed lengthwise along a frontal facade to the left or right of the entrance porch. Since other rooms were always organized in relation to the hall in a series of variations on a traditional sequence, the position of the hall could have a dislocating effect on the plan as a whole. The thrust of Renaissance classicism was to regularize the features of a building by distributing them uniformly on either side of the main entrance in imitation of

that admirable "piece of work," the human body.[10] But internally, the hall, intimately allied with the traditions of English social life, resisted this humanistic reorganization of space. Externally, the adoption of the classical orders as a mode of decoration, even when confined to frontispieces rather than applied to whole elevations, impelled a regularization of the design.

An early example of the resulting outward compliance with the new fashion appears on the courtyard face of the south range at Kirby Hall (c. 1572), another house of Hatton's in Northamptonshire.[11] Visitors to the house might well have had a momentary sensation of double vision upon entering this court from the north. Facing them, the right-hand side of the range opposite (Figure 1)[12] wore the familiar outward expression of a hall within: a row of two-story windows, with the one at the dais end elongated by an additional transom below. The slight displacement of the customary bay window itself to an adjacent position just around the corner, at far right (see plan, Figure 2),[13] would probably have been no more disconcerting than the up-to-date use of a giant order of fluted Ionic pilasters, instead of the buttresses of earlier times, to thicken the walls between the great Perpendicular windows of the hall. But the exact duplication of all these features on the *left*-hand side of the elaborate porch as well (Figure 3), thus making "every part answerable to other" externally, must have been disorienting to an eye unaccustomed to symmetry in domestic architecture. Inwardly, this left-hand side was divided not only into several rooms, but on two levels. The present ruined condition of Kirby exposes its skeleton, dramatically revealing the price paid for the purely external effect of symmetry: the tall windows on the left are bisected by the remains of a floor (blinding the central lights of each window) which once divided this mock-hall into two stories of rooms within.

A much later and even more dramatic example of inward resistance on the part of "use" to outwardly imposed uniformity, leading to partial accommodation but with resulting tension between the two forces, is Fountains Hall in Yorkshire (c. 1611, perhaps designed by Robert Smythson), which rose out of the ruins of the neighboring abbey.[14] The eye, encountering this building, travels upward in response to the emphatically vertical thrust of its design (Figure 4).[15] Because the center of the facade is deeply recessed, this upward progress is simultaneously inward, making

Fig. 1. Kirby Hall, courtyard, south range

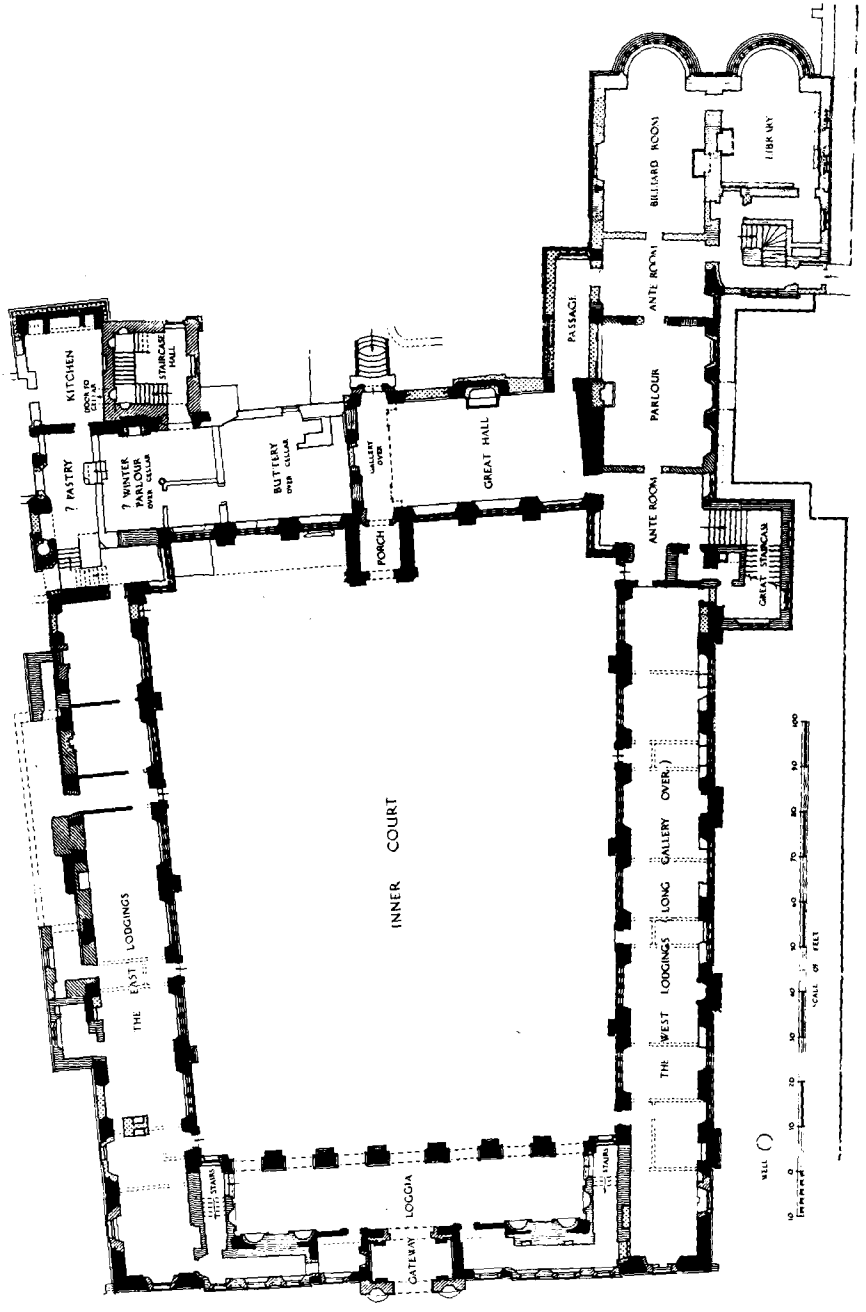

Fig. 2. Kirby Hall, plan

Fig. 3. Kirby Hall, courtyard, south range

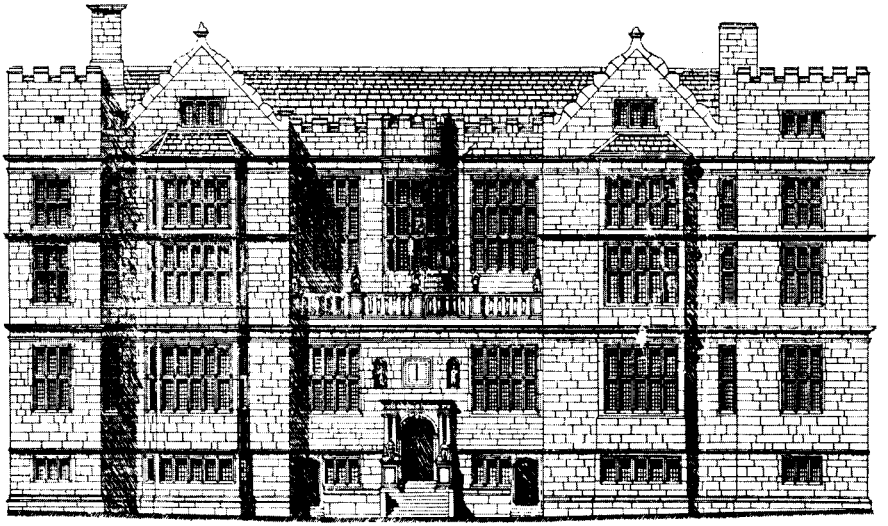

Fig. 4. Fountains Hall, front elevation

Fig. 5. Fountains Hall, front, detail

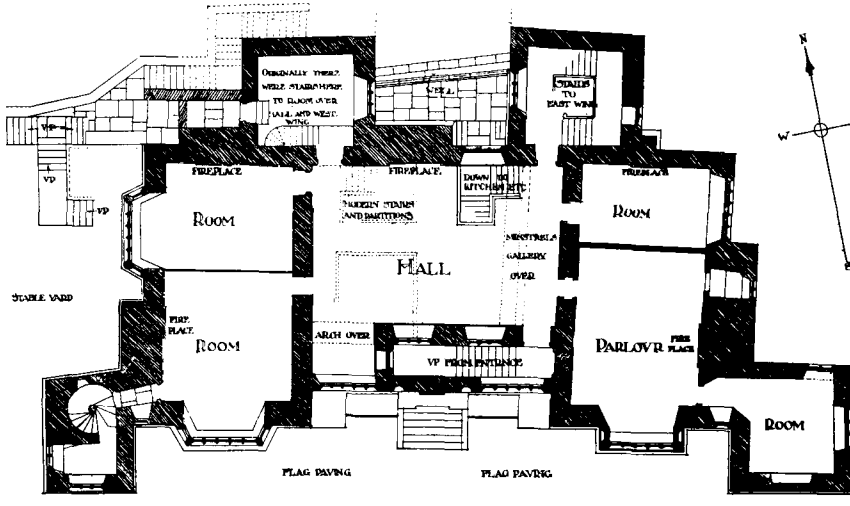

Fig. 6. Fountains Hall, plan

for an impressive perspective effect; all sightlines converge above on the building's dominating and unifying motif: the swelling, battlement-crowned, fully semicircular bow window of the great chamber (Figure 5). For once, a front contrives to express, not the hall (whose function had atrophied, and whose placement here is on the story below), but the successor to its status, the great chamber. Indeed, much of the strategy of this devious facade seems designed to conceal the hall—or rather to mislead the eye as to the hall's position. Like Wollaton, this building is stepped out twice toward us—first in its side wings with their terminal, frontal bay windows (a possible echo of Montacute) and then in the towers projecting from the corners of these wings. As a plan reveals (Figure 6),[16] the two wings are connected centrally by a balustraded screen or false facade—actually the outer wall of a "forebuilding"[17] that houses a space about six feet deep and one story high, in which a staircase rises steeply from left to right. Through the arched central doorway, flanked by statues on tall plinths and by coupled Ionic columns, one enters this enclosed space and, turning right, climbs to the upper end to find the screens passage (with minstrels' gallery above) extending left from the landing toward the rear of the house. From this the hall is at last entered; nevertheless, this entrance is effected in the customary manner, on the hall's short axis (here, its east end) and by way of a screen. The design of the Fountains front thus effectively masks the traditional placement of the hall while preserving its time-honored manner of immediate entry.

Even the conventional dais-end bay window (here located at the southwest corner of the hall) is accommodated by this design, though in an astonishingly unconventional manner. It projects into the dead space between the true and false facades, so that externally it is expressed only by a window flush with the wall (at upper left of the central doorway) and identical to its counterpart on the opposite side (past which the staircase rises). This external suppression of the bay window allows added emphasis to the projection of the great chamber bow—its successor—onto the balcony over the forebuilding. As central members of the facade ensemble, the classical entrance porch and the projecting bow window align vertically, in contrast to the traditional horizontal relationship between these elements. Tudor Gothic and Renaissance features thus associate in a happy union which is far from

the unsophisticated "hotch-potch" or "gallimaufry" that such combinations are often taken to be. The eclectic mixture is further enriched by ornament sparingly applied: the Ionic order and balustrading on the classical lower stage, a crenellated parapet on the Gothic upper stage. There are, moreover, nine statues of medieval knights in armor, which make concrete the general allusiveness to the Middle Ages at Fountains: appropriate, no doubt, to a house whose fabric incorporates the masonry of a Cistercian abbey.

Since Fountains recedes from the eye both horizontally and vertically, with the false lower facade serving as one of five distinct planes in this process, it recalls in miniature the grandly planned recessions of such heroic houses as Wimbledon, Theobalds, and Audley End. At Fountains the density of the fenestration toward the center, where the massive stonework of towers and wings gives way to the familiar pattern of grid and glass, coincides with this depth of recession. The main upper front, emerging to view from behind and over the forebuilding and its balustraded roof terrace, recalls the famous Wollaton "keep," the difference being that here the side wings, carried to full height, embrace the superstructure as they do the forebuilding. Whether this glancing resemblance to Wollaton points to Robert Smythson as the designer of Fountains is a moot point; if it does, we must posit here a less exuberant, more mature and controlled Smythson than at Wollaton. The stark angularity of the building as a whole, with the arrangement of its masses in flat vertical planes, is effectively offset by the curvature of the great bow window—the only plastic form (apart from the stiff statuary, which it dwarfs) to be found here. The inevitable placement of such a form at the center of the true front confirms the logic of the design. The whole scheme finds its focus here and the eye, called back from the lateral ramble of wings and corner towers, its resting place. There are "episodes" aplenty at Fountains, sometimes of the most incidental nature, but all of them submit to the magnetic pull of the tall semicircular bay and are gathered into a "multiple" unity.[18]

We may thus find the design of Fountains a more satisfying aesthetic conception than Kirby's. There is a higher degree of integration between its inner and outer forms, between "use" with regard to hall placement and "uniformity" with regard to the

imposed pattern of bilateral symmetry—more so even than at Hardwick Hall, where Smythson and Bess of Hardwick showed a reluctance to capitalize on the possibilities of internal order afforded by their innovative transverse hall, running straight through the center of the house to the back.[19]

Now if the construction of Fountains or of Kirby—the one with its deceptive double facade, the other with its mock-hall of tall windows—strikes us as problem-solving for its own sake, as ingenuity exercised at the expense of integrity, might we not say the same thing about some of the expedients resorted to by Elizabethan dramatists? In *Othello*, for instance, Shakespeare notoriously employs two distinct and incompatible time schemes: an extended one that permits its situation to ripen at the leisurely pace to which English audiences had long been accustomed; and an incongruously compact one that propels its action toward crisis with an almost "classical" precipitance.

What bearing, then, does this Elizabethan phenomenon of inward resistance to outward uniformity have on the drama of the period? Is there, for instance, a parallel with the resistance offered by the essentially narrative organization of the fable—fluent, episodic, potentially digressive—to the arbitrary and external imposition of classical patterns of structure? Might not such a parallel suggest why five-act structure, for instance, or the unities—though sanctioned by neoclassical precept and endorsed by humanist critics—appear to us little more than a graft that failed to to "take"? I suspect that, for the Elizabethans, plays even more than houses were "built to live in, and not to look on." That is, playwrights considered their main business to be the making of habitable structures for lifelike characters, not the shaping of well-proportioned artifacts for the aesthetic pleasure of critics in their studies. The "eye of the Artificer," to borrow Sidney's phrase, developed its acuteness no less gradually in the drama than it did in architecture.

Yet both houses and plays shared a common aspiration toward the status of artifacts, so that developments in architecture and drama during the English Renaissance can be seen as parallel processes. Such was the distance between theatrical scripts and what we now call "literature" that for Ben Jonson to publish his collected plays, along with his poems, as *Workes* was considered

laughably presumptuous well after 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death:

> Pray tell me *Ben*, where doth the mystery lurke,
> What others call a play you call a worke.[20]

But architecture, on the whole, had the harder struggle because it had to rise from the status of a mere craft to that of a liberal art—or, to put it another way, from the realm of practice to that of theory. Ancient dramatic texts with literary value were well enough known to constitute a part of even the grammar school curriculum. Members of the aristocracy—most notably the Countess of Pembroke—tried their hands at drama during Elizabeth's reign, though not, to be sure, for performance. Nevertheless, the Earl of Leicester, whose literary interests are shown by his patronage of poets, also sponsored, in name at least, a troupe of players—as did other members of the Queen's Privy Council. Stage plays seem to have derived some status as parasites on the reputation of academic and closet drama with its prestigious auspices. In contrast, the whole English perception of the architectural enterprise had to be transformed before it became part of a gentleman's requisite knowledge, even though early amateurs like Somerset, Burghley, and Sir Thomas Smith had been pioneers. The crucial stage in this process was the transition of houses from relatively simple, functional dwelling places "to live in" to works of art designed for people "to look on." Bacon's complaint, in itself, is evidence of contemporary awareness of this transition; it is, as we have seen, a plea for accommodation, not an attempt to repeal a *fait accompli*. As Malcolm Airs has written, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England witnessed "a growing awareness of architecture as an art form capable of intellectual analysis and appreciation," which in turn reflected "the gradual acceptance by the men who were building the more important country houses of Renaissance and Humanist ideas."[21] This development paralleled and was roughly synchronous with the evolution of what has rightly been called "a folk tradition of popular entertainment"[22]—the native drama—into an art form worthy of its greatest practitioner.

To the extent that plays aspired to the status of literary artifacts, they aimed at some degree of uniformity, whether this be reflected in the adoption of five-act structure, greater concentration

of action, more integral relationships between main plots and subplots, or a heightening of expressiveness by the deployment of classical rhetoric. All of these devices were ways of marshaling the materials of Renaissance dramaturgy so as to produce aesthetic effects not generally sought in the drama of the mid-Tudor period. To the extent that houses were coming to be built "to look on" and not merely "to live in," they, too, aimed at increasing uniformity of design: hence external symmetry which, as we have seen, had to be accommodated to the "natural" or functional planning of earlier times even long *after* the hall had lost the function to which it owed its emphatic position in the plan; this tradition died hard.[23]

In its European context, the impulse toward uniformity in both arts originated with the revival of the great authorities on classical form in architecture and drama respectively: Vitruvius and Aristotle, neither of whom would have recognized his own work as reinterpreted by the Renaissance. Aristotle's *Poetics*, ingeniously conflated with Horace and the postclassical grammarians, had been rechanneled into the great body of Renaissance critical theory which now claimed his authority as a rationalization of its own complex point of view. Vitruvius, similarly, had been refined, codified, and interpreted with the utmost subtlety—his orders, for instance, amplified and systematized. An almost paradigmatic example of the convergence of these twin sources of ultimate authority can be seen in the relationship between the poet-humanist Giangiorgio Trissino and his protégé Andrea Palladio: in Rudolf Wittkower's words, "as Trissino with his application of Aristotle's *Poetics* gave structure, unity and clarity to drama and epic, so Palladio aspired to unchallengeable lucidity of architectural planning based on the authority of classical rules."[24] Trissino discovered Palladio and introduced him to Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, of which Palladio was to become the most influential interpreter. Palladio later designed a stage on which the Accademia Olimpica of Vicenza produced Trissino's Aristotelian tragedy *Sofonisba*, a project that led eventually to Palladio's Vitruvian Teatro Olimpico and its inaugural production of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*.[25]

No comparable relationship, and hence no such schematic correspondence, exists between the two arts as understood and practiced in England, where indeed no general acceptance of

authority prevailed. Ben Jonson, however, is a useful figure because of his classicist stance, his adoption of the ancients as guides. Surely Jonson stands at the crossroads of architecture and drama when, commenting on the "shows" staged to celebrate the plague-delayed entry of King James into the City of London in 1604, he writes that it is "The nature and propertie of these Devices . . . to present alwaies some one entire bodie, or figure, consisting of distinct members . . . yet all, with that generall harmonie so connexed, and disposed, as no one little part can be missing to the illustration of the whole."[26] It is no wonder that Jonson's Oxford editors saw this as an allusion to Aristotle's *Poetics* with its memorable statement of the criterion of organic integrity.[27] Yet Jonson's comment has, with equal plausibility, been traced to a similar *locus classicus* in Vitruvius, which is perhaps being echoed by way of Alberti or Palladio, or both.[28] The indeterminacy of Jonson's subtext here reflects the emergence of aesthetic from rhetorical theory in ancient times—the transumption, we might say, of Aristotle by Vitruvius so that Renaissance allusions to either text summon up both, pointing once again to the congruency of the two ancient authorities on dramatic and architectural form.

In its context Jonson's remark seems curiously misdirected, especially when we actually look at the surviving engraving by William Kip of Stephen Harrison's Fenchurch arch (Figure 7),[29] which Jonson supposedly describes. Like the others along the King's processional route, this "street theater" is a bombastic and extravagant piece of architecture featuring figured columns, cartouches, terms, strapwork, obelisks, and even statuary (in the form of *tableaux vivants*); it is, in short, congested with all the appurtenances of Anglo-Flemish pattern-book décor. As architecture, it hardly conforms to the Vitruvian ideal of "generall harmonie" in which "no one little part" could be removed without disruption of the "whole." Yet Jonson's gloss must refer simultaneously to both Harrison's set and his own text for performance—that is, to the "device" as a unified whole. Just as the text is unintelligible without the accompanying emblem that it glosses, so the reverse is equally true; thus Jonson evokes Vitruvius and Aristotle in tandem to mark an occasion on which the resources of architect and dramatist combine in "the expression of state and magnificence," as he puts it (II. 244-45).[30]

Jonson's later and closer approach to Aristotle on unity of action came only after the appearance in 1611 of Daniel Heinsius' *De Tragoediae Constitutione*. On the basis of this intermediate source Jonson in *Timber: or, Discoveries* (ll. 2681-86) re-states in more strictly Aristotelian terms the principle he had affirmed in his commentary on the shows of 1604:

> The Fable is call'd the *Imitation* of one intire, and perfect Action; whose parts are so joyned, and knitt together, as nothing in the structure can be chang'd, or taken away, without impairing, or troubling the whole; of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members.[31]

Again the provinces of Aristotle and Vitruvius intersect as Jonson, following Heinsius, develops an analogy between architecture and drama. Just as the eye perceives form in the spatial medium of architecture, so does the memory in the temporal medium of drama by enabling the mind to hold in view the component parts of an integrated whole as the action of a play passes before a spectator.

But just as the multiplicity of visual effects created by Harrison's arches could be perceived as a unity, so there was room to decorate the narrative line with episodes and digressions even within the Aristotelian formula for structural integrity in a play: "For the *Episodes*, and digressions in a Fable, are the same that houshold stuffe, and other furniture are in a house" (*Timber*, ll. 2747-49).[32] Not that Jonson formally admits episodes as legitimate parts of the whole: "For, if it be such a part, as being present or absent, nothing concernes the whole, it cannot be call'd a part of the whole: and such are the *Episodes*"; yet he concedes that for the action of a play to attain its proper dimensions ("his fit bounds") there must "be place left for digression, and Art" (*Timber*, ll. 2809-12, 2741-47).[33] If nothing that belongs in a play can be taken away without impairment of the whole, then digressive episodes are inadmissible in principle. If, on the other hand, the structural framework is sufficiently elastic to tolerate digressions—by whatever expedient such "episodes" are accounted for in the economy of the play's structure (a point on which critical theory was far from silent)—then the

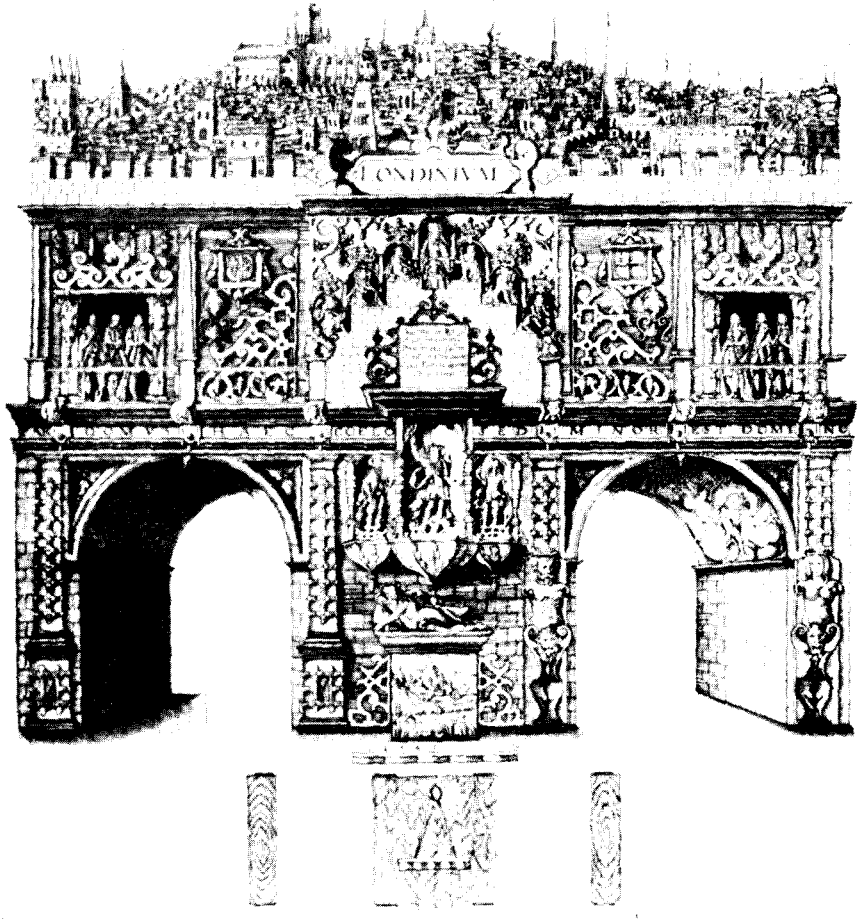

Fig. 7. *Fenchurch Arch*. Engraving by William Kip, from Stephen Harrison, *Archs of Triumph*, 1604

applied concept of formal unity cannot be so uncompromising as that envisioned by Aristotle. "Uniformity" (in this instance Aristotelian unity of action) is here being construed in the light of "use" (a native dramatic tradition that, in the interest of variety and inclusiveness, encouraged episodic construction); Jonson, like other Elizabethans, is having both. The same Jonson who praised Penshurst for being more of a dwelling than a building is at one with Bacon in seeking accommodation between the two forces.

Drama, like architecture, is a collaborative medium. Unlike a non-dramatic poet, for instance, a playwright is exposed to pressures from audiences, actors, and entrepreneurs. Acting companies, in particular, had their own traditions, which had to be honored and which made for continuity between mid-Tudor drama and that of the Elizabethan Renaissance. As we now know, these played at least as important a part in pre-determining structure as did the dogmatizing of neoclassical critics, who tried to mold the shape of drama according to what Sidney called "artificial rules" and "imitative patterns"—both great aids to the imposition of "uniformity," however inconsistent with traditional usage.[34] The outcome of such interaction must have been a pluralistic conception of structure. *Doctor Faustus* illustrates this pluralism very well, since its structure can be analyzed either in terms of morality conventions perpetuated by the popular, commercial theater, as David Bevington and others have shown, or, alternatively, in terms of the Renaissance critical tradition with its reinterpretation of Aristotle's references to "episodes" in the *Poetics*: an ingenious collective feat of synthesis which we have already seen reflected in Jonson's paraphrase of Heinsius' Aristotle. This was done in such a way as to sanction on theoretical grounds, in Madeleine Doran's words, "a play like *Dr. Faustus*, in which the critical events . . . are treated rather briefly, and the play is filled out to an acceptable length with the many episodes displaying his magic powers."[35] Doran's work has been complemented by that of David Riggs, who has argued that, in good plays at least, seemingly digressive episodes are in some sense logically related to the coherent fable that frames them: a "logic," as he puts it, "of resemblance" rather than of "cause and effect." Moreover, episodic materials tend to cluster in the middle of the play, where they are

exempt from the law of causal relationship that governs the "containing sequence" of beginning and end, where Faustus makes his bargain and is held to it.[36] As Doran has shown, the tightly unified Aristotelian "action" comes to mean, in theory, "the main outline of the story," while the term "episode" is taken "to include all the detail, whether extraneous or not."[37]

For Riggs, "the pseudo-Aristotelian 'episode' is the Trojan horse that imports the allegorical unity of late medieval literature into the middle of the classical plot."[38] The middle, as opposed to the beginning and end, is presumably the "place" in the plot that Jonson wanted to reserve for "digression," just as the interior of even the most classically designed house must provide space for "houshold stuffe" and "furniture." A check on the diversity of such materials was ensured by the analogical relationship they bore to the play's argument—i.e., Riggs's "logic of resemblance," which discouraged the inclusion of altogether extraneous as well as merely redundant matter. This situation is well illustrated by the flexible middle of revenge tragedy—the interim between the revelation of a crime and the exacting of retribution—which makes it equally possible for a Philip Henslowe to commission new episodes for *The Spanish Tragedy* (at their best only analogous to the play's central action) or for modern directors, like the Folio editors, to omit entire soliloquies by Hamlet without detriment to that play's structure.

Even the loose fill of Faust-book material, whether provided by Marlowe or by someone else, that occupies the middle of *Doctor Faustus* can be shown, as Harry Levin was among the first to perceive, to be "intrinsic" without being "essential" to the design of that play.[39] Vitruvian and Aristotelian models of architectural and dramatic form—the taut logic of theorem and syllogism respectively—could not be ignored by the Renaissance, but they could be, and were, tendentiously reinterpreted in a way that *worked* for both builders and playwrights. The critical tradition, though seeking to impose uniformity, in effect reinforced "use" or habit by rationalizing (up to a point) the discursive plotting practices of the native dramatic tradition. This may remind us of what O. B. Hardison, in another connection, has called "having one's organic unity and eating it too,"[40] though the relation between "episode" and "argument" in Renaissance drama (between, say, the lunatic subplot and the Beatrice-DeFlores main

plot in Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling*) seems to have been perceived as synthetic, rhetorical, and "artificial."

Similarly, the neoclassical convention of five-act structure, when it appears in English Renaissance drama, is more likely to be an applied pattern than an organic expression of a play's "inner" or significant form. As such, it is a particularly clear instance of "uniformity" as defined in this essay. Recommended by Horace, exemplified by Seneca, and transmitted through the critical tradition by way of the commentaries on Terence, it is virtually unknown to the native tradition of popular dramaturgy, where it appears only in a literary figure like John Bale with his *Three Laws*.[41] The editorial imposition of a five-act format on the printed version of a play, regardless of its internal structural dynamics, served to present the play to its readership in a kind of dress uniform: hence the First Folio's division into acts of Shakespeare's plays (previously printed undivided, if printed at all, with the exception of the posthumous quarto edition of *Othello*) in accordance with the long-standing practice of Ben Jonson and the University Wits, which by 1623 had become standard.

More problematical is the question of whether Shakespeare and other dramatists who wrote primarily for the public theaters actually conceived of a play as having a five-part structure. There is much critical interest nowadays in matters of Renaissance dramaturgy, and especially in Shakespeare as a composer and articulator of individual scenes, a trend reflected most notably in the recent work of Bernard Beckerman, Emrys Jones, Mark Rose, and James E. Hirsh, all of whom treat the scene as Shakespeare's basic unit of construction, arguing that act-division has "no real structural significance" in his plays and bears "no relation to conditions of performance in a theater without intervals."[42] But the problem of five-act structure, in general dismissed or understated by these students of "scenic form," may not quite be a dead horse yet. G. K. Hunter, who seems almost reactionary among present-day scholars in this respect, has shown that other inferences than the ones usually drawn from the available evidence are possible and has plausibly argued for the presence of five-act structure as a normative ingredient in Shakespeare's "pluralistic" approach to his art. "It would certainly be in keeping with Elizabethan habits of mind, revealed in other art forms," remarks Hunter, "that an arbitrary and external formal structure should be imposed on the

material."[43] Although the specific analogy that Hunter has in mind is with music, this statement readily suggests architecture as well, where both the pluralism and the formal arbitrariness are amply reflected.

Moreover, the "frequently belabored quest for five-act structure" can hardly be dismissed as élitist, as David Bevington has tried to do.[44] It does not necessarily betray neoclassical prejudice against inherited "popular" dramatic form to suggest that the Elizabethans were in search of new principles of dramaturgy to reflect changing conceptions of the world that their art sought to mirror and to harness the creative energies of the period. In Shakespearean and Marlovian drama, as at Wollaton Hall and elsewhere, there is a marriage of order and energy that is fully characteristic of the age. To this end, some degree of arbitrary imposition of external form, as suggested by Hunter, was needed. Classicism—or rather Renaissance neoclassicism—provided one source of readily adaptable, though not wholly assimilable, formal conventions. It was always necessary that these new conventions should work hand in hand with those inherited systems that the Elizabethan mason-surveyors and playwright-actors were reluctant to discard. In saying that "the classical influence upon English drama of the Renaissance . . . produced not a new form but a newly-sharpened sense of form,"[45] Alfred Harbage was probably right—except in the case of blank verse, a genuine new form apparently inspired, at least indirectly, by the example of the classical hexameter. I would suggest, however, that the five-act model was, at the very least, an important whetstone for sharpening the English Renaissance dramatists' emergent sense of form. In F. P. Wilson's words, "It is a form which may induce, though it cannot compel, a dramatist to present a sequence of cause and effect and to reduce complexity to unity."[46]

Although *Henry V*, with its five choric monologues, is the best known and most obvious example of Shakespeare's ability and willingness to apply a five-act format when it suited his purposes to do so, other plays could be—and have been—studied with an eye toward detecting a distribution of material according to this classical system. The difficulty is, first of all, in thinking our way back behind the editorial tradition that, having regularized the plays in this manner, is responsible for our habit of locating Shakespearean contexts by act numbers. Secondly, as James E. Hirsh

has aptly put the matter, "That an apple pie . . . can be divided into five pieces does not mean that an apple pie has a five-part structure."[47] In other words, any critic who wants to demonstrate five-act structure in Shakespeare can do so, but he is really using the five-act system as a tool of analysis rather than exposing it as a structural principle necessarily at work in the plays. In any case, Shakespeare clearly cannot have thought of an act in the strict neoclassical sense of that term as defined by Samuel Johnson: "so much of the drama as passes without intervention of time or change of place."[48] In the absence of any such formal definition, Shakespeare was free to improvise, applying the pattern flexibly to the play at hand. But such improvisation (which is what the Folio editors did, after all) is not incompatible with the idea of a dramatist's adapting inherited usages to increasingly insistent demands for uniformity. On the same assumption, we can posit a linear and episodic *Doctor Faustus* within a framework of compactness and unity.

Though his commitment is to "scenic form," Emrys Jones has speculated intelligently that Shakespeare may have used five-act structure "as a kind of clock so that the allocation of time to the various parts of his material would be proportionate . . . yet doing so in such a free and unsystematic way that the finished play does not very obviously suggest five clearly marked stages."[49] If this is true, then Shakespearean five-act structure is in a sense the Shakespearean blank-verse line writ large. In the line, the pattern is there, but obscured by the actual auditory experience of hearing it spoken in its dramatic context, where it may even have lost its integrity *as* a line in a blank-verse paragraph—at least in later Shakespeare. There is a compromise between the abstract form of the line (its meter) and the expressive requirements of the context. On a larger scale, five-act structure duplicates this compromise, serving as the hidden meter of the play as a whole: an important shaping function because it guarantees, in Ben Jonson's words, "a proportionable magnitude in the members." Yet performance practice may well have obscured its existence, just as expressive delivery often overrides meter; routine act-pauses or intervals need not have been called for, any more than an actor would be expected to pounce on the theoretically stressed syllables of his lines. If five-act structure seldom shows up in Shakespeare's texts prior to the Folio, this may be because it had become as much taken for

granted as the pentameter base of the blank-verse line. The Folio editors' attempts to punctuate their scripts with act-divisions, then, are like our attempts to scan verse; because they assumed that a pattern was—or ought to be—there, they tried to detect it. If their efforts are often heavy-handed or incompetent, this may be because the freedom and subtlety with which Shakespeare applied the pattern eluded the relatively rigid system they tried to impose.

Othello, with its concentrated action and single plot, makes a good test case for this hypothesis. Although the shift of scene from Venice to Cyprus sets off the first act as a unit, the rest of the play does not conform so neatly to a theoretical paradigm. In particular, what we know as Act Three seems to merge indistinctly into Act Four, suggesting that the early editors were forced to create an arbitrary division at this point. But one might respond to this difficulty by demonstrating the unitary nature of the received fourth act, or something like it. After Othello's "Pontic Sea" speech and his exchange of vows with Iago, there would seem to be no reason for not proceeding immediately to the murder of Desdemona, since the onrush of Othello's passion meets no obstruction in the fourth act, nor does he "ebb to humble love" again.[50] For this reason, we are forced to raise questions about the function of the material editorially designated as Act Four.

Why did Shakespeare not proceed without delay from Othello's vow to its fulfillment and his subsequent shattering discovery? Considerations of plot have no bearing on the matter because even though Iago does provide, in a way, the "ocular proof" demanded by Othello—or rather a circumstantial version thereof—this demonstration is superfluous when it comes since Othello is emotionally incapable of adhering to the high standard of evidence that he himself has set: "Make me to see't; or (at the least) so prove it / That the probation bear no hinge nor loop / To hang a doubt on; or woe upon thy life!" (III.iii.364-66). Rather, the function of the eavesdropping scene is to show Othello in a demeaning posture —one more suited to the jealous husband of comedy than to a tragic hero. Its effect is consistent with that of other scenes in this portion of the play—Othello groveling on the stage floor at Iago's feet, striking Desdemona in front of the Venetian emissaries, or enacting his tasteless brothel charade—so that virtually the entire fourth act becomes an extended speaking picture of Othello's state of degradation: the hero trapped and struggling in the maw

of the "green-ey'd monster," All of the incidents mentioned above, it should be noticed, are "episodes" in the strict sense of not being essential to the plot, though Shakespeare's artistry makes them intrinsic to the play's larger design; they are the "furniture" of the house without being structural components of it.

Act Four is further set apart from its surrounding context by the very noticeable change in Othello's language that it registers. The man who once said, "Keep up your bright swords, for the dew will rust them" (I.ii.59), now says, "O, I see that nose of yours, but not that dog I shall throw it to" (IV.i.142-43). The dignified, impressive amplitude of utterance that characterizes Othello's manner of speech in all of the other acts, including the third and fifth, is for the most part absent from the fourth, where its very disappearance heightens the effect of the speaking picture. If this design holds, then perhaps the first scene of the Folio's Act Five, which shows Othello slipping furtively away from Roderigo's ambush of Cassio, belongs to Act Four. The final act could then begin emphatically with the verbally regenerate Othello of "It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul" (V.ii.1), where the restoration of his power of speech precedes his reconstitution as a human being. Whether it also heralds his eventual moral recovery is a matter of interpretation. If some of us want to shout with Emilia in the end, "O gull, O dolt, / As ignorant as dirt!" (V.ii.163-64), then perhaps the fourth act has left too strong an impression on us to be eradicated by Othello's resurgent rhetoric; surely no other Shakespearean hero is subjected, onstage, to a comparable series of indignities.

The point is that we can talk about the fourth act of *Othello* as an entity and know what we mean: a particular phase of the play's rhythm, the effect (and perhaps the function) of which is to eclipse the protagonist's heroic image in the eyes of the audience. That Shakespeare has reserved an extended segment of the play, spanning the distance between its great centerpiece (Othello's conversion by Iago) and its finale, for a contrasting section presenting a different perspective on Othello's character, is one small piece of evidence that a "uniform" pattern of act-division measured the flow of the play's action and contributed to its rhythm—even though the pattern emerges more clearly on the printed page than in a performance without regular intervals.

Once the fourth act is disengaged from the third and fifth in the manner suggested, the logic of the quarto and Folio divisions becomes readily apparent. Whereas the start of the second act was signaled by the relocation of all the major characters to Cyprus (with a sea-voyage occupying the interval, as between the second and third acts of *Henry V*), "intervention of time" rather than "change of place"—to use Samuel Johnson's neoclassical terminology—is clearly the *ad hoc* rationale for the break between Acts Two and Three of *Othello*. The second act is thus exclusively concerned with events of the first day on Cyprus. The main unifying device employed in that act is a herald's proclamation (not really a scene) decreeing a joint celebration of the Turkish fleet's dispersal and Othello's marriage, which fluidly meshes the arrivals in the harbor with the drinking-bout that results in Cassio's demotion. The play, of course, pivots on its third act: that dramatizing Othello's *peripeteia*, the consequences of which in terms of character and action are represented in the fourth and fifth acts respectively. While no analysis can prove the existence of five-act structure in *Othello* or any other Shakespearean play, the foregoing demonstration should at least suggest the probability of its existence, as a tendency toward "uniformity."

If, however, we still resist the notion of Shakespeare's adoption —even to the limited extent suggested here—of at least one dictum of neoclassical orthodoxy, we might bear in mind the many organizing systems (formal, rhetorical, syntactic, phonetic, semantic) that can be shown to operate simultaneously in a single sonnet.[51] Since Shakespeare's receptiveness to, and exploitation of, multiple systems and patterns of organization is not in doubt, it seems inconceivable that he would have rejected as too "literary" or artificial such a readily available convention as five-act structure. His and his contemporaries' use of the new convention, alongside older methods, represents a considerable modification of the seamless fabric of medieval and Tudor popular dramaturgy—though not, surely, a decisive break with it. If symmetry in Elizabethan architecture is really "facadism" because not wholly integrated into planning and assimilated to the organization of interior space, then five-act structure might be considered a kind of dramaturgical facadism analogous to the application of symmetrical, pilastered frontages to "buildings whose functions," in Eric Mercer's words,

"were still of a partly feudal nature."[52] Without pressing this analogy too hard, we can perhaps tentatively suggest a similar divergence between the partitioned surface that a five-act play might present (in print) and the internal logic of its unfolding action, which could be, in effect, counterpointed against the formal divisions rather than developed in consonance with them. But, of course, the most artistic results could be obtained when, as at Fountains Hall or in *Othello*, the outer form—though applied rather than organic—could be made to echo the inner.

Like the conventions of Elizabethan drama, those of Elizabethan architecture were the products of interaction among forces, none of which was autonomous. To accuse Elizabethan architects of "Naive interpretation of Renaissance principles of design and ornament"[53] is not an adequate pigeonhole because builders, who often participated in the designing of their own houses, were frequently knowledgeable patrons of the arts who had traveled abroad or had read the most important continental treatises on architecture. But, like playwrights who had to work within the conventions of acting companies by way of meeting the expectations of audiences, builders (however knowledgeable) had to accommodate the traditions of local artisans, who clung to Gothic methods of masoncraft inherited from their fathers. Pattern books, instead of theoretical texts, became the chief means by which Renaissance architectural—which often meant decorative—ideas filtered down to the marginally literate craftsman. Conversely, a mason-designer who had original ideas or who had some understanding of Renaissance design might be constrained by the reactionary tastes of his employers, as seems to have happened with some of Robert Smythson's later commissions.

Thus, in both arts, the stage was set for conflict between imported humanism, with its imposed patterns such as symmetry of facade and formally "unified" five-act structure on the one hand, and indigenous traditions, with their addiction to customary usages such as asymmetrical house-plans and episodic narrative-based dramatic structure on the other hand. Tension between the forces that Bacon labeled "use" and "uniformity" was the inevitable result of this confrontation. The persistence of the former helps to define the Elizabethan achievement in both architecture and drama in ways that are not necessarily applicable to the practitioners of literary forms that were relatively independent

of such overt cultural pressures: or, for that matter, to *architects* in the full Renaissance sense of that term, with court backing and hence freedom to execute their own designs as conceived—which, in England, means of course Inigo Jones. Pre-Jones English "architects" like Smythson were themselves products of artisan backgrounds. While this may have been true of Jones, too, who perhaps started out as a joiner by trade, his is a special case because his outlook was so obviously transformed by exposure to Italian art and architecture at first-hand: an experience that "reacted" on his particular genius. In drama, this freedom was available only to closet dramatists, such as the Pembroke coterie at Wilton House, who were willing to pay an exorbitant price for it with their sterile translations and imitations of Robert Garnier. As one of that group's members, Fulke Greville, said, "I have made theis Tragedies no plaies for the stage; be it known, it was no part of my purpose to write for them, against whom so many good and great spirits have already written."[54]

Ben Jonson's denial of validity to Jones's notion of architectural "design" probably reflects his view that the architect was at the mercy of craftsmen on the one hand and employers on the other.[55] Yet he insisted on the autonomy of the poet and his freedom to carry out such "designs," meaning no doubt intellectual conceptions, as in his line about Shakespeare: "Nature her selfe was proud of his designes."[56] This accounts in part for Jonson's famous quarrels with audiences and actors, who by challenging that autonomy forced Jonson to curb his aspirations toward a classical uniformity of design in favor of the usages of the public stage. As we have seen, Jonson reconciled theory with practice by subscribing to his age's liberal interpretation of unity that made provision for "*Episodes*, and digressions." Even so, he found it necessary to defend his most disorderly comedy, *Bartholomew Fair*, by an "apologie" in dialogue form (now lost) which was to have prefaced his translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*.[57] Moreover, Jonson sometimes gave voice to the desire that seems to have haunted the critical conscience of the English Renaissance: to write, in Sidney's words, "an exact model of all tragedies" or, in Jonson's own words, a "true *Poëme*"—which he admitted he had not done in his irregular tragedy *Sejanus*, just as Webster later conceded that *The White Devil* was no "true dramatic poem."[58] Such confessions indulge, if only rarely, a vision of the play as total artifact, the

attainment of absolute "uniformity" freed from the pressures of "use" as represented by the conditions of the Elizabethan stage.

Both architecture and drama in England, then, were notably collaborative enterprises in which the artist (architect or playwright) must come to terms with competing forces: clients, masons, actors, audiences, producers, who might represent the predominant tastes of the time, the ingrained habits associated with the practice of either art. Neither playwright nor architect, with the exceptions already noted, was free to execute his "designs" as conceived. Yet, paradoxically, both Shakespeare and Smythson converted this network of collaborative accountability into the very pathway to creative freedom. It is hard to feel that Shakespeare or Smythson had any conception of a play or building that transcended the conditions under which they practiced their respective crafts. We cannot easily imagine Shakespeare apologizing for the fact that *Hamlet* is not a "true *Poëme*" (he seems to have thought of it as a "poem unlimited"),[59] or imagine Smythson harboring any notion of "true Architecture" that could not be embodied in the medium that was made available to him and transformed by him in significant ways. Just as our conception of "Renaissance" drama in England must, of necessity, find its expression in *Hamlet*, as opposed to some theoretical model, so Hardwick Hall, with all its excesses and defects as judged by Italian standards of classical purity, must nevertheless for better or worse represent the consummate achievement of which Renaissance architecture in England, given the conditions under which it developed, was capable. It would be a mistake to try to postpone that consummation until the advent of Jones, which redirected instead of fulfilling the general tendency of English Renaissance architecture because of its one-sided response to that Baconian dualism we have been considering.

Yet humanism, even if it failed to deliver a "true dramatic poem," "an exact model of all tragedies" or—prior to Jones's belated Banqueting House—of all buildings, nevertheless did force "use" to come to terms with "uniformity" in a variety of ways. Even the ill-fated attempt to write English hexameters, for instance, probably did, in the long run, sophisticate the versification of English poets by attuning their ears to the quantitative values of syllables. Similarly, as B. Sprague Allen long ago pointed out,

classical influences did cause English buildings gradually to attain "a greater coherence of design by which the architectural masses were established in a definite equilibrium and knit together by identity of form and regularity of distribution." As for drama, we need not accept J. W. Cunliffe's still controversial view that the imitation of Senecan models brought about a "regularity of structure—which . . . it would have taken centuries for the mediaeval drama to attain without the stimulus and authority of classical example" or, for that matter, G. K. Hunter's equally extreme view that "the over-all picture" of structural development in Elizabethan drama would not have been fundamentally different had Senecan models been unavailable. We are instead free to accept the conciliatory view of Irving Ribner that "Senecan models did lend a precision and form to what had become a rambling and often incoherent drama," while we bear in mind Madeleine Doran's warning that "what looked like classicism to men of the Renaissance often does not look so to us," with the result that imitations of ancient models, even when intended, are not always easy to detect.[60] Such was the active resistance of "use" to the escalating demands of "uniformity."

That the actions of Elizabethan plays became more densely organized and the components of Elizabethan houses more effectively massed and distributed was surely an outcome—though not precisely the one envisioned—of humanism. We should remember, though, that the formal restraints encouraged by humanism were ultimately less important than the energies it liberated; the humanists, we might say, awoke a sleeping giant. Roger Ascham, who had called for a drama based on "Aristotle's precepts" in his *Schoolmaster* (1570), and John Shute, who introduced Englishmen to the Vitruvian orders in the 1560s,[61] would not have recognized *Hamlet* or Hardwick Hall as the end product of their endeavors to change the habits of their countrymen by forcing the abandonment of "use" in favor of "uniformity." But Shakespeare and Smythson were undoubtedly responding, in their own practical and professional ways, to Renaissance impulses channeled, in part, through that humanistic program that I have elsewhere referred to as the "regular phase" of Elizabethan culture.[62] The careers of both show how the progress of uniformity coincided with the pursuit of their own artistic ends and how those ends, in turn, were largely shaped by inherited usages that actively

resisted the imposition of formal abstractions on their art. It was a resistance that made accommodation possible and tension necessary so that "both [might] be had" in the true Elizabethan spirit of things.

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Notes

1 Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (1625), in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath, VI (London, 1858), 481. Although "Of Building" first appeared in 1625, its view of English architecture is retrospective and its frame of reference Elizabethan. Throughout this essay, I have taken the liberty of using the term "Elizabethan" in a broad sense, comprehending the Jacobean period as well. In quotations, use of i and j, u and v has been normalized, and contractions have been expanded.

2 *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1912), I, 15.

3 "To Penshurst," ll. 101-02, in *Ben Jonson* [Works], ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-52), VIII, 96.

4 *Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren from the Parentalia or Memoirs by His Son Christopher*, ed. E. J. Enthoven (London, 1903), pp. 236-37 (emphasis mine).

5 *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1954), p. 265 and *passim*.

6 *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Forrest G. Robinson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), pp. 47, 73.

7 *Works*, VI (1858), 482.

8 Letter from Burghley to Hatton, quoted in Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson & the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1983), p. 19, from Emily S. Hartshorne, *Memorials of Holdenby* (1868), pp. 15-16.

9 Sir Nikolaus Pevsner used the term "façadism" apologetically, as an unfortunate piece of "current architectural jargon," in *The Planning of the Elizabethan Country House* (London: n.p., 1960), p. 10.

10 For one of many expressions of this commonplace, see Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* [1624], ed. Frederick Hard (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1968), p. 21: "For surely there can be no *Structure*, more uniforme, then our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*: Each side, agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the qualitie, and in the measure of the Parts." Elsewhere in the same book Wotton uses "the Fabrique of our owne Bodies, wherein the *High Architect* of the world, had displaied such skill, as did stupefie, all humane reason" to demonstrate the principle "That the *Place* of every part, is to be determined by the *Use*" (p. 7).

11 Kirby was begun by Sir Humphrey Stafford in 1570 but completed by Sir Christopher Hatton, who purchased the property between 1575 and 1578. See G. H. Chettle, *Kirby Hall* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947).

12 Photo by permission of *Country Life*.

13 Plan from Chettle, *Kirby Hall*; by permission, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (as for Figure 1 above).

14 For a detailed analysis of Fountains, which was built for Sir Stephen Proctor, see Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, pp. 192-97. Girouard speculates "that Smythson provided designs for Fountains" but "did not supervise its erection" (p. 196).

15 Elevation from Louis Ambler, *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire* (London: Batsford, 1913), pl. lxxv; by permission.

16 Plan from Ambler, *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire*, pl. lxxv; by permission.

17 The term is Girouard's (*Robert Smythson*, p. 192).

18 Madeleine Doran's adaptation of Heinrich Wölfflin's term "multiple unity" as a way of describing Renaissance drama has been influential. Wölfflin meant that Renaissance art "achieves its unity by making the parts independent as free members" (quoted in *Endeavors of Art*, p. 6).

19 This innovation meant, as Girouard points out, that the hall which, "as used in medieval times, was essentially an asymmetrical feature could now be neatly incorporated into a symmetrical plan." Such a plan, however, was not carried out at Hardwick, for the principal apartment, the famous High Great Chamber, is off to one side instead of being centrally situated over the hall, its more logical position in relation to the facade. Girouard comments on Smythson's "ingenuity in fitting complex asymmetrical plans into a symmetrical exterior" (p. 153).

20 In *Wit's Recreations*, 1640 (but written "obviously earlier"; *Ben Jonson*, IX, 13).

21 *The Making of the English Country House 1500-1640* (London: Architectural Press, 1975), p. 192.

22 Alvin Kernan, ed., *Two Renaissance Mythmakers: Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson*, Selected Papers from the English Institute, 1975-76, N.S. No. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1977), "Introduction," p. vii.

23 The decline of the hall is, of course, a commonplace of both architectural and social history. William A. McClung treats the hall as a casualty of the Renaissance in England (though there is evidence that its gradual loss of prestige was well under way by the time Renaissance influences began to be felt) and argues that Elizabethan prodigy houses "are guilty of sacrificing 'natural' to 'architectural' planning, and consequently of subordinating the position of the hall to the requirements of symmetry"; *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977), p. 61. My own analysis, however, means to show that such subordination was largely external and more a matter of accommodation than of sacrifice.

24 *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1962), p. 69.

25 See D. J. Gordon, "Academicians Build a Theatre and Give a Play: The Accademia Olimpica, 1579-1585," rpt. in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1975), pp. 247-48.

26 *Part of the Kings Entertainment, in Passing to His Coronation*, ll. 247-53; in *Ben Jonson*, VII, 90-91.

27 *Ben Jonson*, II, 261.

28 Per Palme, "Ut Architectura Poesis," *Figura*, Uppsala Studies in the History of Art, N.S. 1 (1959), 95-107. In this important article Palme argues that an allusion to Vitruvius on *eurythmia* and *symmetria* in *De Architectura*, Bk. I, ii, 4, is more likely than a direct allusion to the *Poetics* at this point in Jonson's career (Jonson owned two annotated editions of Vitruvius) and also demonstrates that Harrison's arches adhere, surprisingly, to Vitruvian principles of modular design and metrical integration of the parts and the whole, as interpreted and applied by Alberti and Palladio. According to Palme, most of Vitruvius' "concepts were probably drawn from Greek or Latin manuals in rhetoric, which in turn derived their art of dissection and definition from Aristotle. . . . Vitruvius derived the formula of the parts and the whole from the theory of poetry and eloquence. Alberti and his followers expanded the formula into a general definition of architectural beauty by welding it with Pythagorean mathematics" (p. 106).

29 In Stephen Harrison, *The Archs of Triumph Erected in honor of the High and Mighty Prince James . . .* (London, 1604), pl. 1; reproduced by permission of the

Huntington Library. See *Ben Jonson*, VII, xiii-xiv, and A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pt. II, *The Reign of James I* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1955), pp. 17-28.

30 *Ben Jonson*, VII, 90.

31 *Ben Jonson*, VIII, 645.

32 *Ben Jonson*, VIII, 647.

33 *Ben Jonson*, VIII, 648-49, 646-47.

34 *Apology*, p. 72.

35 Doran, *Endeavors*, p. 276. For Bevington's analysis of *Doctor Faustus*, see his *From "Mankind" to Marlowe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 245-62.

36 "'Plot' and 'Episode' in Early Neoclassical Criticism," in *Renaissance Drama*, N.S. 6 (1973), 171 and 155. Riggs's important article (149-75) should be read together with Doran, *Endeavors*, pp. 273-77. These two critics provide very useful analyses of the process by which Renaissance critics accommodated Aristotelian theory to contemporary dramaturgical practice (with help from Horace and the postclassical grammarians). Like Doran, Riggs cites Wölfflin's term "multiple unity" (pp. 155-56).

37 Doran, *Endeavors*, p. 276.

38 Riggs, "'Plot' and 'Episode,'" p. 169.

39 *The Overreacher* (1952; rpt. Boston: Beacon, 1964), p. 123.

40 "The Two Voices of Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*," *ELR* 2 (1972), 93. Hardison was taking Kenneth O. Myrick to task for regarding Sidney's survey of English poetry as a "digression" and yet "intimately related to the whole argument." As Riggs points out, however, Renaissance critics draw an analogy between the function of dramatic episodes and that of rhetorical digressions: "The skillful orator digresses not to amuse his audience but to embellish his cause" (p. 171). He refers to Giraldi and Quintilian.

41 See Bevington, *From "Mankind" to Marlowe*, p. 130. T. W. Baldwin's *Shakspere's Five-Act Structure* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1947)—a book perhaps more damned than read—is an exhaustive and definitive study of the process by which the five-act convention became established, even if it fails to justify its somewhat presumptuous title.

42 Rose, *Shakespearean Design* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1972), p. 22. See also Beckerman, "Shakespeare and the Life of the Scene," in *English Renaissance Drama*, ed. Standish Henning, Robert Kimbrough, and Richard Knowles (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 36-45; Jones, *Scenic Form in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971); and Hirsh, *The Structure of Shakespearean Scenes* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1981).

43 "Were There Act-Pauses on Shakespeare's Stage?" in *English Renaissance Drama*, ed. Henning, Kimbrough, and Knowles, p. 34. The evidence and arguments against five-act structure in Shakespeare are surveyed critically by Hunter (pp. 15-24) and favorably by Rose (pp. 21-25), who regards them as "scholarly commonplaces" (p. 25). Rose, moreover, claims that Kyd and Marlowe "nominally divided their plays into acts" but "actually constructed in scenes" (p. 24). But cf. Hunter on "Five-Act Structure in *Doctor Faustus*," rpt. in his *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), pp. 335-49.

44 Bevington, *From "Mankind" to Marlowe*, p. 2.

45 Alfred Harbage, ed., *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1969), p. 32.

46 *The English Drama 1485-1585*, Oxford History of English Literature, Vol. IV, pt. 1 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), p. 142.

47 Hirsh, *The Structure*, p. 9.

48 Preface to Shakespeare, in *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. W. K. Wimsatt (New York: Hill & Wang, 1960), p. 64.

49 Jones, *Scenic Form*, p. 68.

50 *Othello*, III.iii.458, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974). All Shakespearean citations are from this edition.

51 For a dazzling display of the multiplicity and interdependence of such systems, see the analytic commentary in Stephen Booth, ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1977).

52 *English Art 1553-1625*, Oxford History of English Art, Vol. VII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), p. 48.

53 See the standard dictionary by John Harris and Jill Lever, *Illustrated Glossary of Architecture 850-1830* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1966), p. 25.

54 *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, quoted in L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, eds., *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1921), I, clxxviii.

55 See D. J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones," rpt. in *The Renaissance Imagination*, pp. 77-101. Jonson objected strongly to Jones's habitual use of the word "design" ("thy omnipotent Designe"), which he called "a specious fyne / Terme of the Architects" ("An Expostulation with Inigo Jones," ll. 96, 55-56 [*Ben Jonson*, VIII, 406, 404]; quoted by Gordon, pp. 89-90).

56 "To the memory of my beloved, the Author Mr. William Shakespeare," l. 47 (*Ben Jonson*, VIII, 392).

57 See "Conversations with Drummond," ll. 82-84 (*Ben Jonson*, I, 134).

58 Sidney, *Apology*, p. 75; Jonson, *Sejanus*, Preface "To the Readers," ll. 6-7 (*Ben Jonson*, IV, 350); John Webster, *The White Devil*, Preface "To the Reader," in *Drama of the English Renaissance*, ed. Russell A. Fraser and Norman Rabkin, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1976), II, 432.

59 *Hamlet*, II.ii.399-400.

60 Allen, *Tides in English Taste (1619-1800)* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937), I, 10; Cunliffe, ed., *Early English Classical Tragedies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), p. ix; Hunter, "Seneca and the Elizabethans: A Case-Study in 'Influence,'" rpt. in *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition*, p. 173; Ribner, *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), p. 43; Doran, p. 13. In fairness, Hunter allows that the development of Elizabethan dramatic form "could not have taken the course it did without the criticism of vernacular methods that the classics imply" (p. 173).

61 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, ed. Lawrence V. Ryan (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 139-40; Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, 1563 (other eds. 1579, 1584; facs., intro. Laurence Weaver, 1912).

62 Alan T. Bradford, "Drama and Architecture under Elizabeth I: The 'Regular' Phase," *ELR* 14 (1984), 3-28.