The gap between critical theory and theatrical practice in the English Renaissance can be huge. In particular, neoclassical critics and professional playwrights of the period differ significantly as to what should or should not be brought onto the stage (compare *The Alchemist* or a play by Racine to *1 Henry VI*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and Heywood's *The Brazen Age*). The best known exposition of the neoclassical position is Sir Philip Sidney's witty and incisive commentary on early Elizabethan drama. In such plays he observes

> you shall have *Asia* of the one side, and *Africa* of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the Player, when he cometh in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now ye shall have three Ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a Garden. By and by, we hear news of shipwreck in the same place, and then we are to blame if we accept it not for a Rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hideous Monster, with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a Cave. While in the meantime two Armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field?\(^1\)

Consider, however, an alternative, more positive approach to the same onstage activity that builds upon the imaginative participation of the audience in the spirit of *as if*.\(^2\) A sixteenth-century playgoer would infer from "four swords and bucklers" in combat an army and, in general terms, "a pitched field"; given appropriate dialogue and acting, when a monster enters through a stage door, for a moment that door would become a cave mouth; if ladies gather flowers, even if only in pantomime, a spectator would supply the garden; the sighting of a shipwreck would imply a vantage point near the water, Sidney's rock. His terms ("Now . . . By and by . . . Upon the back of that ... While in the meantime ...") adroitly express a witty incredulity that all these events are being presented "in the same place," but from another, more sympathetic point of view this chameleon-like flexibility could be seen as a major asset. Like Jonson and Chapman two decades later, Sidney
rejects many popular dramatic conventions (what "the miserable beholders" have to "believe" or "accept" if the scene is to work) that were shared by less fastidious playgoers.

Sidney concludes his skewering of the excesses of English theatrical romances of the 1570s with the commonsensical comment that "many things may be told which cannot be showed" if dramatists would only observe "the difference betwixt reporting and representing" (198). With this latter distinction, however, the battle lines between critics and theatrical practitioners are not as clearly drawn. To substitute the reporting of a chorus or choric figure for the sweep of onstage action (as with Shakespeare's presentation of the battle of Actium in *Antony and Cleopatra*, 3.10) is a stock device throughout the period. Comparable is the use of elaborate dumb shows to bring complex events onstage (often with a chorus or presenter to spell out what the playgoer is seeing)--as in *Edmond Ironside* (1595) where the Chorus would prefer to have the audience "see the battles acted on the stage" but since "their length will be too tedious / Then in dumb shows I will explain at large / Their fights, their flights and Edmond's victory."3

Still, most popular drama before and after Sidney's strictures ranged widely in space and time and brought onstage exciting events that would seem either to strain the limits of a playgoer's credulity or to pose insuperable difficulties for the players. In his argument on behalf of the classical *nuntius* Sidney remarks: "I may speak (though I am here) of Peru, and in speech digress from that to the description of Calicut; but in action I cannot represent it without Pacolet's horse" (198), yet in the closing moments of Day, Rowley, and Wilkins' *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607) the dramatists do introduce a version of Pacolet's horse: a perspective glass that enables the three brothers, widely dispersed in different countries, to see and communicate with each other: "Enter three several ways the three Brothers; Robert with the state of Persia . . . ; Sir Anthony with the King of Spain and others, . . . ; Sir Thomas in England . . . . Fame gives to each a perspective glass, they seem to see one another and offer to embrace, at which Fame parts them, and so: Exeunt."

Despite the position taken by figures like Sidney and despite the practical limitations of their stages, Elizabethan playwrights, players, and playgoers clearly relished big scenes and effects that would seem to us to burst the bounds of the Globe.

How then did playwrights deal with the challenge posed by theatrical exigency? One response was to provide the audience with an apology or a plea for pardon. Readers of *Henry V* are familiar with the series of appeals to the playgoer to *suppose* or *imagine* what cannot be represented
in the wooden O. The Prologue apologizes for the limits of "this unworthy scaffold" in conveying "So great an object" as Agincourt; still, the players can "On your imaginary forces work" if the viewers are willing to "Suppose," to "make imaginary puissance" by dividing one man into a thousand parts, to "Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them / Printing their proud hoofs i' th' receiving earth," in short, to "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts." Again, the Chorus to Act 3 pleads with the audience to "Suppose," "behold," "do but think," "Grapple your minds," "Work, work your thoughts, and therein see a siege," and, finally, "Still be kind, / And eche out our performance with your mind." Before Agincourt, the Chorus to Act 4 apologizes in advance for disgracing this great event "With four or five most vile and ragged foils / (Right ill disposed in brawl ridiculous)" but asks the audience: "Yet sit and see, / Minding true things by what their mock'ries be."5 Repeatedly, this choric spokesman asks the audience to accept a part for the whole, to supply imaginatively what cannot be introduced physically onto the open stage.

That same appeal, moreover, is found in comparable if less familiar passages outside the Shakespeare canon. Instructive but atypical is suppose used in a stage direction as an imperative verb to set up an as if situation: "Suppose the Temple of Mahomet" (Selimus [1592]).6 More common is the use of suppose or comparable terms to streamline a narrative: "You must suppose king Richard now is dead, / And John (resistless) is fair England's Lord" (Munday, The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington [1598]);7 "Now let your thoughts as swift as the wind, / Skip some few years, that Cromwell spent in travel, / And now imagine him to be in England (Thomas Lord Cromwell [1600]);8 "Now be pleas'd, / That your imaginations may help you / To think them safe in Persia" (Fletcher and Massinger, The Prophetess [1622]);9 "Our Scene lies speechless, active but yet dumb, / Till your expressing thoughts give it a tongue" (The Travels of the Three English Brothers, 320); "Imagine now that whilst he is retired, / From Cambridge back unto his native home, / Suppose the silent, sable visaged night, / Casts her black curtain over all the world" (Merry Devil of Edmonton [1602]).10

As in Henry V, such appeals often are linked to events that cannot be represented onstage. The Chorus in Captain Thomas Stukeley (1596) notes that three kings died in one battle and adds:

Your gentle favor must we needs entreat,
For rude presenting such a royal sight,
Which more imagination must supply:
Then all our utmost strength can reach unto.\textsuperscript{11}

A similar entreaty is provided by Dekker's Prologue to \textit{Old Fortunatus} (1599):

\begin{quote}
And for this small Circumference must stand,
For the imagined Surface of much land,
Of many kingdoms, and since many a mile,
Should here be measured out: our muse entreats,
Your thoughts to help poor Art\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

A Chorus in John Kirke's \textit{The Seven Champions of Christendom} (1635) notes the problems posed by "the shortness of the time" and the many exploits of the champions that would "fill a larger Scene than on this Stage / An Action would contain." The solution is to have each champion "bear a little part / Of their more larger History" and to appeal to the playgoer: "Then let your fancies deem upon a stage, / One man a thousand, and one hour an age."\textsuperscript{13} More elaborate is the appeal in the Prologue to \textit{The Travels of the Three English Brothers} (320):

\begin{quote}
Imagine now the gentle breath of heaven
Hath on the liquid highway of the waves
Conveyed him many thousand leagues from us:
Think you have seen him sail by many lands,
And now at last, arriv'd in \textit{Persia},
Within the confines of the great \textit{Sophy},
Think you have heard his courteous salute
Speak in a peal of shot

Events at sea are particularly difficult to stage:
Imagine now ye see the air made thick
With stormy tempests, that disturb the Main:
And the four winds at war among themselves:
And the weak Barks wherein the brothers sail,
Split on strange rocks, and they enforc'd to swim:
To save their desperate lives.
\end{quote}

(Heywood, \textit{The Four Prentices of London} [1600])\textsuperscript{14}
An especially elaborate appeal is found in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Prophetess* where a Chorus introducing a dumb show notes that "So full of matter is our History / . . . that there wants / Room in this narrow Stage, and time to express / In Action to the life" the necessary events but then asks that "Your apprehensive judgments will conceive / Out of the shadow we can only show, / How fair the Body was" so that the playgoer can "behold / As in a silent Mirror, what we cannot / With fit conveniency of time, allow'd / For such Presentments, clothe in vocal sounds" (5:362-3).

Such apologies and appeals to the imagination, especially when coupled with the strictures of neoclassical purists such as Sidney and Jonson, would seem to suggest severe constraints upon what could be introduced onto the Globe or other stages. But given the available conventions or shared assumptions (at least in the public theatres), such limits seem to evaporate. For example, consider battle scenes, among the most difficult to realize effectively on any stage. Sidney could mock "two Armies .. . represented with four swords and bucklers"; Jonson could sneer at the players who "with three rusty swords, / And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words, / Fight over York, and Lancaster's long jars: / And in the tiring-house bring wounds, to scars" (Prologue to *Every Man In His Humour*). Shakespeare himself, as already noted, was conscious of the danger of lapsing into the "brawl ridiculous" in presenting Agincourt through only "four or five most vile and ragged foils." Nonetheless, rather than avoiding battle scenes, the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the other companies found practical solutions. As Alfred Harbage observes: "The audience did not see the battles so much as hear them. What it saw was displays of skill by two or occasionally four combatants on that small sector of the battlefield symbolized by the stage." In addition, the players made adept use of *alarums* or offstage sound effects ("a gong insistently clanging, trumpets blaring recognizable military signals, then steel clashing, ordnance firing") and *excursions* ("individual pursuits and combats onstage"). Thus, from Captain Thomas Stukeley: "Alarum is sounded, diverse excursions, Stukeley pursues Shane O'Neill and Neil Mackener, and after a good pretty fight his Lieutenant and Ancient rescue Stukeley, and chase the Irish out. Then an excursion betwixt Herbert and O'Hanlon, and so a retreat sounded." Through such theatrical synecdoche, the whole of a battle is to be imagined or inferred through the parts displayed, an approach to mass combat well suited to a large platform stage and limited personnel.

Playwrights and players of this period were therefore ready to 1) apologize or beg pardon for their limitations or 2) appeal to the playgoer to imagine what could not actually be represented
onstage, but they were also prepared to 3) defy neoclassical strictures and take on what (given the available resources) would appear to be daunting scenes or effects, including moments involving fire and water. Among professional playwrights the most inventive and adept in responding to the challenge of representing $X$ rather than reporting $X$ is, without doubt, Thomas Heywood.

At times Heywood like Shakespeare does resort to a Chorus and an appeal to the playgoer's imaginary forces. Thus, the Chorus in *1 Fair Maid of the West* (1610) laments that "Our Stage so lamely can express a Sea, / That we are forc'd by Chorus to discourse / What should have been in action"; the playgoer is then exhorted to "Now imagine" the heroine's passion and "Suppose her rich, and forc'd for want of water / To put into Mamorrah in Barbary" (3:319). Here as elsewhere complex narratives need assistance from a chorus and from the playgoer's imagination. Another widely used device to economize or sidestep staging problems is the entrance *as from* a shipwreck, battle, dinner, tournament, or other event. As a knowledgeable professional, Heywood regularly resorts to this device. For example, he twice signals a shipwreck by concentrating upon the recently completed action: in *The Captives* (1624) Palestra is to enter "all wet as newly shipwrecked and escaped the fury of the seas," and in *The Four Prentices of London* a reported shipwreck is followed by dumb shows that display Godfrey "as newly landed and half naked," Guy "all wet," and Charles "all wet with his sword" (2:176-7).

But Heywood often goes beyond *as from* directions or appeals to the imagination. Consider *Fortune by Land and Sea* (1609) where he brings onto the platform stage a battle between two ships at sea (6:410-18). After "a great Alarum and shot," the two pirates, Purser and Clinton, enter with prisoners from their most recent conquest. Once the stage has been cleared, young Forrest appears "like a Captain of a ship, with Sailors and Mariners entering with a flourish"; a boy is told to "climb to the main-top" to "see what you ken there"; "Above," the boy calls out "a sail" and shouts down details; Forrest instructs his gunner, steersman, master, and boatswain; "a piece goes off" when the pirates raise their colors (as reported by the boy above). Again, with the stage cleared, Purser and Clinton return "with their Mariners, all furnished with Sea devices fitting for a fight"; they urge on their gunner ("Oh 'twas a gallant shot, I saw it shatter some of their limbs in pieces"), and debate strategy. Again, Heywood switches to Forrest exhorting his men not to spare the powder. Finally, "a great Alarum, and Flourish. Enter Young Forrest and his Mates with Purser and Clinton with their Mariners prisoners." The key to the effect lies in the combination of alternating scenes and
appropriate signals: the boy above, nautical language, costume (e.g., Forrest "like a Captain of a ship"), and sound effects, along with the reported action. There is no evidence that shots are actually fired on stage (although there is considerable talk of guns and gunnery), but there is frenzied activity, much noise, and presentation of "Sea devices fitting for a fight," all appropriate for two ships in battle at sea. The players perform as if in such a battle, and (if the sequence is to work) the playgoers suppose or imagine the event.

Similarly, Heywood's plays include many night or darkness scenes with a typical emphasis upon silence, stealth, even tiptoeing. For example, in A Woman Killed With Kindness (1603) Frankford, about to steal back into his house at night, asks for his dark lantern and tells Nicholas to "tread softly, softly"; the latter responds: "I will walk on Eggs this pace" (2:137). Perhaps the most revealing scene for "playing" night comes from the Trojan horse sequence of Heywood's 2 The Iron Age (1612). After Synon has called upon "sweet midnight" to mask "mischief and black deeds," the Greeks come on stage "in a soft march, without noise," while Agamemnon urges: "soft, soft, and let your stillness suit with night, / Fair Phoebe keep thy silver splendor in, / And be not seen tonight." After Synon appears above "with a torch" speaking again of "horrid night," Menelaus proclaims: "March on then, the black darkness covers us." The stage direction reads: "They march softly in at one door, and presently in at another. Enter Synon with a stealing pace, holding the key in his hand." When Synon unlocks the horse, "Pyrrhus, Diomed, and the rest, leap from out the Horse. And as if groping in the dark, meet with Agamemnon and the rest: who after knowledge embrace" (3:377-80). The as if formula spelled out here in "as if groping in the dark" is usually implicit in signals elsewhere and is basic to many comparable onstage effects that depend upon a combination of onstage activity and playgoer imagination.

Again, Heywood like other dramatists regularly introduces hunt scenes or as from hunt situations, as when Hercules enters "with the Lion's head and skin" (The Silver Age [1611], 3:131), but he also provides the most elaborate such scene in the period, the hunt for the Caledonian boar in The Brazen Age (1611). The sequence starts with Venus dressed "like a Huntress," horns wound offstage as "the summons to the chase," a group of heroes "with Javelins, and in green," and Atlanta "with a Javelin." Then follow: "Enter Adonis winding his horn . . . a great winding of horns, and shouts"; cries of "charge, charge" and reports of wounds and pursuits; "horns and shouts . . . horns . . . . After great shouts, enter Venus . . . A cry within." After the dying Adonis is carried on and off and
"the fall of the Boar being winded," the successful hunters enter "with the head of the Boar" and "with their javelins bloodied" (3:84-94). The combination of distinctive sounds, properties, costumes, and entrances creates a sense of the hunt without an onstage forest or a live boar.

In addition to this extensive hunt and a battle at sea Heywood stages the story of Horatius at the bridge (The Rape of Lucrece, 5:242-5) wherein in order to save Rome from Tarquin one heroic individual guards a passage against an army while his comrades tear down a bridge. After Valerius urges "Break down the Bridge, lest the pursuing enemy / Enter with us and take the spoil of Rome," Horatius volunteers: "Then break behind me, for by heaven I'll grow / And root my foot as deep as to the center, / Before I leave this passage." Heywood cannot bring a bridge onstage but can use dialogue to place it just out of sight, as when Horatius challenges Tarquin and his followers: "Soft Tarquin, see a bulwark to the bridge, / You first must pass, the man that enters here / Must make his passage through Horatius' breast." The actual fight and the offstage activity is described by two opposing figures above (e.g., "pass Horatius quickly, / For they behind him will devolve the bridge" versus "Yet stand Horatius, bear but one brunt more, / The arched bridge shall sink upon his piles"). Also important for the effect are offstage sounds: first "A noise of knocking down the bridge, within" and then "Alarum, and the falling of the Bridge." The fate of Horatius is displayed by an exit, some dialogue ("He's leapt off from the bridge," "And hark, the shout of all the multitude / Now welcomes him a land"), and more sounds ("Shout and flourish").

Two scenes, both from The Brazen Age, best demonstrate Heywood's skills and inventiveness in staging difficult, seemingly impossible moments. Consider first his presentation (3:175-6) of the confrontation between Hercules and the shape-shifter Achelous by which the hero wins Dejanira. The narrative fiction requires that Achelous start in his own shape, shift three times, and reappear in his own guise to confess defeat. The actual stage directions read: "Achelous is beaten in, and immediately enters in the shape of a Dragon"; "Alarm. He beats away the dragon. Enter a Fury all fire-works"; "When the Fury sinks, a Bull's head appears"; "He tugs with the Bull, and plucks off one of his horns. Enter from the same place Achelous with his forehead all bloody." The now bloodied figure spells out the results of the confrontation: "No more, I am thy Captive, thou my Conqueror."

Although not all the details can be pieced out, Heywood's solution in his theatre to what might seem an insurmountable staging problem is clear. To re-enter "in the shape of a Dragon" is to
establish the shape-shifting not by means of onstage trickery but by means of a rapid transition ("immediately") that draws upon the playgoer's imagination. The "dragon" may be thrust forth from a trap or stage door; clearly the "fury" sinks through the trap (and may arise "all fire-works" in the same fashion); the bull's head could appear from a door or the trap (anywhere within Hercules's reach), but a door would be practical if the Achelous-actor is immediately to "Enter from the same place" with his bloody forehead. The in-the-theatre timing is crucial here: the players provide the rapid actions; the playgoer (in the spirit of as if) supplies the continuity that underlies such signals so as to make the connections between Achelous and the three shapes. This combination of strong onstage signals with the imaginary forces of the spectators epitomizes the unspoken contract essential to this (or any) theatre.

Consider a second equally revealing moment from the same play, Heywood's rendition of the death of Nessus the centaur (3:180-2). Here, one would suppose, is an event too complex to be enacted on the open stage, for it involves 1) Nessus carrying Dejanira on his back across a river and 2) Hercules then shooting an arrow across that river to kill the centaur. How does Heywood do it? First, after the departure of Nessus and Dejanira, Hercules, alone on stage, describes for the audience their progress through the water ("well plunged bold centaur") but then must rage impotently as he witnesses the attempted rape and hears his bride cry for help (four times). Finally, Hercules announces: "I'll send till I can come, this poisonous shaft / Shall speak my fury and extract thy blood, / Till I myself can cross this raging flood." The stage direction then reads: "Hercules shoots, and goes in: Enter Nessus with an arrow through him, and Dejanira." Moments later, "after long struggling with Evenus' streams," Hercules reappears to "make an end of what my shaft begun." To depict a figure on one side of a river shooting a figure on the other side, Heywood has resorted to rapidly alternating scenes, reported action, offstage sounds, and, most important (in his version of what in our age has become a stock cinematic effect), a presentation of the initiation and then the immediate resolution of the central event ("Hercules shoots ... Enter Nessus with an arrow through him") rather than the full sequence (the complete flight of the arrow and the striking of its target). If the choric passages from Henry V provide the "theory" behind the open stage (e.g., that the audience is expected to use their imaginary forces to "eche out our performance with your mind"), the arrow in Nessus provides a telling demonstration of the resulting theatrical practice. The spectator sees 1) the shooting of the arrow and 2) the result but then must supply 3) the connection between the two (I
am assuming that Nessus enters immediately at another door), including any sense of the river and the distance involved. As with Hercules' confrontation with Achelous, for the scene to work the actors must provide the timing and energy, the audience, the imaginative participation.

At first reading a stage direction such as "Enter Nessus with an arrow through him" may seem quaint or silly, worthy only of amused contempt (and readers familiar with Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) may conjure up "Enter Ralph, with a forked arrow through his head" [6:229]). We should remember, however, that Heywood, like Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Massinger, was a working professional linked to a specific theatrical company who not only knew his craft well but also knew his theatre from the inside, both its potential and its limits. If we chuckle at the arrow in Nessus, we are (like Sir Philip Sidney) implicitly asserting our superiority to a "primitive" dramaturgy ("how could anyone be expected to believe that?") and, in the process, revealing more about ourselves (e.g., how we read playscripts) than about Heywood and his contemporaries. If we are not responsive to this and other such moments (e.g., Jupiter descending on an eagle, Gloucester's "suicide" at Dover Cliffs, or, closer to home, "Enter Clifford wounded, with an arrow in his neck,"[20] are we not in danger of reconceiving the plays to suit our sensibilities, of rewriting the clues to suit our solutions? Rather, to characterize the theatre or theatrical conventions of another age is to face squarely those moments that do cause problems for us (and for neoclassicists such as Sidney and Jonson) and make us conscious of the gaps between then and now. A major key to unlock what is distinctive about drama in the age of Shakespeare therefore lies in the anomalies, the surprises, the moments that make us aware of the full stretch of the dramaturgy. And, in my view, the best place to go for evidence of such theatrical range and inventiveness (in the spirit of *as if*) is the canon of plays linked to Thomas Heywood.

Notes


2. For a fuller discussion of *as if* staging and assumptions see chapter 7 of my *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge, 1995).
3. Ed. Eleanore Boswell, Malone Society (London, 1927), 970-3. For the convenience of
the reader I have attached to the non-Shakespeare plays the dates listed in Alfred Harbage's Annals

The Travels of the Three English Brothers will be included in my text.

5. Prologue, 8-11, 18-27; Act 3 Chorus, 3, 10, 13, 18, 25, 34-5; Act 4 Chorus, 49-53 in The


8. Ed. John S. Farmer, Tudor Facsimile Texts (Amersham, 1911), D1v-D2r.

9. The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, ed. Arnold Glover and A. R. Waller,
10 vols. (Cambridge, 1905-12), 5:364. Further citations from the Beaumont and Fletcher canons are
from this edition and will be cited in my text.


12. The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1953-

13. Ed. Giles Edwin Dawson, Western Reserve University Bulletin, n.s. 32 (1929), #16,
1414-22.

2:175-6. With the exception of The Captives, further citations from Heywood's plays are from this
dition and will be cited in my text.

52), 3:303, Prologue, 9-12. The date for this Prologue is much in doubt--likely closer to 1616 (when
it first appeared in print) than 1598 (the first performance of the play).


18. Two of the most bizarre examples are Nero looking on while Rome burns (The Tragedy of Nero [1624]), and the onstage rescue of a man marooned on a rock by means of a ship (The Hector of Germany [1614]).


20. 3 Henry VI, 2.6.0. See Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Kenneth Muir (Berkeley, 1982), C3v. For other comparable moments (two of them from the Heywood canon) see the entrances of Tarquin "with an arrow in his breast" (Heywood, Rape of Lucrece, 5:249); Achilles "with an arrow through his heel" (Heywood, 1 Iron Age [1612], 3:332); Vespatian "wounded in the Leg with an Arrow" (Hemming, The Jews' Tragedy [1626], ed. Heinrich A. Cohn, Materialien [Louvain, 1913], 862-3); and Strozza "with an arrow in his side" (Chapman, The Gentleman Usher [1602], The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies, gen. ed. Allan Holaday [Urbana, 1970], 4.1.10).