FLUID AND LOCI:

DEATH AND MEMORY

IN SHAKESPEAREAN PLAYS

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

This study combines formal analysis of Shakespeare's texts with an investigation of early modern English culture in order to explore the social energy circulating between. It argues that the conceptual categories of fluidity and loci are two features prevalent not only in Shakespeare's plays specifically, but also in early modern English culture generally. Chapter One maps out the scholarship on death and memory in early modern English culture; Chapter Two investigates fluidity and loci in numerous forms, including humoral bodies, identities, money, commodity and texts, as regards physiology, economics, cosmology and politics. Chapter Three on *Hamlet* investigates corruption and fragmentation regarding both death and memory, and it also argues that Hamlet is troubled by memory's excessiveness and fickleness. Chapter Four explores time, memory, emotion and death in *Macbeth*, followed by a study of *Henry V*, *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale* in Chapter Five.

There are two points underlying the argument of the whole thesis. The first point is that, whereas the brain-centred understanding of memory was predominant in early modern England as in other European countries, there was also a heart-centred tradition. Although the brain and reason still occupied pivotal positions in early modern England, the heart and emotion were given

substantial attention by Shakespeare among others. As regards the relationship between the heart and the emotions, there were also two divergent attitudes to emotion: praise of emotion and denigration of emotion. As the connotations and history of the term “emotion” are complex, this study distinguishes between it and its synonyms such as passion, affection, feeling and the Chinese concept of *qing*. Other Chinese philosophies such as Daoism and theories including Yin-Yang theory and “Three Immortality” are also explored to shed light on the foci of this study.

Secondly, this thesis argues that there are two categories of memory, namely, locative memory and fluid memory, and Shakespeare was influenced by both. It also contends that the eradication and displacement of memory provoked anxiety about memory, just as the displacement and annihilation of corpses, mainly caused by plagues and the Reformation as well as other factors, lead to heightened anxiety about death in early modern English culture.

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Chapter One

Introduction

As readers and scholars have always recognized, Death and Memory are two themes prevalent in Shakespearean plays, especially in his tragedies.[1] They were also two issues widely considered and pondered upon in early modern England when Shakespeare was composing his plays.[2] In recent decades, works on death and studies on memory in early modern England have increasingly become a trend, despite that death has been an eternal topic as long as human beings exist. This study is based on close reading of Shakespeare's plays and all-around analysis of historical culture of early modern England, and by mainly adopting the new historicism, it focuses on exploring the social energy circulating between Shakespeare's plays and the broader society as Stephen Greenblatt[3] has

[1] The search results in Shakespeare Concordance (http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/concordance/) shows that, despite words like "deaths", "death's", "deathful", "die" and other synonyms, the exact word "death" alone occurs **918** times in **806** speeches within **42** works. Results related to memory are also phenomenal: "Memory" (**58**), "remember" (**199**), "remembrance" (**65**), "forget" (**95**), and other words such as "remembering" "forgetting" and "Lethe" also appear in some works. The frequent appearance of the words "death" and "memory" and those with similar meanings may give us a general idea of their prevalence in Shakespeare's works.

[2] The art of memory were revived and performed in Italy and spread to other countries including England before and during Elizabethan era. Giulio Camillo's memory theatre, the memory palace in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the memory palace built by Matteo Ricci in China, John Dee's mysterious library, Giordano Bruno's works on the art of memory, and Ramon Lull's involvement in performing the art, more or less show people's concern of memory. The Reformation also contributed to the increasing concern on memory. In terms of death, the frequent plagues taking place in European countries are one of the factors leading to people's concern of death.

[3] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley

claimed. The boundary between Shakespeare's works and the early modern English society was as permeable as the one between the human body and the environment. The boundaries between physiology, psychology, philosophy and religion were also not statically clear and stable.

The features of fluidity and holism in early modern culture are to some extent foreign to modern researchers who tend to locate and compartmentalize things and set boundaries between them in order to analyse and study them as individual objects. To understand Shakespeare in a way as objective as possible, however, the differences between the era he was living in and our modern time should be well considered. Despite that early modern England is like a foreign country[4] to us living in modern times, there are a lot of similarities between early modern thoughts and traditional Chinese thoughts. Therefore, to capture the social energy circulating through the permeable boundary between Shakespearean texts and early modern English culture in general and explore death and memory in Shakespeare's plays specifically, having a look at ancient Chinese thoughts and comparing them could be an illuminating way. This study, aiming to do so, would incorporate the perspective of Chinese culture and cross disciplinary boundaries, and therefore, would extend

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and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

[4] The opening sentence in the novel *The Go-Between* (London: H. Hamilton, 1953) written by Leslie Poles Hartley is "[t]he past is a foreign country: they do things differently there", which has become almost a proverb widely used in British literati, especially by scholars with interest in history or specifically in Shakespeare. For Example, David Lowenthal wrote a book named *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and Jonathan Gil Harris in his book *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009) claimed that "the past becomes a foreign country, or rather several foreign countries". The proverb is also quoted and argued by Philip Schwyzer and Sarah Grandage in different ways.

beyond one disciplinary perspective and one cultural sphere. What I would like to point out is, as this thesis focuses on Shakespeare's works, the Chinese perspective is adopted to better understand Shakespeare's works, and accordingly the comparison between Chinese culture and early modern English culture is generalized rather than historicized. In this sense, the innovation and originality of this thesis regarding the Chinese perspective could also be its boundaries and limits.

The foci of this study are the themes of death and memory in Shakespeare's plays, and as study on the time Shakespeare was living in is crucial towards understanding of his plays, and Chinese thoughts could contribute to our access to the mindset of his characters, the thesis begins with giving a general comparison between early modern European thoughts and Chinese thoughts, which would be referred to in detail when analysing Shakespearean plays in following chapters takes place.

Death and Memory in Western Culture and Chinese Culture

Confucianism and Daoism, together with Buddhism which was imported to China and became an important religion, have influenced and framed Chinese culture for over two millennia. Their views on death are also influential. When he was consulted by his disciples about his idea on death, Confucius[5] replied "We haven't known enough about life, how can we know death?"[6] While

[5] Confucius is an English translation of Kongzi 孔子 (551BC-479BC). His name also appears as Kongfuzi 孔夫子 and Kongqiu 孔丘 in some Chinese texts.

Confucius tried to eschew the issue of death by prioritizing the issue of life and directing his disciples' and other people's focus on their worldly life, the issue of death was so widely considered in early European culture that the issue of life was inseparable from it. In Christianity there is a belief in an afterlife which is conceived in the same terms as life whereas in Confucian thought the consciousness beyond death is hardly seen.

In his *Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort*, which was translated into English in 1592 by Mary Sidney, Philippe de Mornay accounted the inability to know life and death and people's conflicting attitudes towards life and death:

> we neyther knowe life,
> nor death. We feare that we ought to hope for, and wish for that
> we ought to feare. We call life a continuall death: and death
> the issue of a liuing death, and the entrance of a neuer dying
> life.

Philippe de Mornay then inquired,

> Now what good, I pray you, is there in life, that we
> should so much pursue it? or what euill is there in death, that
> we should so much eschue it? Nay what euill is there not in
> life? and what good is there not in death? [7]

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[6] All quotations in English translated from original Chinese texts are done by me unless otherwise stated. See also Legge's translation: "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" and D.C. Lau's: "You do not understand even life. How can you understand death?" See Confucius's original Chinese words "未知生，焉知死"in 《论语》(*Analects*, or *Lunyu*). Confucius. *Lunyu Xianjin*. Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan · Guoxue beilan, Shangwu yinshuguan guoji youxian gongsi chuban, 2006. 孔子：《论语·先进》, 国学经典文库系列光盘·国学备览，商务印书馆国际有限公司出版, 2006 年 5 月.

[7] Philippe Mornay, *A Discourse of Life and Death*., trans. Mary Sidney (London, 1592), A3.

In Confucius's philosophy, death is a theme which is mysterious and unknowable, so instead of spending time pondering upon things uncertain, people are advised to focus their efforts on obtaining knowledge about the real life they are living; to Philippe de Mornay who was influenced by Christian religion, however, there is no boundary between life and death. For him, life is a journey towards death and death is a port towards eternal life, so the issue of life is the issue of death and vice versa. In addition to the fusion of death and life, he also had illustrations on worldly life's miseries, corruption and emptiness.

Death's unknowability narrated by Confucius and Philippe de Mornay, and worldly life's miseries emphasized by Mornay, are also the questions Hamlet ponders upon, especially in his famous soliloquy of "To be, or not to be" (*Hamlet*, 3.1.56).[8] Death as "the undiscovered country" (3.1.79) and life as "a sea of troubles" (3.1.59)[9] puzzle Hamlet's choice and at certain point paralyze him. To completely eschew the issue of death as Confucius suggested, or to ponder too much upon death as Mornay and Hamlet did? That is a question.

Another question is, when death comes, how should the living behave? Confucius was well

[8] Some ideas and words in Shakespeare's plays are similar to those in Mornay's works which were available in English translations. For example, in his *A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, trans, Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding (London, 1587), there is contemplation on Being, Not Being and Nothingness, which are also considered in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *King Lear*: "The beeing of a Notbeeing, that is to say, a thing, that in deede is not" (*A Woorke*, 166); a man is "a thing of nought" (*A Woorke*, 157); "The king is a thing" "of nothing" (*Hamlet*, 4.2.30-32); "he maketh somewhat of nothing" (*A Woorke*, 157); "Nothing will come of nothing" (*King Lear*, 1.1.92).

[9] All the quotations from Shakespeare's works are taken from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* edited by W. J. Craig (1935).

known for his instruction to his disciples to adhere to rituals in order to control their desire and maintain proper behaviour,[10] but when he heard the news of his favourite disciple Yan Hui's[11] death, he cried with moving grief. Emotions were regarded by Confucius as natural humanity, so the expression of them itself was not regarded as a bad thing, but they should end up being framed and controlled by rituals. However, not everyone agreed with Confucius; the proponents of Daoism had quite different viewpoints on the death of human beings, even on the death of their most intimate family members: the Daoist Zhuangzi's[12] reaction to his wife's death is a typical example.

When Zhuangzi heard the death of his wife, he didn't respond with a cry as most ordinary people did; on the contrary, when other people came to condole him with his loss of wife, they unexpectedly found that Zhuangzi was expressing his happiness by singing and beating a basin. His explanation was: life and death are natural phenomena. Initially, my wife like any human being,

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[10] Confucius once said "发乎情，止乎礼义" (*Shijing*, Shidaxu: 诗经·诗大序: Aroused by *qing* and framed by rituals) and "乐而不淫，哀而不伤" (*Lunyu*, Ba Yi: 八佾: "The Master said, 'The *Guan Ju* is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of grief without being hurtfully excessive.'" 子曰：「关雎，乐而不淫，哀而不伤。」, Legge's transl.). They indicate that, emotions are human's nature, and yet they should be framed by rituals so that they will not go to excess and have negative impact on human relations or even the society. For example, mirth and love should not develop into lust and wantonness, as dirge and grief should not lead their way to distress and injury.

[11] In every Chinese name the surname is followed by the first name, which is quite different from an English name in which the first name is followed by the surname. For example, In the name of "Yan Hui", "Yan" is his family name and "Hui" is his first name. Whereas Chinese names in this thesis are formatted in the English way on most occasions, some well-known names are kept in their Chinese way, especially those names before twentieth century, as most of them have been accepted and used in their original Chinese way, including Tang Xianzu, Cao Xueqin and Feng Menglong, which will appear in following chapters.

[12] Zhuangzi（庄子）, or Zhuang Zhou（庄周）, sometimes spelled as Chuang Tzu, Chuang-tzu, Chuangtze and Chuangtse, 369BCE - 286BCE.

doesn't have any shape; gradually she has her shape, then life force, and then she dies, with her shape and life force going back to the natural world, following the four changing seasons. Since she is now resting peacefully in a bigger room, the natural world, it is unnatural for me to cry.[13]

Zhuangzi's happiness towards his wife's death and Confucius's grief to the death of one of his disciples show their different attitudes towards death, which, in a profound sense, reflect their different views on nature. Confucius focuses his doctrines on morality and ethics of human beings in an effort to create a harmonious society, where order and boundaries of human relationships are not blurred. Therefore, on the one hand, he acknowledges human nature, and on the other hand, he tries to frame them before they go to excess and do harm to the society. Zhuangzi's horizon is beyond human nature and human societies. He considers human beings as part of the natural world where every creature is equal, and therefore he regards that the birth and the death of human beings are natural phenomena.

Various attitudes to death and to nature shown by Confucius and Zhuangzi in Chinese culture, are also phenomenal in Western culture. In Shakespeare's works alone, we can see different opinions as well as similar ones. Zhuangzi's abnormal behaviour towards his wife's death might evoke some Shakespearean scholars' memory of Macbeth's indifference to his wife's death and Brutus's calmness towards the death of Portia. His transcendent and ecological ideas on nature

[13]Zhuangzi. *Zhuangzi Zhile*. Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan · Guoxue beilan, Shangwu yinshuguan guoji youxian gongsi chuban, 2006. 庄子，《庄子·至乐》，国学经典文库系列光盘·国学备览，商务印书馆国际有限公司出版, 2006 年 5 月。

could also remind others of Hamlet's and Claudius's contrary opinions on nature and natural emotions. The similarities and differences of their attitudes to death and nature will be analysed in Chapter Four.

Zhuangzi's ideas are further suggested in some of his fables and parables. As Zhuangzi's ideas on nature and his holistic thinking can in many ways shed light on the understanding of Shakespeare's plays, I will give a brief introduction of some of his fables and parables.[14] The first worth noting is Zhuangzi's dream about a butterfly which is widely known among the Chinese literati.[15] When Zhuangzi woke up from his dream, he was wondering whether he had dreamed that he was a butterfly, or a butterfly was dreaming of him. Who was the subject? Zhuangzi, or the butterfly? Which was real? The real world Zhuangzi was living in, or the dream world of the butterfly? Zhuangzi's thought that the real world he was living in could be a butterfly's dream made it difficult or even impossible to separate the real world and the dream world, subject and object.

Another parable indicating his holistic thinking is "Pao Ding Jie Niu",[16] in which a cook is so experienced at dismembering the carcass of an ox that the edge of his cleaver remains as though newly sharpened, despite having been used for nineteen years. As the cook explains, in the beginning, what he can see is the whole ox; three years later, what he sees is every part of the ox;

[14] For example, Zhuangzi's dream about a butterfly can evoke some dream worlds constructed by Shakespeare.

[15]庄周梦蝶, Zhuang Zhou Meng Die. See Zhuangzi. *Zhuangzi Qiwulun*. Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan · Guoxue beilan.

[16] 庖丁解牛, Pao Ding Jie Niu. Zhuangzi. *Zhuangzi Yangshengzhu*. Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan · Guoxue beilan.

but now, he follows the *Dao* of dissection[17] more than the skill of it; he works with his mind instead of his eyes, letting his cleaver moving freely through the gaps between flesh, sinews and bones according to their natural structure. He is well aware of every part of the ox and also he can see it as a whole. Combining analytical and holistic thinking, and following the laws of nature, Pao Ding achieves more by making less effort.

The third parable is about the importance of chaos and holism. Chaos is mainly linked with bad effects and negativity in the West while in Chinese culture on some occasions it is associated with vitality, creation and achievement,[18] as the parable implies.

> The Ruler of the Southern Ocean was called Shu, the Ruler of the Northern Ocean was named as Hu, and the Ruler of the Centre was Chaos. Shu and Hu were continually meeting in the land of Chaos, who treated them very well.
>
> So, one day, Shu and Hu consulted together how they might repay his kindness, and said, "Men all have seven orifices for the purpose of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing, while this poor Ruler alone has not one. Let us try and make them for him." Accordingly, they dug one orifice in him every day; and at the end of seven days Chaos died.[19]

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[17] *Dao* (道), also spelled as *Tao*, refers to the way of nature. This parable vividly shows *Dao*'s connection with nature and the importance of achieving benefit by following nature. As a Chinese conception, *Dao* is as important as Logos in Greek philosophy. As *Dao* is quasi linguistic, there are a variety of interpretations and correspondingly different English translations of it, including "the Way", "guiding discourse", "the nature", etc. The meanings and connotations of *Dao* will be analysed in following paragraphs.

[18] Chaos in Daoism philosophy is replete with spontaneity and potential creativity. See Bruya's "Chaos as the Inchoate" for a detailed illustration and interpretation of Chaos. It is chaos's naturalness and spontaneity that was extolled in late Ming literati and it in some sense contributed to the cult of emotion *qing*.

[19] James Legge translates the Chinese character "混沌" (Hun Dun) into "Chaos", and the story of *Chaos* is quoted from his *Texts of Taoism* – translation of 《道德经》（*Dao De Jing*）.

The creation and separation of sense organs should lead to death! The vitality of Chaos loses his life when he is dissected owing to others' good intention. On the one hand, this implies that everything and every person naturally perform in their own *Dao*, therefore changing them for good without much knowledge of their nature doesn't necessarily lead to good results; on the other hand, it could also imply that localization, stabilization and cultivation can lead to good outcomes, but they could also miss something: just like language, they are useful tools to express meanings, but they also miss some connotations when spoken out loud.

In these parables told by Zhuangzi, there is no boundary between the subject and object, death and life, reality and dream, as his philosophical pursuit is merging himself with the natural world and following *Dao* of nature. *Dao* is not a specific "thing" but a collective name given to the underlying essence, pattern or order behind the natural world. Philosophers of all schools have generally shied away from defining *Dao* directly, as is put bluntly in *Dao De Jing* [20] that *Dao* that can be told is not constant *Dao*. Constant *Dao* does not change or need to change over time or in different circumstances and it should not need rectification of names as it is inexpressible in language. The notion of a transmitted *Dao* [21] in literature was as central to Chinese thought as the notion of a proof-structured Logos[22] was to the Greeks, however, the concept of *Dao* differs from

[20] 老子，《道德经》。Laozi, *Dao De Jing*.

[21] On *Dao*, see Chad Hansen, "*Qing* (Emotions) 情 in Pre-Buddhist Chinese Thought", in *Emotions in Asian Thought*, eds. Joel Marks and Roger T. Ames (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995).

[22] Logos initially was a technical term in Greek philosophy, beginning with Heraclitus (ca. 535–475 BC), who

Western ontology. [23] It is an active and holistic conception of nature, rather than a static, atomistic one. While language in Western society can be used to access truth and Logos, language in many ways is usually used to describe and represent things and feelings in Chinese culture. Zhuangzi also has an influential idea on the relationship between words, images and meaning. He believes that, like gear adopted for fishing and a net used for catching hares, "words can be forgotten once meanings are grasped". [24]

The Holistic nature of Chinese culture is not only reflected in the concept of *Dao* but also in its focus on emotion and the heart.[25] Zhuangzi shows happiness at his wife's death because he has a

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considered it as rational principles. There are different definitions of Logos in Greek philosophy. According to Aristotle, Logos as arguments from reason is related to the speech itself and it is rhetorical. Together with Pathos (persuasion by means of emotional appeal) and Ethos (persuasion from the perspective of morality), Logos composes three modes of persuasion. In Stoic philosophy, Logos is considered as material and active reason pervading and animating the universe, usually in the form of God or Nature. The definitions of Logos in Hellenistic Judaism, Christianity, and Neoplatonism vary in many ways. It is now an important term in philosophy, psychology, rhetoric, and religion.

[23] Ontology in a general term is the philosophical study of the nature of being and the basic categories of being. It is defined in Nathaniel Bailey's dictionary（Oxford English Dictionary, 1721）as "an Account of being in the Abstract".

[24] "筌者所以在鱼，得鱼而忘筌；蹄者所以在兔，得兔而忘蹄；言者所以在意，得意而忘言。吾安得夫忘言之人而与之言哉！"《庄子·外物》"世之所贵道者书也，书不过语，语有贵也。语之所贵者意也，意有所随。意之所随者，不可以言传也"《庄子·天道》。"可以言论者，物之粗也；可以意致者，物之精也；言之所不能论，意之所不能察致者，不期精粗焉。"《庄子·秋水》。国学经典文库系列光盘·国学备览，商务印书馆国际有限公司出版, 2006 年 5 月。Here Zhuangzi's main idea is: an idea is like a fish or a hare, and words are like fishing gear or the net for catching hares, so once the idea is grasped, the words, like the tools for catching fish or hares, can be forgotten, which means words as a tool are not important anymore. He also believes that some ideas cannot be precisely expressed by words. See Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan · Guoxue beilan; see also *The complete works of Chuang Tzu*, translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 152, 302.

[25] *Dao* and Emotion *qing* were indeed associated with each other in early Chinese texts. For example, in the Guodian 郭店 *Xing Zi Ming Chu* 性自命出, a text dating from before 300 B.C, there is a key line about *qing*: "*Dao* begins in *qing*, and *qing* arises from *xing*". For more analysis, see my paper "Emotion 情 in Early Modern England and Late Imperial

holistic view of human beings and the environment, and Confucius cries at the news of his disciple's death because his emotion is natural and holistic. In a typical Chinese-English dictionary we would see two entries for "emotion", one of which is "*feeling, emotion and passion*" and the extended meanings of it cover *love, desire* and *sentiment*. The other entry is "*circumstances, facts of a situation*" and it also includes meanings like *truth* and *genuine*. *Feeling*, *emotion* and *passion* are comparatively subjective and internal while *situation* is objective and external. As Chad Hansen points out, Chinese thinkers elide the oppositions between reality and appearance, and reason and emotion. He even goes further by stating that

> Chinese views of language, mind and action do not centre on an inner subjectivity or a conception of a Mental / intellectual world populated by mental/intellectual objects set off against an external world of physical objects or matter. Nor do they make the familiar Indo-European faculty and functional distinction between cognitive and affective states. A single faculty/organ, the xin[heartmind], guides action rather than separate faculties of heart and mind.[26]

While I would say that Chinese thoughts' holistic thinking and its complexity pose some difficulty in analysing it from the perspective of Western thoughts, I am generally in agreement with Chad Hansen's view on the heart in Chinese culture. At least before the seventeenth century, when Chinese thinkers were not yet influenced by Western culture, the heart was not merely regarded as

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China", *Ming Qing Studies*, 2012, forthcoming. See also Yijie Tang et al., "Emotion in Pre-Qin Ruist Moral Theory: An Explanation of '*Dao* Begins in *Qing*' ", *Philosophy East and West* 53.2 (2003): 271-2.

[26] See Hansen, "*Qing* (Emotions) 情 in Pre-Buddhist Chinese Thought". On Chinese thoughts, see also Tang's "Emotion in Pre-Qin Ruist Moral Theory"; and Brian Bruya, "Chaos as the Inchoate: The Early Chinese Aesthetic of Spontaneity", in *Aesthetics & Chaos: Investing a Creative Complicity*, ed. Grazia Marchianò, 2002.

an organ; it was also considered as the most important part of a human being, where *emotion*, *thinking*, *reason* and *memory* take place. [27] Therefore, the heart endowed with both affective function and cognitive function is holistic, and it is both material and immaterial. The subject and the object were not separated by Chinese thinkers, especially Daoists, for whom forgetting themselves to fuse with the environment and thus be a part of nature was a transcendental achievement.

Having emphasized the crucial position the heart occupied in Chinese culture, and despite the brain's prioritized position in modern Western culture through its function of separating things according to a variety of categories and studying things from different disciplines, I would point out that, in the age of Shakespeare, psychology, physiology and religion were more fused and integrated than separated. The heart was not merely an organ, and it was also considered, like the Chinese heart, as the most important part of a human being and was believed by some people to be related to *emotion*, *thinking*, *reason* and *memory*. The main difference between them is, while the heart in Chinese thought had enjoyed and was still enjoying its great power in the seventeenth century, the heart in early modern England was sharing its power with the brain, which tended to displace it.

Therefore, the heart, in the early modern conception of human interiority, requires the fusion of mental and physical states rather than the strenuous separation of them by us moderns who are

[27] The heart's crucial place in Chinese thoughts is analysed in my article "A Flower not in Bloom: Matteo Ricci's Art of Memory in Late Ming China", Matteo Ricci Institute's bilingual journal *Chinese Cross Currents*, Macao, China, 8.1, (2011).

preoccupied with medicalizing the organ.[28] "Our habit of scholarly compartmentalization", as William W.E. Slights points out, "obscures the subtle permeability of intellectual, bodily, and spiritual life in the age of Shakespeare".[29] Other scholars, including Michael C. Schoenfeldt and Gail Kern Paster, have also noted emotional dynamics in the heart through the lens of Galenic humoral psychophysiology, which was still predominant in that great period. The language of inwardness and the heart demanded "the invasion of social and psychological realms by biological and environmental processes".[30] Therefore, just as there was no fixed division between the processes of mind and body,[31] there was none between the inner world of passions[32] and the surrounding natural world, which in many ways echoes the Chinese conception of *qing*, which combines the meanings of "*feeling, emotion and passion*" and "*circumstances, facts of a situation*". The two seemingly conflicting meanings of the Chinese conception of *qing*[33] are indeed

[28] William W.E. Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 19.

[29] Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, 4.

[30] Michael C. Schoenfeldt's *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See also Robert A. Erickson's *The Language of the Heart, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Gail Kern Paster, The *Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993).

[31] Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, 27.

[32] As most scholars have noted, Shakespeare and his contemporaries use the terms "passion" and "affection" to describe the phenomena that we now refer to as emotions. The first usage of emotion, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, is in 1562, meaning "political agitation, civil unrest". Accordingly, passions and emotions in this thesis, if not specified, are in most cases interchangeable.

[33] The meanings of *qing* have evolved as well, so in different contexts it is translated to different words, such as "love",

harmoniously combined. In this sense, *qing*'s meaning could be comprehended more easily by an early modern English person than a modern Chinese person.[34]

Shakespeare's Chinese contemporary Tang Xianzu (1550-1616) has been considered as an eastern Shakespeare. Living and writing plays in late Ming Dynasty when the cult of *qing*[35] was fashioned, he treasured more about emotions. In his drama *Mudan Ting*, which is translated as *The Peony Pavilion*, he writes:

> 情不知所起，一往而深，生者可以死，死可以生。
> 生而不可与死，死而不可复生者，皆非情之至也。
> Emotion is of source unknown, yet it grows ever deeper.
> The quick may die of it while the dead comes back to life for it.
> Emotion is not emotion at its fullest if the quick is unwilling to die for it,
> or if it fails to restore the dead to life.[36]

"feelings", "affection", "romantic sentiments", "desires", etc. Whereas it was regarded by some people as negative, especially in Han Dynasty, it was generally considered as natural and positive if it was framed and controlled by rituals and morals. As *Li* (Principle) prevailed in late Ming Dynasty and *qing* was in a state of repression, there arose the cult of *qing* which prioritized *qing* over *li*. Whenever *qing* does not appear together with emotions in the thesis, emotions generally refer to emotions and *qing*.

[34] It is worth noting that, human emotions in early modern England were connected to the environment from the perspective of psychophysiology, which considered that fours elements, four humours and spirits were universal; *qing* in late Ming Dynasty was associated with nature, and it was generally regarded as positive. Reason was the antithesis of emotions while *Li* was the antithesis of *qing*.

[35] For works on the cult of *qing* see Tina Lu, "The Literary Culture of the Late Ming (1573-1644)", in *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature,* eds. Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 86; see also Anthony Yu, *Rereading the Stone: Desire and the Making of Fiction in "Dream of the Red Chamber"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Martin W. Huang, "Sentiments of Desire: Thoughts on the Cult of *Qing* in Ming-Qing Literature", *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 20 (1998): 153-184; Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Stories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); and Pi-ching Hsu, *Celebrating the Emotional Self: Feng Meng-Lung and Late Ming Ethics and Aesthetics* (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1994).

Emotion such as love was considered by Tang Xianzu as natural human essence, just like spring light and spring flowers blooming in spring. The protagonist Du Liniang's emotion of love is evoked by the natural spring flower, and her melancholy is caused by her view of the beautiful flowers ignored and wasted in a deserted garden. Her emotion would not be aroused without the environment. Although emotions were not held in such high regard in early modern England as in late Ming China, they were given much attention by Shakespeare and his contemporaries to a greater extent than scholars have recognized.

Emotion was generally associated with perturbation of the mind and it was even considered by the Stoics[37] and Marandé as diseases[38] and by Bullein as "infernal plagues" to the mind,[39] and therefore the control of emotion by reason is a "fundamental ethical-psychological ideal"[40] in the

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[36] This is my translation from the text of Tang Xianzu's *The Peony Pavilion* (see Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan · Guoxue beilan) with reference to Cyril Birch's translation.

[37] Seneca said: "the passions too are uncontrolled, since one slides from the passions to the diseases. Next, if you grant any authority to sadness, fear, desire, and the other wicked motions, then they will not be in our power". Passions were considered as diseases and wicked motions. See *Seneca: Selected Philosophical Letters*, trans. Brad Inwood (Oxford: Oxford University, 2007), 42.

[38] "Passions are to the minde, as diseases to the body; and as the body is reputed sicke, if any part or member thereof be afflicted, or pained, so the soule ca~not be said to be healthfull and sound, as long as she feeles the distemper of any passions". See Léonard de Marandé, *The Iudgment of Humane Actions* (London, 1629), 186.

[39] Hansen points out that like most Greeks "Plato's Socrates, as Nietzsche notes, welcomes death as a liberation from the bodily induced emotions – perturbations of reason" despite the fact that the Greeks "had a healthy" acceptance of the body and love. See Hansen, "*Qing* (Emotions) 情 in Pre-Buddhist Chinese Thought", 186.

[40] Richard Strier, "Against the Rule of Reason: Praise of Passion from Petrarch to Luther to Shakespeare to Herbert", in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 23.

whole Western tradition. Despite such negative image of emotion, there is another strand in the tradition, namely, "the praise of passion",[41] which is to some extent obscured and ignored. The Aristotelian tradition, in which the heart is given a vital place, also preserves a place for emotion, and the emotion shown in the behaviour of Jesus and biblical texts is part of the "emotion tradition", if it is a proper name. As Richard Strier has recognized, "The Psalms are an important case in point, as is the behaviour of Jesus and the apostles in the gospels, and the passions of St. Paul in his letters. None of this is sufficiently widely recognized".[42] The Psalms, full of emotional complaints and rebukes of God, were easily accessible in almost every European vernacular with the help of a growing number of printing presses in early modern Europe. Jesus also wept over his follower Lazarus and cried for Jerusalem[43] as Confucius did for the death of his disciple Yan Hui. Emotion as basic humanity is shown in sage Confucius's heart and God Jesus's heart. In the light of emotion and anti-stoicism, an ideal stoic is presented as one denying emotion, and in Augustinianism, such a man is "monstrous" and inhuman.[44] In Coluccio Salutati's[45] mind, such a person "would show himself not a man but a tree trunk, a useless piece of wood, a hard rock and obdurate stone".[46]

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] John 11:35; Luke 19:41.

[44] On Augustine's influence on humanist and Reformation writers, see Jennifer C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 14.

[45]Coluccio Salutati was Chancellor of the Florentine republic from 1375 to 1406. He used his position to promote humanist value among the educated patricians of the city.

[46] Coluccio Salutati's "Letter to Peregrino Zambeccari", trans. Ronald G. Witt, quoted in *The Earthly Republic: Italian*

The importance of emotions has been given more and more attention by an increasing number of critics in recent decades.[47] Although after the Reformation, the rapid development of science and economics was encroaching on the territory of religion, and brain-based rationality was gradually overtaking heart-centred emotion, the heart still continued to have immense significance. The heart, which was in charge of emotions, appeared in early modern plays and poems as a book, furnace, fountain, castle, king, window, treasure house and other metaphors, far more than other internal organs such as the liver and spleen.[48] The brain was secular, physical and functional, while the heart was sacred, physical and spiritual. On the one hand, as medical anatomy, printing, cartography, and economy were developing, the brain tended to control the microcosm and the macrocosm by objectifying and externalizing subjects, itemizing and quantifying objects; on the other hand, the subjects resisted being objectified and dehumanized by turning to the depth of the

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Humanists on Government and Society, eds. Benjamin G. Kohl, Ronald G. Witt and Elizabeth B. Welles (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978). Erasmus also critiqued Stoicism as inhuman.

[47] Richard Strier, Michael Schoenfeldt, Zirka Z. Filipczak, John Staines, Gail Kern Paster, Mary Floyd- Wilson, Bruce Smith, Katherine Rowe, Gary Tomlinson, Victoria Kahn, Douglas Trevor, Jane Tylus and Timothy Hampton all have enlightening discussions on emotion from a variety of perspectives in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, eds. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Other critics on emotion include Zoltán Kövecses, Barbara H Rosenwein, Anna Wierzbicka. On emotions in other cultures, see *Emotions in Asian Thought*, eds. Joel Marks and Roger T. Ames. The paradoxical relationship between economics and feelings indicated by the English riots in 2011 and the "happiness index" planned by the UK government suggest the necessity of care for emotion. Recent conferences in the UK such as "Thinking Feeling: Critical Theory, Culture, Feeling" and "Shakespeare Inside-out: Depth, Surface, Meaning", as well as a variety of international research projects on emotion and centres for emotion probably show people's increasing interests in emotion.

[48] For more information on metaphors of the heart, see *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster et al., and Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*.

interior world, especially the heart's emotional world. Whilst people influenced by Stoicism tried to eliminate from them "all emotional perturbations as if they were diseases"[49] or sins, Luther loved the naked emotionality[50] in the Psalms and Calvin claimed he had similar experience of internal affections. [51] Humanists like Erasmus also had anti-stoical opinions.[52] Therefore, it is clear that denial of emotion and defences of emotion coexisted in early modern England.

It is worth emphasizing that, with the revival of stoicism and anti-stoicism, both the brain-based rationality and heart-centred emotion existed[53] in early modern England – Not only because the tension between them is reflected in most of Shakespeare's plays, especially in *King Lear* and *Hamlet* which will be expounded in detail and depth in other chapters, but also because emotion and reason are associated with the crisis and anxiety of death and memory in early modern England.

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[49] On the metaphor of emotions as diseases, see Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, N.J.; Chichester: Princeton University, 1994), 1-4, 13.

[50] See Martin Luther's Preface to the Psalms in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 37-41.

[51] John Calvin, "The Author's Preface" to *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, trans. Rev. James Anderson (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845-49).

[52] See his *Praise of Folly*, in which he cites Virgil and exclaims, "Who would not flee in horror from such a man, as he would from a monster ... a man who is completely deaf to all human sentiment ... no more moved by love or pity than 'a chunk of flint.'" Cited in Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion*, 14.

[53] Thomas Wright's analysis on the heart and the brain could show the importance of the heart in Shakespeare's age. For recent commentaries on the brain and the heart, see Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Scott Manning Stevens, "Sacred Heart and Secular Brain", in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1977); and Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*.

Crisis and Anxiety of Death and Memory in Early Modern England

Death and memory – like the atmosphere pervading Shakespeare's tragedies with memory also prevalent in his comedies, history plays and sonnets – are closely related to the context of Shakespeare's era. Shakespeare's texts are sites of negotiation between the past, the present and the future and also, of various social energies, among which is the cultural crisis provoked by the plague. From the outbreak of the Black Death in 1347, Michael Neill notes, European society had suffered the recurrent epidemics of plague, and in England alone the outbreak of plague in 1603 killed 30,000 Londoners. "No other single phenomenon had a more decisive effect than the plague in shaping the early modern crisis of death".[54] Plague's cruelty and blindness can be glimpsed from plague pamphlets written by Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton.[55] Michael Bristol described Dekker's portrayal of plague in *The Wonderful Year* as "a kind of grim and terrifying Carnival, a seriocomic transformation of …everyday existence", [56] in which "dirge in marriage" (*Hamlet*, 1.2.12) and "mirth in funeral" (1.2.12), as Claudius in *Hamlet* considers, indistinguishably coexisted. Plague, leading to death and mass burial in plague pits, was universally presented as a

[54] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15.

[55] A vivid description and analysis of plague can be seen in Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare* (London, 1603). Plague's impressive impact on early modern society is explored in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, eds. Rebecca Carol and Ernest B. Gilman (New York and London: Routledge, 2011). In this collection, Charles Whitney's article "Dekker's and Middleton's Plague Pamphlets as Environmental Literature"is particularly noteworthy in terms of the permeable boundary between human beings and the environment.

[56] Michael D Bristol, *Carnival and Theatre: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 193, 195.

process of undifferentiation and thus a cancellation and annihilation of personal identity, causing anxiety.[57] In addition to this, the permanently unstable dynamics[58] caused by unpredictable and uncontrollable plague which functioned as a metaphor of social fragmentation and instability[59] provoked more anxiety.

In such situations, religious and philosophical instructions, in pointing out the miseries of life and peace of death, helped to relieve people's anxiety towards death. The early modern, convivial awareness that life was being-toward-death discourse also contributed to conquering fear when people confronted death. The idea that human life as "quintessence of dust" (2.2.328-329) originates from dust and ends going back to dust by dusty death is, from one passive point of view, a debasement of human life, but from a positive point of view, it could be the equalization of all living beings in the natural world, which parallels Zhuangzi's philosophy as expounded earlier.[60]

The anxiety produced by plague was further strengthened by the Reformation. Before the Reformation, Purgatory and intercessory systems and Catholic rituals were the link between the dead and the living, but after the Reformation and Edward VI's abolition of Purgatory, "the dead

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[57] René Girard, "The Plague in Literature," in *To Double Business Bound: Essays on Literature, Mimesis, and Anthropology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 136-54.

[58] Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 355.

[59] Thomas Dekker, *Lantern and Candlelight: 1608*, ed. Viviana Comensoli (Toronto, Ont.: Victoria University, 2007), 26.

[60] The viewpoint that a human being lives a life being-toward-death like any living beings in the natural world parallels recent developments in philosophy relevant to ecological issues.

were forcibly alienated from the community of the living"[61] and the only link between the dead and the living relied on memory. So anxiety about death resorted to stability of memory but the fickleness of memory deteriorated the anxiety. On the one hand, the fleeting memory of the living worried the dead and darkened the expectation of those people who pondered upon their future death. Thomas More's poor souls, fearing the dull forgetfulness of the living, disrupted the corrupt ease of the world with horrifying tales of sufferings and cried out to be remembered.[62] Ghosts in Renaissance tragedies often leaped out of graves and cried for revenge and remembrance. On the other hand, the wish of being remembered from the dead caused too much burden of remembrance and even trauma for the living, as in the cases of Hamlet in *Hamlet*, Vindice in *The Revenger's Tragedy* and Charlemont in *The Atheist's Tragedy*, who, as agents of remembrances upon which a restored social order is to depend, are disabled by haunting ghosts and the insistent presence of the past and cease to be social men by losing or forgetting themselves.[63] Hamlet's paradoxical suffering of both excessive memory and lethargy is recognized by Stephen Greenblatt who, in *Hamlet in Purgatory*, points out that "Shakespeare weirdly and unexpectedly conjoins memory as haunting

[61] J.S.W. Helt, "Women, Memory and Will-Making in Elizabethan England," *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 188-205, esp. 194.

[62]See Thomas more's *Supplication of Souls*. It is also emphasized by Stephen Greenblatt in his *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 249.

[63] Thomas Rist, *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

with its opposite, the fading of remembrance".[64]

This anxiety is also expounded by Michael Neill's inspiring and magisterial *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* which illustrates memories as well as death's different appearances in different stages.[65] In Protestant societies, the decaying, dissolving and fleeting memory of the living and the effectual displacement of the memory of the dead by the memory of the living, like old dead bones being displaced by new corpses in graves, composed the atmosphere of decline and displacement. The displacement of corpses in plague pits caused by plague and the displacement of memory caused by the Reformation caused new anxiety of death and memory.

The Reformation also diverted people's attention from external ceremony to internal self-scrutiny and analysis. Under the gaze of internal inspection, the layers of the interior spiritual world were unfolded and became fragmented. What were shown were corruption and sin. As John Calvin stated in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, human bodies tend ultimately toward corruption, and "the heart of man is full of tumult, drawn asunder, and, as it were, scattered about in fragments, until God has gathered it to himself". [66] The sense of fragmentation and disintegration was aggravated by prevalent practices of anatomy of the microcosmic human world and the macrocosmic world. Medical anatomy of the human body

[64] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 218.

[65] Neill, *Issues of Death*, 245.

[66] Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 3:388.

practised in sixteenth-century Europe by highly trained anatomists like Vesalius in Padua, Berengario in Bologna, and Banister in London, opened the mysterious world to view, and although God's perfect design of human bodies was admitted and admired, the inner corruption of the body, instead of its divinity and mystery, caused disappointment and made the world empty and devalued.

The ultimate result of anatomy was not immanent meaning or secret but death shown by fragmented body parts. Not only was the divine heart scattered in the eye of the soul-prober Calvin and the human body fragmented in John Davies of Hereford's *Microcosmos: The Discovery of the Little World, with the Government Thereof*,[67] but also the whole world was dissected by Fletcher in his *The Purple Island*.[68] Both anatomists and cartographers used science to pursue their dissection. On the one hand, they were excited as they were able to access the microcosm and the macrocosm with accumulated knowledge, and on the other hand, the meaning and value attached to the unity and integrity of both worlds became lost and empty. The emerging commodity economy which measured and sold men and women like objects in a merchant's shop also contributed to the feeling of fragmentation and crisis of meaning, which were reflected in works written by John Donne, Francis Bacon, John Milton and Christopher Marlowe as well as William Shakespeare.

The sense of fragmentation is pervasive in *Hamlet*. It is remarked by Walter Benjamin as a

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[67] John Davies, *Microcosmos the Discovery of the Little World, with the Government Thereof* (London, 1603), 54.

[68] In his *The Purple Island* (1633), Phineas Fletcher (1582 - 1650) describes the anatomy of the human body in allegorical terms. The human body is dissected like an island. Its veins and arteries are compared to purple rivers flowing through the chief cities of Liver, Heart and Braine.

kind of *Trauerspiel*[69]– a baroque mourning play, which is saturated with allegorical fragments resisting organic unity and signifying objects empty of intrinsic meaning. Hugh Grady has also noticed the pervasiveness of fragmentation in *Hamlet*. In his book *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*, he argues that, *Hamlet* is "an aesthetic space of fragmented allegories" related to the issue of death and the sense of decay. This decay is embodied by the separation of subject and object. By this separation, the organic unitary world[70] is conceptualized as "a fragmented, objectified, alien realm indifferent or hostile to a separate human subjectivity which was accordingly immersed in a crisis of meaning and self-definition".[71]

Also from the perspective of aesthetics, William E. Engel uses "Aesthetic of Decline"[72] to bring together his "aesthetic of anamnesis"[73] and Michael Neill's notion of "aesthetic of death".[74] Engel's two books *Death and Drama in Renaissance England: Shades of Memory* and *Mapping Mortality: The persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England* are significant works on death and memory. His notion of "Aesthetic of Decline" which shares similar meanings

[69] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: New Left Books, 1977). Although his book was methodologically influenced by Carl Schmitt, their viewpoints were different regarding the relationship between *Hamlet* and German tragic drama.

[70] Based on Hamlet's complain that "The time is out of joint", Jacques Derrida, Homi Bhabha and Philip Schwyzer also see fragmentariness of time in *Hamlet*. In *Macbeth*, time is also fragmented.

[71] Hugh Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[72] William E. Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England: Shades of Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8.

[73] William E. Engel, *Mapping Mortality: The Persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 12, 112-121, 195-202.

[74] Neill, *Issues of Death*, 356,363.

with "The Idea of Decay" named by other scholars,[75] permeated in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, in the form of melancholy.[76] Like a cosmic spirit, melancholy took shape in the melancholy mind, the melancholy body, the melancholy environment[77] and the melancholy world[78] and even the melancholy view of history.[79]

This sense of decay, decline, melancholy and the fragmentary state of the world, explored by Neill, Engel, Grady, Guibbory and other scholars, permeated the macrocosmic world as well as the microcosmic world in not only Shakespearean plays, but also those of his peers', including John Donne,[80] Christopher Marlowe, Sir Walter Ralegh[81] and Francis Bacon, among whom John Donne's sense of decay is the most obvious. In his *The First Anniversary: An Anatomy of the World*, Donne

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[75] Achsah Guibbory, *The Map of Time: Seventeenth- Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 69.

[76] On Melancholy, see Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (1951), reprinted (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1965), and *Sanity in Bedlam: A Study of Robert Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy"* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959); George Williamson, "Mutability, Decay, and Jacobean Melancholy" (1935), reprinted in *Seventeenth Century Contexts* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960); and Bridget Gellert Lyons, *Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971).

[77] Gail Kern Paster, *Humouring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[78] Viceroy says, "I, I, this earth, Image of mellancholly", in Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie* (London, 1592).

[79] See Engel, *Death and Drama*, 5; Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*, 151. Howard Caygill, "Walter Benjamin's Concept of Cultural History", in *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. David S. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 88.

[80] On John Donne's idea of decay please see his sermons and Achsah Guibbory's detailed interpretation in his *The Map of Time: Seventeenth- Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[81] Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: Macmillan, 1971).

says “The noblest part, man, felt it first; and than/ Both beasts and plants, curst in the curse of man./ So did the world from the first houre decay”. [82]

The issue of death and the issue of memory indicated by the sense of decline, melancholy and the fragmentary state of the world, I would argue, are closely associated with fluid and loci, and the heart and the brain, and emotion and reason. They are interactive in a dynamic way. The complexity of memory as a theme in Shakespeare’s plays is often expressed in the tension between fluid and loci. This introductory chapter will investigate the integrated relationship between the mind and the body in Elizabethan era which affected or shaped their understanding of memory. I will gradually bring out criticism of different perspectives related to my focus: fluid and loci, heart and brain, emotion and reason, memory and death, generally in early modern England and specifically in Shakespeare’s plays. In Chapter Two the focus is on fluidity and loci regarding death and memory in early modern English culture; from Chapter Three investigation will concentrate on Shakespeare’s plays. A Chinese perspective is adopted wherever it can shed light on my argument and interpretation.

Locative Memory and the Brain

In recent decades, memory has become a crucial theme for early modern studies. Critics pursue their studies from different angles, including the art of memory, material memories, memory traces,

[82] John Donne, *The first Anniuersarie An Anatomie of the World* (London, 1612).

metaphors of memory, memory and forgetting, psychology of memory, psychophysiology of memory, memory and theatre, memory and performance, change of memories after the Reformation, etc.[83] Generally speaking, this study argues, they can be categorized into two groups in the early modern period: loci and fluid.

In terms of loci, I refer to faculty psychology and the art of memory, each of which associates memory with loci. Early modern psychology, as Katharine Park points out, was based "on a clear localization of psychological function by organs or systems of organs".[84] According to faculty theory, the location of memory is in the hinder cell[85] of the brain.[86] Rational soul dwells in the brain and its functions are mediated by animal spirits whose movement can be stopped or allowed by humours. In terms of faculty theory, there have been varied views on processes of perception and classification of internal faculties.[87] Whether faculties are enumerated as

[83] Frances A. Yates, Mary J. Carruthers and Lina Bolzoni have made great contributions to the study of the art of memory; John Sutton and Gail Kern Paster have offered insightful viewpoints on the psychophysiology of memory; Jonathan Gil Harris and Peter Stallybrass explore material memories by tracing the historical life of objects. William E. Engel, Evelyn B. Tribble and Lina Perkins Wilder also provide an inspiring analysis on memory in Shakespeare's plays. Details of their studies and memory studies by other scholars will be given in the appropriate sections.

[84] Park, Katharine, "Psychology: The organic soul", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). 169.

[85] Cell, ventricle and worm were interchangeably used to refer to the locus of memory.

[86] That memory is located in the brain was clearly mentioned by Edmund Spenser and Matteo Ricci among other early modern thinkers, although the heart was also believed by some people as a crucial site of memory.

[87] On internal faculties see Ruth L Anderson, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays* (Lowa City: University of Iowa Humanities Studies, 1927); and Daniel C Boughner, "The Psychology of Memory in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*", *Modern Language Association*, Vol. 47, No. 1, Mar., 1932. 89-96

imagination, reason and memory, or as some people claim, memory, reason and will,[88] memory is definitely one of them, however. The first usage of "loci" found in *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* appeared in Thomas Elyot's *The boke name the Gouernour* in 1531. In "Hauyng almoste all the places, wherof they shall fetche their raisons, called of Oratours loci communes, which I omitte to name" [89], "loci communes" is a commonplace memorized and stored for arguments and discourses. A commonplace book storing sentential words and phrases culled from earlier texts was widely used in early modern society as a memory aid.[90] The art of memory undoubtedly puts great emphasis on loci. Loci, together with images and order, compose the art of memory.

The art of memory, which is also called artificial memory or mnemonic arts, was widely adopted in ancient times as a rhetorical device, and is explored by Frances A. Yates's widely quoted and seminal book *The Art of Memory*[91]and Mary J. Carruthers's *Book of Memory: A Study in Medieval Culture.*[92] It is known to us through three Roman sources: Cicero, the anonymous work

[88] In Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the faculties in three compartments of the brain are imagination, judgment and memory while John Donne regards them as understanding, memory and will. See John Donne, *XXVI Sermons* (London, 1661), 271.

[89] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Name the Gouernour*, 1st Edition, 1531 (1 vol.).

[90] See Peter Stallybrass, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.4 (2004): 379-419; Heidi Brayman Hackle, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) and Lewis's "Hamlet, Metaphor, and Memory", *Studies in Philosophy*, 109 (2012), forthcoming..

[91] Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

[92] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Ad C. Herennium libri IV, and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. The Greek orator Simonides of Ceos (556-468 B.C.) is widely considered as the inventor of the art of memory. In Cicero's *De Oratore*, Antonius narrates the story of Simonides's discovery of the principles of the mnemonic technique of placing images in an orderly set of architectural backgrounds (*loci*) in his memory. One day when Simonides had just left a banquet hall the roof collapsed on it, killing all who were present in the hall. Nobody could be identified without Simonides as he was able to reconstruct the guest list by recalling the location of each person's seat. Therefore, the art of memory consisting of images, order and location was naturally invented and has developed since then.[93]

According to this art, things and ideas to be remembered can be attached to images by association and imagination. For impressive effect, the images should be lively and striking. Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci's *Mnemonic Arts*, written in Chinese in 1596,[94] gave detailed descriptions of the rules of images. The images should be extremely beautiful or ugly, or laughable, or distinguishable, and they should be decorated; abnormal ones such as a person with three heads and six arms or a dragon with nine tails would produce an even better effect. The images should also be arranged clearly and orderly in different places for recollection. Unclear images and disorder would cause confusion and thus crisis of memory. The choice of place is also crucial. Jonathan D. Spenser in *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* has given us a detailed description of Ricci's art of memory

[93] Ibid., 25.

[94] Matteo Ricci, *Mnemonic Arts.*利玛窦，《西国记法》.The rules have been translated or paraphrased by me unless otherwise indicated.

regarding principles of loci. The buildings "should be spacious, but not so crowded with images that a single one gets lost: a magistrate's yamen, a busy market, or a school jammed with students would all be unsuitable. The light must be clear and even, though not bright enough to dazzle".[95] Although the loci are imagined spaces, they are described as if they are real loci. The loci need to be taken good care of and they should be in a clean and dry condition to keep the images from being streaked with rain or other liquid. "They should be at floor level or just above, not balanced on a beam or perched on the roof, which would make them inaccessible. The mental eye should be able to roam completely from one image to the next"[96] and what's also important is that they should be firmly planted. Displacement of images is dangerous to memory as they may make displaced images inaccessible during recollection.[97]

Recent years have witnessed a lot of studies on medieval and Renaissance art of memory.[98] Carruthers's *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* illustrates the processes of memory and the art of memory performed by Hugh of St. Victor, and memory, authority and

[95] Jonathan D. Spenser, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricc*i (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 26.

[96] Spenser, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricc*i, 26.

[97] The process of recollection of images in order in specified loci is as important as imprinting them.

[98] Other works on memory include: *Shakespeare, Memory and Performance*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); David Farrell Krell, *Of Memory, Reminiscence, and Writing: On the Verge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: the Quest for a Universal Language*, trans. Stephen Clucas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: a Sense of Place*(London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Anita Gilman Sherman, *Skepticism and Memory inShakespeare and Donne* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Derek Cohen, *Searching Shakespeare: Studies in Culture and Authority* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

ethics are also expounded by her. Janet Coleman's *Ancient and Medieval Memories,* and Lina Bolzoni's *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*,[99] also investigate mnemotechnics from different aspects. Besides *The Art of Memory* Yates's other works including *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* and *Theatre of the World* also have thought-provoking insights on the art of memory in the early modern period and beyond. According to her viewpoint, among Renaissance thinkers on mnemotechnics, no figure makes greater claims for memory than Giordano Bruno. In fact, beyond mnemotechnics, Bruno combined Neoplatonism, Renaissance magic, Copernican science, and Petrarchan conceits. What interests me is that it is entirely possible that Bruno, who visited Oxford and influenced many Elizabethan playwrights including Robert Greene and Philip Sidney indirectly, if not directly, influenced Shakespeare.[100]

Whether or not we believe Shakespeare uses the art of memory, many scholars do use the theory of the art of memory to interpret some of his plays. Engel is among them and his

[99] Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[100] Hilary Gatti in *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge — Giordano Bruno in England* (London: Routledge, 1989) compares the thoughts of Giordano Bruno and Shakespeare's Hamlet in terms of their interiority in a world needing to be renovated, and he also assumes Shakespeare's knowledge of Giordano Bruno's *Ars reminiscendi* based on historical possibility. Shakespeare's contemporaries such as Edmund Spenser and William Fowler (1560-1612) were also well aware of the art of memory. Others include Robert Albott, Robert Anton, Rancis Bacon, Robert Burton and Guglielmo Gratarolo. See: Robert Albott, *Wits Theatre of the Little World* (London, 1599), 60, 155; Robert Anton, *The Philosophers Satyrs* (London, 1616), 30; Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum: or a Naturall Historie* (London, 1627), 256; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1621), 355 and Guglielmo Gratarolo, *The Castel of Memorie*, trans. William Fulwood (London, 1562).

interpretation is thought-provoking. Comparing "engrams" to images in the art of memory, he imagines a charmed space where mnemonic energy preserved in the symbols/emblems of a culture is discharged by "engrams". Dumb shows in English tragedies are such "engrams".[101] As he says:

> Thus the staging of fatal dumb shows brings together the practical applications of the Memory Arts and the vast repository of images charged with emblematic significance. English tragic dramas evoked, and themselves became, melancholy Memory Theatres.[102]

Whereas Engel uses "charmed space" as a locus for mnemonic energy to circulate, Evelyn B. Tribble[103] invents an ecological term "remembrance environment",[104] which is later illustrated and adopted by Lina Perkins Wilder in her book *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character*.[105] In this book Wilder explores memory closely associated with theatrical performance and "the materials of memory"[106] and to some extent focuses on

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[101] For the relationship between dumb shows and emblems, see also Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (New York: Octagon Press, 1978); and Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show: The History of a Dramatic Convention* (London: Methuen, 1965).

[102] Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England*, 53.

[103] Evelyn B. Tribble, "'The Dark Backward and Abysm of Time': *The Tempest* and Memory", College Literature 33.1 (2006): 153-55.

"Distributing Cognition in the Globe", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.2 (2005): 135-55.

[104] While "charmed space" reminds me of Prospero's art in *The Tempest* and the confinement it causes, "remembrance environment" elicits the graveyard scene where Hamlet's memory and thoughts dilate, and the boundary of time is fluid.

[105] Lina Perkins Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[106] Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2, 4.

recollection.[107] She also discusses the unwilled memory traces caused by animal spirits and humours and the disciplinary power of the art of memory. "Unwilled recollection" frequently mentioned by Wilder, and similar phrases like "unbidden memories" and "peremptory traces" emphasized by scholars including Sullivan[108], imply memory's fluidity and uncontrollability.

Given the Renaissance obsession with memory, Wilder, like Sutton, Sullivan and Tribble, realizes the overemphasis on the prescriptive order of the memory arts in studies of early modern memory; however, unlike Sullivan and Tribble, she responds "not by moving away from the memory arts but by emphasizing the practical and conceptual interaction between the memory arts and the mnemonic space that is the early modern English stage". [109]

In terms of Shakespeare and his relationship with the art of memory, critics hold different views, as there are too few historical materials about Shakespeare. Critics mainly derive their views and assumptions from the context in which Shakespeare lived and the plays he wrote. Jonas Barish in his work on remembering and forgetting in Shakespearean plays suggests that:

> Shakespeare shows no interest in pigeonholing [memory] or classifying it as a separable psychological datum, nor does he show any curiosity about the so-called artes memorative, that weird mélange of mnemotechnics and occultism that dazzled so many Renaissance philosophers and scientists. He is, however, keenly interested in the dynamics of memory, in how it weaves itself into

[107] For a review of her book, see my book review in *Ex Historia* 2012.

[108] Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 30, 39. Sullivan uses "peremptory traces" to refer to those memories Augustine is unable to control.

[109] Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre*, 13.

the intimate texture of our lives.[110]

Sullivan agrees with most of Barish's assumption "except that *all* early modern arts of memory had an occult component, and that Shakespeare had *no* interest in memory as 'a separable psychological datum'". [111] In his stimulating book *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster*, Sullivan, examining humour physiology, faculty psychology, Ciceronian tradition, the art of memory and the Reformation, provides insightful illustrations of the meanings of memory, recollection and remembering, and the difference between forgetting and forgetfulness. Oblivion, lethargy and sleep are also within his exploration and he argues that to remember means to behave in a prescribed and restricted fashion, which is innovative and worth noting. Behaving in a prescribed way echoes Engel's argument on emblems, proverbs and exempla which are culture's collective memory. Emblems, proverbs and exempla could give direction towards action by reliving memory energy stored within.

Although a variety of conceptions and viewpoints related to memory are given by the scholars mentioned above, close examination of them makes clear their similarities and difference. Following examination and analysis, I generally put them into two categories: loci memory and fluid memory. Loci memory is interchangeable with locative memory, and fluid memory is indicative of dynamic natural memory in this study. Conceptions and phrases such as "charmed

[110] Jonas Barish, "Remembering and Forgetting in Shakespeare," in *Elizabethan Theatre: Essays in Honour of S. Schoenbaum*, eds. R. B. Parker and S. P. Zitner (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996): 214-21.

[111] Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama*,140.

space", "remembrance environment" and "mnemonic space" are mainly associated with the art of memory; "unwilled recollection", "involuntary recollection", "dilatory remembering", "wandering spirits", "mind-wandering", "peremptory traces" and "peremptory humours" which appear or are implied in their works are mainly related to the fluid memories I am going to expound. I am in full agreement with Barish that Shakespeare is "keenly interested in the dynamics of memory", but I do not think his argument that Shakespeare shows no interest in the art of memory is entirely persuasive. The art of memory is composed of three components, which are images, order and location, and its important function is to control and manipulate the contents to be remembered or being remembered, or, to put it another way, it is disciplinary power. I would rather argue that Shakespeare shows the most interest in images which, according to the rule of the art of memory, should be striking by virtue of being beautiful or ugly, etc. Vivid images in Hamlet's memory and in *Macbeth* are quite impressive and even striking. "Order" and "location" are what Shakespeare wants his characters to achieve, as disorder and dislocation cause anxiety. Disciplinary power is also what some Shakespearean characters pursue, or at least are well acquainted with. Compared with his broad interest in the dynamics of memory, however, Shakespeare's show of interest in the art of memory seems tepid. As a prominent playwright, surrounded by knowledge of the art of memory and people interested in the art of memory including Sir Philip Sidney, brother of Mary Sidney, of whose literary circle Shakespeare was a member and to whose two sons his works were dedicated,

Shakespeare is actively or passively influenced by the art of memory and to some extent this art has been woven into the intimate texture of his life. So the art of memory, intermingling with dynamical natural memory in Shakespeare's productive mind, appears as a memory of complexity. Sometimes the two memories coexist harmoniously and sometimes they conflict, with dynamical natural memory dominating on most occasions.

Fluid Memory and the Heart

As regards the art of memory and faculty psychology, the brain is considered as the place where memory occurs, while in terms of dynamic natural memory, the heart is a crucial locus. Although it is generally accepted that the brain is where memory mainly dwells and works, when we track the western tradition, we can see two modes: brain-centred tradition and heart-centred tradition, [112] which is well illustrated by Lina Bolzoni.

> There are actually two distinct traditions that often interact and influence each other. The first holds the brain to be at the centre of perception and the cognitive process, whereas the second identifies the heart as the centre of life and the different faculties of the soul (this is the position of Aristotle and the Stoics). The first tradition goes back to the Hippocratic position. It is renewed and elaborated on by Plato, to whom we also own the tripartite division of the soul: reason is assigned to the brain, while the heart is the seat of passions and the liver is the place of the faculties in control of nourishment. The tripartite model ultimately influences even those who, faithful to Aristotelian teachings, localize the soul and its principle functions in the heart.[113]

Bolzoni indicates further that the literary tradition interacts profoundly with medical and

[112] Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 151. See also my paper on Matteo Ricci's Memory.

[113] Ibid., 132.

philosophical speculation in many ways, and it proves to be more receptive to the idea that they are located in the heart. I concur with Bolzoni's illustration of the two modes of tradition, but I do not think her conviction that "[t]he first tradition[the brain-centred tradition] goes back to the Hippocratic position" is convincing. Instead, it is the heart-centred tradition that derives from the Hippocratic position. The Hippocratic treatise *De Corde* which dates from around 250 BC provides detailed pictures of the ancient Greek view of the heart. The Hippocratic heart, enveloped by a smooth membrane containing fluid in which the heart moves in a kind of protective bladder, is actually a strong muscle, containing two separate cavities, the left side of the heart being the more important chamber because it is stronger, hotter, and contains "human intelligence, the principle which rules over the rest of the soul".[114] This idea that the heart, rather than the brain, is the place of mental functioning for the writer of *De Corde* is given different form in Aristotle and Lucretius. Aristotle located sensory knowledge, memory, and imagination in the heart, and he also thought that both the brain and the heart were involved in producing memory and sensory experience, but his views became blurred in early modern discussions of the Aristotelian heart. [115] The Latin verb *recordari* which means "to recollect", according to the second-century BC grammaran Varro, is a combination of *revocare* meaning "to call back" and *cor* referring to "heart", and therefore memory

[114] *Hippocratic Writings*, ed. G.E.R.Lloyd, trans. J. Chadwick et al. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 351.

[115] See Aristotle, *On Memory*, trans. R. Sorabji (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1972). See also Robert A. Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 3-4; and Curruthers, *Book of Memory*, 59.

is closely associated with the heart.[116] The Italian word *ricordarsi* and the English phrase "learn by heart" were evolved from or at least influenced by this Latin verb. Carruthers points out that, *herte* was used in twelfth-century to refer to "memory" as recorded in *The Middle English Dictionary* and there is also "an Old English use of *heorte* to mean 'the place where thoughts occur'".[117]

Galen's view of the heart was essentially a composite of the teachings of the "Hippocratics" and Aristotle but he parted from them by placing the governing part of the soul in the brain instead of the heart. Galen reinvented the Platonic doctrine of three souls (or faculties or spirits) simultaneously governing yet serving the body. These are the rational soul, the sensitive/vital soul, and the vegetative/natural soul, seated in the brain, heart and liver respectively. The rational soul presides over rational thought and causes sensation and motion; the sensitive soul governs the emotions and provides the life force; and the vegetative controls nutrition. In a fragile, unstable and vulnerable Galenic body, blood is constantly being consumed, and "the body is always in a state of remaking itself, concocting or 'cooking' itself, with sooty vapours being given off through the skin and the mouth".[118] The Galenic heart, compared with the masculine Harveian heart[119], is attractive, dilating, feminine and receptive like a blank writing surface – a "table", a tablet or a book – waiting

[116] Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VI, 46 (LCL, vol. I, 214-5); Curruthers's *Book of Memory*, 59.

[117] Bosworth-Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v.*heorte*; Curruthers's *Book of Memory*, 59.

[118] Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600-1750*, 10.

[119] Although Harvey's discoveries post-date Shakespeare by several decades, the embryo of the ideas is evident earlier. Comparison between the Galenic heart and the Harveian heart is intended to shed light on early modern thoughts about the heart.

to be imprinted with words.[120] Erickson notes that, although Harvey's theory of circulation was generally accepted in the medical community at the time of the Restoration, the two modes of the heart and the body were widely thought to operate together in the minds of people, with the persistent Galenic model predominating through the Restoration and on into the eighteenth century.

There is a parallel with Chinese culture regarding the heart tradition associated with memory. I mentioned earlier that the heart in Chinese culture was considered as the most important part of a human being where *emotion, thinking, reason* and *memory* take place.[121] Before the late sixteenth century when Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci introduced his art of memory to Chinese literati, the heart was widely believed to be the place where memory occurred. Although in more ancient times there were a few scattered records mentioning memory in the brain, they were not treated as important. From Chinese characters we can perceive the importance of the heart's relation to memory. The word for memory in Chinese is 记忆 *jiyi*. 忆 *yi* also means "recall". The left part of 忆 *yi* is 忄 *xin* which means "heart". "To forget" is 忘 *wang*, which is also related to the heart. The upper part 亡 *wang* can mean "to die" or "no", the lower part 心 *xin* means "heart", so 忘 *wang* means "not in the heart", that is, "to forget". There are many other characters related to 心 *xin*, including thinking 思 *si*. 心 *xin* is a component of 思 *si* which means that the faculty of thought is closely related to the

[120] Human beings are also considered by many people as passive matters created and framed by God. A gentle heart rather than a stony heart is ready to be imprinted with God's words.

[121] The heart's crucial place in Chinese thoughts is analysed in my paper "A Flower not in Bloom: Matteo Ricci's Art of Memory in Late Ming China", *Chinese Cross Currents*, 8.1, (2011).

heart. Before the third century BC, philosophers including 管子 Guanzi(723 BC to 645 BC)[122], 孟子 Mengzi(372 BC to 289 BC) and 荀子 Xunzi(313 BC to 238 BC)[123], thought the heart was the king of all the organs of the senses, and also the chamber for intelligence.

The Chinese approach of memorization is a more natural process involving learning, thinking and reflection, aided by mnemonic poems and rhyming jingles, like the process of natural digestion along time rather than the artificial placing of items to be remembered in different loci.[124] It is a process happening in the heart and it is a dynamic process taking into account body movement, sound, and the environment. Digestion means that the items to be remembered gradually become part of the subject, with the object melting into the subject. Individual new memory items join the treasure of memory in the heart and melt into an integrity from which innovation originates. Memory as a process is a dynamic negotiation between different memories in the heart and the external world related to memories.

In Western culture, the executor of the art of memory does not need to interact with the

[122] 管子，《管子·心术上》，“心也者， 智之舍也”,Guanzi, *Guanzi: Xinshu shang.* Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan.

[123] 荀子， 《荀子· 解蔽》， “心生而有之”, Xunzi, *Xunzi: Jiebi.* Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan ； 《荀子· 天论》，“心居中虚，以治五官，夫是之谓天君。” *Xunxi: Tianlun*. Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan.

[124] In Latin and English texts, memory was compared to a stomach and the metaphor of digestion was also used in activities of reading, recording and memorizing. However, as shown in the phrase “per locos communes digesta” referring to rearrangement of commonplaces, digestion was mainly associated with distributing information to different loci after it was divided. Although Carruthers emphasises that the process of composition involves digestion as Bede did, it is different from the Chinese way. Digestion is involved in the whole process of memory, and there is no distinctive process like the West such as recording, disposition, composition etc. The whole process is holistic and integral.

external world. What the art performer has to do is to be an observer of his/her own brain – the extended mind is like an alien, willingly depositing items in order and recalling them in order. The items, although they are imaginatively placed in the brain, are still objects to be manipulated like real items. Even the brain is alienated as an object to be observed. Every memory object should be clearly marked in the brain and they are allocated loci to be stabilized. If we say locative memory is like the seven organ orifices in the parable told by Zhuangzi, then natural memory is Chaos. Both have advantages and disadvantages, so they cannot replace each other.

Natural memory is a general idea used to distinguish the art of memory. Different people attach different meanings to it. Cicero believes there are two kinds of memory:

> [O]ne natural, and the other the product of art. The natural memory is that memory which is embedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is that memory which is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline.[125]

In Citolini's *Tipocosmia* (1561), he wrote:

> [N]atural memory is represented as a dangerously narrow room. Knowledge risks being piled up in a disorderly fashion; it can become jumbled and even disappear. To avoid this, Citolini attempts to construct a system of artificial memory that uses the entire world as a point of reference.[126]

What I mean by natural memory is in many ways different from their definition. Natural memory

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[125] Quoted from *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, eds. Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead (Edingurgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 43. Source: [Cicero], *Ad C. Herennium De Ratione Dicendi (Rhetorica Ad Herennium)*, trans. Harry Caplan (London: William Heinemann ; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 205-25.

[126] Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 242.

has intrinsic dynamics,[127] so sometimes I call it dynamic natural memory, which implies its fluidity. It is fluid, so it tends to be disordered, inseparable and uncontrollable, and on some occasions it is associated with feeling and emotion in the heart. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Dutch Pietist poet Jan Luyken wrote the lines "One book, printed in the Heart's own wax/ is worth a thousand in the stacks". [128] Richard Greenham among other religious early moderns even regards that memory associated emotions are the best: "The best art of memorie, is to bee humbled at Gods threatning, and comforted at his promises: for sure it is, that exceeding griefes or exceeding joyes, leaue great impressions in us".[129]

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "fluid" is a general term including both *gaseous* and *liquid* substances. In this thesis "fluid" is meant to indicate fluidity whose equivalents are changeability and liquidity. A synonym of liquidity is water and therefore "liquid", "water", "vapour", "dew" and "flowing water" all refer to "fluid". Dynamic natural memory composed of fluid flows through the body and intermingles with the external environment. The characteristic of this memory in early modern England is its fluidity. Fluid, or liquid, is based on humour physiology and the theory of animal spirits prevalent in early modern England. The humours are four elemental

[127] John Sutton, "Spongy Brains and Material Memories", in *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, eds. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 26.

[128] Douwe Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory — A History of Ideas about the Mind*, trans. Paul Vincent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 38.

[129] Richard Greenham, *Propositions Containing Answer to Certain Demaunds in Divers Spirituall Matters* (Edingburgh: Robert Waldegraue, 1597).

fluids: blood, yellow bile, phlegm, black bile. Their different combinations form the four temperaments: phlegmatic, sanguine, choleric and melancholic. According to Sutton's illustration, animal spirits were distilled from the blood which flowed through hollow nerves and around the brain, leaving traces in the flexures of its fibres. Memories comprised sedimentary overlay of all experiences condensed within a single complex system, unlike independent records of specific experiences placed in distinct cells or locations.[130] From the physiological perspective, animal spirits can affect humours and vice versa, and both of them can affect the function of different faculties. If the humour is too moist and cold, such as phlegm, the function of memory will not perform well, either because the animal spirits are impeded by phlegm or because too much moisture cannot retain inscriptions on the "wax tablet" any longer. The liquid most closely related to memory exists in Lethe, which can wash away all memories. [131] Lethe is the river of forgetfulness, believed by the ancient Greeks to have the effect of making the dead who drank from it forgets their past lives. Meng Po's five-flavoured soup of forgetfulness in Chinese culture has the similar effect. After drinking it and passing the Abyss Bridge, a Buddhist place, the soul can forget everything of its past life and be reincarnated. In both cases liquid is associated with oblivion and drinking liquid leads to forgetfulness.

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[130] John Sutton, "Spongy Brains and Material Memories", 18.

[131] John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Another theory I mentioned earlier is faculty psychology, which is so closely related to humour physiology and the theory of animal spirits that many critics prefer to use psychophysiology to describe the function of memory. Paster claims that the humoral body is "characterized by corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries".[132] In this cosmology, the stuff of the outside world and the stuff of the body, according to the early modern understanding of the relation of the body to the world, derived ultimately from ancient Greek thought,[133] were composed of the same elemental materials – the forces of cold, hot, wet, and dry. Therefore, self and the immediate environment perform dynamic reciprocities imagined by the psychophysiology of bodily fluids, and humours in the body extend to circumstance and circumstance engenders humours in the body.[134]

Ancient Chinese understanding of the relationship of human beings and the world was very similar to Western humoral theory. Based on the Yin-Yang theory and the Five-Element theory, *The Yellow Emperor's Canon of Internal Medicine*, the earliest Chinese authoritative medical encyclopaedia, written before the second century BC, considers the human body and its external environment as an organic and systematic whole.[135] The Yin-Yang theory and the Five-Element

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[132] Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and The Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 8.

[133] Ruth Padel, *In and out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 88.

[134] Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 14.

[135] 《黄帝内经》, *Huangdi Neijing.* The English translation is *The Yellow Emperor's Canon of Internal Medicine.*

theory both consider the dynamic interaction within the body and between the body and its environment, the Yin-Yang theory placing more emphasis on reasons for the mobility of organisms and their connections and the Five-Element theory focusing more on dynamic relationship within an organism.[136]

Similarly to Paster's "emotionally volatile, penetrable humoral self and its reciprocal relations with its environment",[137] Sutton notes, the "nested systems of spirits" enliven the early modern cosmos – the heavens, the environment, the human body, inanimate objects—and make the cosmos above all a theatre of pneumatological interaction.[138] Psychophysiology of bodily fluids not only explains the behaviours of characters in Shakespearean plays but also defines them morally and ethically.[139] Bodily fluids can cause excessive memory and thinking and even failure of action. Melancholy is the outcome of fluid. Hamlet's melancholy, Falstaff's melancholy, animals' melancholy[140] and the earth's melancholy are all affected by fluid. Timothy Bright describes the workings of melancholy on the mind: "the instrument of discretion is depraued by these melancholick spirites, and a darknes & cloudes of melancholie vapours rising from that pudle of the

[136] Hong Jing, "Yin-yang theory & Five-element theory and *The Yellow Emperor's Canon of Internal Medicine*" *Zhouyi Yanjiu*, 2000. 景红， 阴阳五行思想与《黄帝内经》，周易研究，2000.

[137] Paster, *Humoring the Body*.

[138] Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces*, 36.

[139] Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 48-9.

[140] Falstaff says "I am as melancholy as a gib cat or a lugged bear" (*1 Henry IV*, 1.1.83) and Prince Hal also compares Falstaff's melancholy to that of "an old lion" and a "lover's lute" (*1 Henry IV*, 1.1.84). A hare and a Moor-ditch are also associated by them with melancholy.

spleen obscure the clearenes, which our spirites are indued with, and is requisite to the discretion of outward objects".[141] According to this understanding and other critics' research on melancholy, Hamlet is thinking of himself not as a precious metallic nature muddied temporarily by grief and melancholy, but worse, as nature made of mud itself.[142] Humours and fluid substances pose problems for Hamlet as a subject because peremptory humorality is beyond Hamlet's control. The peremptory memory traces, similar to peremptory humorality, also make memory difficult to tame and control, as St Augustine complained.[143]

Material Memories and Metaphors of Memories

Material memories are closely related to psychophysiological memory. In Sutton's view, material memories and symbol systems in early modern England bring humoral psychophysiology together with material culture studies.[144] Actually, the Elizabethans tended to materialize immaterial things. Long before Marx noticed that in market trade objects were transformed into subjects and subjects were turned into objects, and came up with the concepts of "reification" and "alienation",

[141] Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie* (London, 1586), 102.

[142] Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), 290. Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951), esp. 104-10.

[143] Augustine, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*. "Peremptory memory traces" is used by Sullivan to refer to the unwanted memories which rush out to Augustine's mind.

[144] John Sutton, "Spongy Brains and Material Memories", 14.

materialization and objectification were already a mould for thought in early modern period. As J. B. Bamborough suggests, "many Elizabethans had difficulty in thinking of an immaterial substance".[145] Invisible "spirits" were thought of as corporeal, coursing through the body;[146] even Hamlet's language, as Margaret W. Ferguson points out, "produces a curious effect of materializing the word, materializing it in a way that forces us to question the distinction between literal and figurative meanings".[147] Psychological memory was also materialized as psychophysiological traces. Psychophysiological memory traces in an individual body are also called "engrams". "Exograms" within external symbol systems complement the distributed, context-ridden engrams of the humoral body. Engel and Sutton also talk about "engrams", but whereas Sutton's "engrams" are memory traces in dynamic memories, Engel's "engrams" are related to the art of memory. With regard to visual images in the art of memory, Engel argues that, like engrams, they invoke charmed space, which materially and mimetically remains contained within but metaphysically and allegorically reaches beyond the contours of the main spectacles.[148] Sutton also expounds the art of memory, but he does not compare images to "engrams"; instead he uses the "artificial internalized exogram" to refer to images.[149] Engel's charmed space, like the remembrance environment, is not the same as

[145] J.B. Bamborough, *The Little World of Man* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), 30.

[146] Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdome*, tr. Lennard (London, 1670), 23-4.

[147] Margaret W. Ferguson, "Hamlet: letters and spirits", in *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's Hamlet*, ed. David Scott Kastan,1995, 139.

[148] Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England: Shades of Memory*.

[149] John Sutton, "Spongy Brains and Material Memories", 27.

Sutton's and Paster's external environment or ecology where psychophysiological spirits extend to the external world in a literal sense rather than in a metaphorical sense.

Memory is also ascribed to material objects such as clothes, memorials and writing. Jonathan Gil Harris complains of the synchronic bias of the new object-oriented early modern scholarship and places stress on the diachronic trajectories of lives of things – the cultural biography of things. By tracing the "cultural biography" of things with Appadurai and Kopytoff's approach[150] to objects, scholars can "read social and cultural transformation into the otherwise synchronic terrain of early modern material culture".[151] Harris's article "Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture" is a trajectory of the life of "a single, auburn hair, short and slightly curly", "Shakespeare's hair".[152]

Peter Stallybrass, usually in collaboration with Ann Rosalind Jones, using a Kopytoff-style biographical approach,[153] also focuses his interest on the anachronic traces of the past within the object. Stallybrass and Jones in a series of works on textiles such as *Renaissance Clothing and*

[150] Appadurai, *Introduction*. Kopytoff, *The Cultural Biography of Things*.

[151] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 9.

[152] Jonathan Gil Harris, "Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 2001, 480.

[153] See Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and Materials of Memory*; see also John Sutton, "Material Agency, Skills and History: Distributed Cognition and the Archaeology of Memory", in *Material Agency: towards a non-anthropocentric approach*, eds. Carl Knappett and Lambros Malafouris (Springer, 2008), 45.

Materials of Memory and *Worn Worlds*, suggest "materials of memory" [154] and expound the traces and life of textile. They, like Evelyn B. Tribble[155] and Roger Chartier, also contribute to historical biographies of techniques and symbol systems. Together with Roger Chartier, John Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, Stallybrass traces the technology of "table-books" and they note that in early modern society overloaded with information the true dramatist does not rely too much on the table-book.[156]

Although the Elizabethans tended to materialize immaterial things, they also used metaphors for memory. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish the metaphorical from the literal. "Table-book", "book of Memory" and "table of memory" can indicate an actual book for writing in, but can also refer to the memory in the brain. In the art of memory, placing images in their location is like a process of writing words. In a general sense, memory metaphors belong to two main groups[157] which have influenced European culture for more than two thousand years: the *tabula rasa* (wax writing tablet) and the *thesaurus* (the storehouse, and its metonyms: the aviary, the storage bin, and the box or cluster of boxes), [158] or, in other words, metaphors for the experience of writing, the book

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[154] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and Materials of Memory.*

[155] Evelyn B. Tribble, "'The Dark Backward and Abysm of Time': *The Tempest* and Memory", 153-5.
"Distributing Cognition in the Globe",135-55.

[156] Peter Stallybrass, et al., "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.4 (2004):379-419.

[157] Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 241.

[158] *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, eds. Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 151. Source: John Frow, "*Toute la mémoire du monde*: Reception and Forgetting", in *Time and Commodity*

and an architecture. Memory is also a rich treasure and a cistern, as Plato terms it, containing the running streams of understanding.[159] Sutton's interpretation contributes to the understanding of these two metaphors of memory: thinking of memory as a collection of orderly stored items, like the images located in artificial memory places in the art of memory, makes memory seem like individual bodies, and thinking of spirits and fluids makes memory seem like motions.[160] Douwe Draaism in his book about the metaphors of memory gives a detailed list which includes: libraries, wine cellars, dovecotes, treasure chests and labyrinths. The hidden nature of memories is also expressed in metaphors such as caves, grottoes, mineshafts, and the depths of the sea during and before the Renaissance.[161] As content, memory is a treasure stored or liquid contained; as a container, it is a treasury room or a cistern; as a process, it is a fluid or allocating process. Whatever it is, it is either fluid or locative.

As I suggested earlier, fluid and loci seem to be totally different conceptual categories, but actually they are not. However solid the loci are, they can dissolve into liquid. In Hamlet's eyes, "[t]his too too solid flesh would melt/ Thaw and resolve itself into a dew" (*Hamlet*, 1.2.29-30); to Prospero, "the great globe itself, / Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve/ And, like this

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Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 222-9.

[159] M. Andreas Laurentius, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, trans. Richard Surphlet (London: Felix Kingston for Ralph Jackson, 1599), 77. Quoted from Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama*.

[160] Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism*. Quoted from Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster*, 147.

[161] Douwe Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory*, 3.

insubstantial pageant faded, / Leave not a rack behind" (*The Tempest*, 4.1.153-156). Liquid can also become solid. When Old Hamlet is poisoned, his blood turns cold and congeals. Lady Macbeth conjures spirit to thicken her blood and block the passage of fluid spirits.

The traditional Chinese Five-Element theory also has similar implication. The five elements – metal, wood, water, fire and earth, which compose the whole universe including human beings, are in two cycles of balance. In the generating or creation (生, shēng) cycle, their relationship can be as close as that of a mother and a son whereas in the overcoming or destruction (克, kè) cycle of interactions they can be enemies. In the generating cycle, wood feeds fire; fire creates earth (ash); earth bears metal; metal collects water; and water nourishes wood. In the overcoming cycle, wood parts earth; earth absorbs water; water quenches fire; fire melts metal; and metal chops wood. Similarly to the four elements in Western culture – air, earth, fire and water, any imbalance would lead to disease and even death.

Fluidity can cause death or at least is related to death, anxiety of death is related to loci, and displacement is associated with loci. Anxiety of memory comes from both fluidity and loci. In terms of fluidity, excessive fluid or watery disorder can cause dysfunction of memory; as regards loci, dislocation and disorder cause crisis of memory. Anxiety of memory in the art of memory is not the failure to remember but the failure to access the images stored. Memory as fluid risks overflowing, being disordered or drying to be a fume and disappearing, as Lady Macbeth believes; memory as a

place risks being ransacked and disordered. Whilst some drugs can strengthen memory by acting on the physical body, the art of memory can enhance it by mental discipline. Problems with the art of memory and natural memory are sometimes similar, so memory crisis can be mental disease and physical disease, and as memory is also related to the heart, which is sacred in terms of religion, the crisis of memory also has links with religion. Therefore, the crisis of memory should be examined from different perspectives covering physiology, psychology, philosophy and religion. The death crisis in early modern England is also a synthetic problem which can, like the memory crisis, be expounded by different disciplines.

Methodology and Summary of Chapters

Although many works have been produced on the art of memory, on psychophysiological memory, on memory in Shakespearean plays, there is no work which, in considering multicultural understanding of memory in the heart and memory in the brain, explores the art of memory and dynamic natural memory and the subtle yet substantial relationship of death and memory in Shakespearean plays. This thesis endeavours to fill the gap. As Shakespeare's works were produced in early modern period when discipline boundaries were permeable, this research, which considers his works in their historical setting, will cross disciplinary boundaries between physiology, psychology, philosophy, politics and economics, and accordingly use various theories and

methodologies. New historicism as well as other critical theories including mnemonic criticism, psychophysiological memory, material culture and new economic criticism are all mentioned or adopted in one way or another. Mnemonic criticism is espoused by Engel, and psychophysiological memory criticism is emphasized by scholars including Sutton and Paster. New economic criticism, as a theory based on the interface between literature and economics, is used mainly in Chapter Five where Henry V's economic exploitation of memory is analysed.

The historical background of Shakespeare's works is one focus and formal analysis of his texts based on close reading is another. A multicultural perspective is also adopted when it can shed light on arguments. Generally speaking, this thesis, based on interdisciplinary and multicultural methodologies, explores memory and death in Shakespearean plays. My main argument is that both memory and death, especially memory, are closely related to loci and fluid. Fluid which can hardly be controlled and ordered is the cause of anxiety regarding memory and death whereas loci can give confidence to people. Loci, however, are not as secure as they are supposed to be. In terms of memory, although loci guarantee containment and the possibility of memory being recalled easily, it is also this characteristic which demonstrates potential danger, the danger of being easily ransacked or displaced.

Why does fluid appear so frequently in Shakespearean tragedies, very often in a gloomy aspect causing anxiety? In Chapter Two, the aim is to explore this phenomenon by mapping the

cultural context and considering different influences, including politics, economics,[162] literature, printing, theatrical activities, the Reformation,[163] geographical discovery and body anatomy,[164] etc. Fluid identity in Montaigne's *Essays* and fluid roles in theatrical performances, fluid politics in Elizabeth's court and fluid policies adopted by Machiavelli, fluid capital flowing in a commercial society and fluid population flowing to bigger cities, fluid religious attitudes after the Reformation and fluid copy spreading during printing prosperity, fluid in new world and fluid humours in anatomy, all more or less contribute to the sense of fluidity. Focusing on it, this chapter analyses the dynamic fluid context and its effect on Shakespeare.

Research on any aspect of fluid could easily stretch to a book, so I do not propose to examine it in detail. What I do intend to do in Chapter Two is examine the strong sense of fluid in Shakespearean plays. Loci and their characteristic stability are also considered in this chapter. The plague, the Reformation, the art of memory, theatrical activities, and spatial discovery in macrocosmic and microcosmic worlds, are factors influencing the sense of loci and concern about loci.

In Chapter Three, the focus is on Death and memory in *Hamlet* from the perspectives of anatomy and humour psychophysiology. I argue that Hamlet's crisis of memory is not the claimed

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[162] Peter F. Grav, *Shakespeare and the Economic Imperative: "What's aught but as 'tis value?"* (New York and London, Routledge, 2008).

[163] Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*.

[164] Neill, *Issues of Death*.

fading of memory[165] or failure of memory[166] but excessive watery memory owning to his melancholic physical body in terms of physiology and his melancholic worldview in terms of philosophy. His excessive memory flows in the form of words to penetrate those whom he wants to recall memories. Hamlet's "distracted globe"[167] can refer to five things: the smallest is one of the three cells in the brain where memory holds its seat, another is the microcosmic world – the brain, like Prospero's "troubled brain", the third is the stage of the Globe Theatre where the performance is taking place, the fourth possibility is the earth, like the "scattered kingdom" in *King Lear*, and the last and the largest one is the macrocosmic world. No matter whether it is the small cell of memory or the macrocosmic world, this globe is distracted and full of melancholy.

As regards humour physiology, Hamlet's memory is effeminized because of an unbalanced and disordered humour. On the one hand, Hamlet's memory has some characteristics of fluids, and on the other hand, he wants to control it in loci. Fluid and loci compete with each other in his distracted mind. In this respect, Hamlet's memory leads to his psychological death and finally his physical death. On the other hand, memory also brings consolation to Hamlet when death comes. Memory in his friend's truthful report and narrative keeps his life alive and gives him some comfort

[165] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 218-9.

[166] Dennis Kennedy, "Memory, performance, and the idea of the museum", in *Shakespeare, Memory and Performance*, ed. Peter Holland, 342.

[167] "Distracted globe" refers to three things according to critics, including Andrew Gurr, Partrick Cheney and Lina Perkins Wilder. See Andrew Gurr, *Hamlet and the distracted globe* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press for Sussex University Press, 1978); Patrick Cheney's *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambride University Press, 2008); and Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character*, 113.

when he is confronted with his own death.

Liquid is a close companion of death, especially in *Hamlet*. The dew Hamlet wishes to resolve into, the poison flowing through Hamlet's father's body, the "pestilent congregation of vapours" (2.2.322), the water drowning Ophelia, and the poison designed and drunk by Gertrude all show the intimacy of liquid and death. Even for the dead body, water can be a "sore decayer" (5.1.187) speeding up its putrefaction.

Loci is also an important word related to the anxiety of death. After death the location of body and soul becomes the focus. The dread of being displaced because of the Protestant abolition of purgatory and ritual intercession is the anxiety of death, a point emphasized by critics such as Michael Neill and Philip Schwyzer. "[T]he wholesale displacement of the dead from their familiar place",[168] and "the enforced movement of the body out of its proper resting place"[169] are more horrible than death and physical decay, which is to some extent demonstrated by the self-written inscription on Shakespeare's grave: "Cursed be he that moves my bones".[170] "Distracted globe" (1.5.97) in *Hamlet*, "scattered kingdom" (3.1.31) in *King Lear* and troubled brain in *The Tempest* are all more or less about mapping, dissecting or displacing. Even time is dissected and dislocated, becoming "out of joint" (1.5.188) and needing to be set right. Whereas liquid leads to death, loci become the anxiety of death. Probably that is partly the reason why Shakespeare is attracted to the

[168] Neill, *Issues of Death*, 46.

[169] Philip Schwyzer, *Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 137.

[170] Henry C. Shelley, *Shakespeare and Stratford* (Kessinger Publishing, 2005), 114.

bottom of the sea[171] which is unfathomable. Scattered bones and scattered treasure lie at the bottom of the sea enjoying their peace.

Chapter Four explores death, time and memory in *Macbeth*. In terms of memory, on the one hand, I argue that Shakespeare uses striking images – dashing an innocent baby's brain, a child's head armed, a moving dagger and even a long procession of images in the dumb show – which are adopted in the art of memory to evoke and impress memory. The dumb show occurs in a charmed space where the past, the present and the future on the stage and off the stage are melded. It is a dynamic remembrance environment where the future on the stage is actually the past for the audience off the stage and the present off the stage is the future of the characters on stage. On the other hand, Shakespeare shows more interest in dynamic natural memory which activates various sense organs, especially visual, olfactory and aural senses, and is aided by repetition and rhythmic words. The fact that the physician is unable to "pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,/ Raze out the written troubles of the brain" (5.3.41-42) proves the power of the memory traces in the psychophysiological body. Lady Macbeth's scattered memory and Hamlet's distracted globe share some similarity since words and images from their mind seem to be blocked or disordered. Their memories are both related to fluid and affected by humours and animal spirits.

[171]"Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl/ Inestible stones, unvalu'd jewels/ All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea" (*Richard III*, 1.4.26-28); "the owse and bottom of the sea/ With sunken wrack and sumless treasuries"(*Henry V*, 1.2.164-165). There are also references to the unfathomable bottom of the sea in other plays such as *The Tempest*. Steve Mentz's book *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* has insightful arguments on Shakespeare's interest in the bottom of the sea.

This chapter also explores how the Macbeths remember and how they are remembered. When Lady Macbeth goads Macbeth to murder Duncan, she says that "Memory, the warder of the brain,/ Shall be a fume" (1.7.65-66) which suggests the fragile property of memory. This foretells her own troubled memory state. In scene I Act V, Lady Macbeth's memory, the warder of her brain, becomes so fragile that she unexpectedly lapses into a seemingly unconscious state, haunted by her disordered memory. Macbeth complains of being "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in/ To saucy doubts and fears" (3.4.24-25) and yet he wants to confine the consequence of his behaviour. Lady Macbeth's humour is unbalanced because of her conjuring of spirits and troubled mind caused by her sight of Duncan's blood and the sin of the murder. They both go astray from their nature, their balanced organic states, to fragmentary states, with Lady Macbeth's memory fragmented and Macbeth's body fragmented. This chapter also investigates Lady Macbeth's repression of emotion and Macbeth's annihilation of emotion to his wife's death.

Chapter Five looks at a range of plays from different points in Shakespeare's career with a focus on memory, including *The Tempest*, *Henry V* and *The Winter's Tale,* in which memory is a battlefield where authority is claimed by different characters. I argue that *Henry V* is a play concerned with memory exploitation in an economic sense. In regard to power and authority which are important themes in *The Tempest*, it is a kind of political usurpation of memory and competition

of it.[172] In *The Winter's Tale*, different versions of memory foretell different future stories, and in the later part of the play memory is associated with religious belief. In terms of *Henry V*'s memory management in an economic sense, my viewpoint is that Henry V is a competent economist with a rich economic vocabulary such as "profit", "debt", "advantage", "gold", "treasure" and "make use of". As Hal in *Henry IV*, he has planned his life to maximize his profit in the future. After he consumes Falstaff's value, he casts him off like a garment with a memory pattern left for his future advantage. Garment, behaviour, body, blood, and spirit all bear the mark of commodity value for Henry V. He wastes memory which is useless or dangerous, makes full use of the past memory which is in his interest, and creates future memory, to maximize the profit for his present.

Personal morality involved in colonization and exploitation of memory from different cultural perspectives are also considered in Chapter Five. I argue that, from the perspective of "Three Immortalities" recorded in *Zuozhuan*, Henry V is immortal because of the great work he has done to the country and the people, however, regarding morality, he is immoral in terms of his ruthlessness to his friends.[173] Different metaphors of memory – cell, sea and book in *The Tempest* – will be examined as well.

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[172] Prospero tells Miranda that her uncle Antonio " Made such a sinner of his memory,/ To credit his own lie, — he did believe/ He was indeed the duke". The usurpation of his memory by Antonio is associated with the usurpation of his identity.

[173]See *Zuozhuan: Xianggong Ershisi nian.* Guoxue jingdian wenku xilie guangpan. In ancient Chinese culture, morality is one of them, the other two of which are "Work" and "Words". For details see Chapter Five, 214.

Conclusion

In *Shakespearean Negotiations*, Stephen Greenblatt stated that he "began with the desire to speak with the dead". [174] I believe his desire must be shared by a lot of Shakespearean critics. I cannot say I do not have the same desire: actually it is so strong that I feel the need to attain a certain amount of knowledge about Shakespeare before confidently speaking with him and his characters. Shakespeare's wisdom, however, is so great that, the more knowledge I have, the more unconfident I feel. Instead, I hope to access Shakespeare's mind and heart by accessing the minds and hearts of his characters. To achieve this, I try to imagine myself in similar situations and feel their feelings. The writer Zhongshu Qian, who was proficient in several languages and cultures, said that, despite the difference between different cultures, there is more similarity and commonality, which makes it possible for us to understand each other. [175] I think knowledge can be obtained by understanding as well as feeling, at least in Shakespeare's time it was so. As Gloucester replies to King Lear, "I see it feelingly" (4.6.153), truth can also be accessed by feeling. Likewise, feeling Lear's agony and regret can contribute to our understanding of him, and Hamlet's unspeakable emotion and helplessness should also be felt as well as reasoned. Although understanding and feeling in modern western culture are alienated to some extent, in early modern England, they were closely associated.

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[174] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, (University of California Press, 1989), 1.

[175]Zhongshu Qian, *Limited* views*: Essays on Ideas and Letters* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1979).《管锥编》，钱锺书著，中华书局（北京）1979 年 8 月第 1 版. "东海西海，心理攸同；南学北学，道术未裂."

If reason and feeling can co-exist harmoniously, if we have a heart which can think and feel like a Renaissance heart or a traditional Chinese heart, probably we can access another vista in Shakespeare's world.

Shakespeare lived in a dynamic era which witnessed various changes going on and ideas flowing, and accordingly the worlds he constructed are dynamic and rich as well. His characters' minds are not like static loci or material objects quietly stabilized to be easily collected and taken away, nor are they like fluid things completely beyond our ability to control. Accordingly, this thesis is an attempt to capture some vapours of their minds – if capturing the essence is impossible – by focusing on loci and fluid associated with death and memory in Shakespeare's works and his time.

Chapter Two

Fluid and loci in early modern England

In Shakespeare's plays, I argue, memory and death are associated with fluid and loci. Why? Why are Shakespearean plays, mainly the tragedies, full of images related to corruption, decay, dissolution, dislocation? Why are some of his contemporaries including John Donne also obsessed with similar images? These questions are what this chapter hopes to answer. I believe that the microcosmic worlds constructed in Shakespearean plays are in many ways reflections of the macrocosmic cultural world Shakespeare was living in, and the social energy circulating between these two worlds; therefore, examination of different aspects of early modern England relating to fluid and loci would build a better understanding of death and memory in Shakespeare's texts.

I fully agree with T.S. Eliot's conviction that an individual talent, however great and shining, works within a tradition, and therefore, "no poet, or artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone".[1]

> The historical sense compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bone, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order. This historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal together, is what makes a writer traditional.

[1] T.S Eliot, *Selected Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950).

> And it is at the same time what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his own contemporaneity[2].

What Eliot focuses on is the deep relationship between an individual artist and a literary tradition s/he inherits or obtains. Eliot gives us a sense of time which is fluid and yet also locative. We localize time and classify it as *the past*, *the present* and *the future*. Time itself, however, is fluid. As Edward Said suggests, "there is no way in which the past can be quarantined from the present".[3] But in Shakespeare's plays, some characters indeed believe that the past can be quarantined from the present.[4] The desire to locate fluid things and control them and the resistance of localization and displacement weave a rich and dynamic Shakespearean world. The other aspect contained in Eliot's statement is that tradition is influential on an artist. I would stress that not only is the diachronic tradition influential, but also the synchronic cultural context. Although analysing synchronic cultural context is not this study's goal, a brief consideration is crucial for understanding Shakespeare's plays.

Referring to human body and identity, printing and texts, politics, economics, religion and other cultural spheres, I argue that fluid characterized by its liquid state, changeability and boundary-crossing on the one hand brings life, productivity and wealth, and on the other hand, more

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[2] Ibid..

[3] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage, 1994, 2.

[4] Richard III, Henry V, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth all consider time and memory as being locative and manipulable. For instance, Lady Macbeth says "thy letters have transported me beyond/ This ignorant present, and I feel now/ The future in the instant"(*Macbeth*, 1.4.57-59).

disturbingly, it breeds and spreads disease, corruption, disorder and even death. In terms of the dangers which fluid poses, fluid evokes anxiety and calls for fixity and loci to contain and control it. Fluidity does not come out of nothing and yet it is not something fixed that can be controlled. Like spirit, it is everywhere and yet nowhere. That it is somewhere in process rather than fixed in specific loci makes it difficult to contain and regulate. Fluidity, as a combination of changeability and liquidity, is flowing all the time, crossing boundaries, no matter whether the boundaries are bodies, pages, stages or territories.

Humoral Body in Confinement

A whole man in medieval fluid physiologies, as Marie-Christine Pouchelle notes, was described as immersed "in a flask of his own excretions", his spirits, blood, and humours in endless whirling circulation with the fluids outside him.[5] In the early modern period, a human body as a humoral body was also fluid. As Paster puts it, it was characterized by "corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries".[6] Even the perfectly clean body of Christ, analogized by Bishop Reynolds's tropes, was a humoral body, the difference depending on the quality and quantity of the liquids a human body and Christ contained.[7]

A Galenic humoral body, whose constituent fluids are reducible to blood, was understood as

[5] Quoted in John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism*, 42.

[6] Paster, The *Body Embarrassed*, 8.

[7] See Paster, *Humouring the Body* and *The Body Embarrassed*.

entirely fungible. Bodily fluids such as milk, sweat, tears, blood and semen are considered as interchangeable, and the processes of alimentation, excretion, menstruation and lactation were also regarded "as homologous and hence were less conceptually differentiated than they may be in popular medical understanding".[8] The heart and blood as parts of the humoral body are especially fluid. Galenic blood is constantly being made and consumed, and, as Erickson describes it, "the body is always in a state of remaking itself, concocting or 'cooking' itself, with sooty vapours being given off through the skin",[9] the mouth and other porous organs. Passions are also fluid: jointly occupied by humans and animals in the form of humours, they were therefore not confined to the human body alone but were distributed differentially to all those creatures possessing a heart and blood. [10]

Since the humoral body was characterized by "corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries"[11], the body's fluids would not be willing to fix in the inert house and stand the temptation of exchanging with the external environment. The humoral body's specific relation to its immediate environment was obvious when the physician Helkiah Crook described all bodies as "Transpirable and trans-fluxible, that is, so oen to the ayre as that it may passé and repasse through

[8] See Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 35-36.

[9] Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600-1750*, 10.

[10] Paster, *Humouring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*, 135.

[11] Paster, The *Body Embarrassed*, 8.

them".[12] How bodily interiority and affect express themselves environmentally as part of the "vast systems of fluid exchange"[13] between the body and the world was clearly described by Burton. "The Aire workes on all men", says Burton, "when the humours by the Aire bee stirred, he goes in with them, exagitates our spirits, and vexeth our Soules: as the sea waves, so are the spirits and humours in our bodies, tossed with tempestuous windes and stormes". [14]

Not only was the humoral body characterized by "corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries" and pictured as a "semipermeable, irrigated container in which humours moved sluggishly",[15] but humoral subjectivity as a form of fluid consciousness was also open and porous. Paster points out that we have not fully recognized how the porous and volatile humoral body, with its faculty borders and penetrable stuff, interacts differently with the world than the "static, solid" modern bodily container. The humoral body was "characterized not only by its physical openness but also by its emotional instability and volatility, by an internal microclimate knowable", like climates in the external world, "more for changeability than for stasis".[16]

In the dynamic interpenetration between body and environment or subject and environment imagined by the psychophysiology of bodily fluids, reciprocities were the promising outcome. Psychophysiological reciprocity was not always the case, however, and the external world was not

[12] Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia; or, A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615), 175.

[13] Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces*, 39.

[14] Burton is translating here from Levinus Lemnius.

[15] Paster, The *Body Embarrassed*, 8.

[16] Paster, *Humouring the Body*, 23, 137.

always beneficial to the fluid body. Actually, on most occasions, contamination and corruption were caused by fluid exchange.

The health of the humoral body relied on the harmonious balance of the four qualities (hot, cold, moist and dry) and humours[17], and disease was a dyscrasia or unbalanced mixture of the humoral body. [18] Disease can be endogenous and exogenous. The humoral body's fluidity, openness and porous boundaries produced conditions for disease and made it difficult to determine whether it was endogenous or exogenous. Diseases like melancholy could be caused by disorders of animal spirits, "the nested systems of spirits" [19] existing in the microcosmic world as well the macrocosmic world. It was difficult to confirm whether it was the animal spirit within the body or it was the spirit poured in from outside that caused the disease.

As Lester Snow King[20] notes, the fact that the same disorders of animal spirits which cause disease could themselves spring either from supernatural demonic malevolence or from an "involuntary internal"[21] but natural cause raised severe diagnostic difficulties. The philosophical-

[17] John of the Hereford Davies, *Microcosmos: The Discovery of the Little World, with the Government Thereof*, (Oxford: J.Barnes,1603), 61.

[18] Paster, *Humouring the Body*, 23, 137.

[19] Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces*, 36.

[20] Lester Snow King, *The philosophy of medicine: the early eighteenth century* (Cambridge, Mass., & London: Harvard University Press, 1978).

[21] "Selections from Dialogues on Metaphysics" (1688) in Nicolas Malebranche's *Philosophical Selections: From The Search After Truth, Translated by Thomas M. Lennon and Paul J. Olscamp ; from Elucidations of The Search After Truth, Translated by Thomas M. Lennon ; from Dialogues on Metaphysics, Translated by Willis Doney ; and from Treatise on Nature and Grace, Translated by Thomas Tylor, Revised by Steven Nadler*, (Hackett, 1992). When

moral difficulty is related, as diabolic action on animal spirits works in exactly the same way as the action of the rational soul on the spirits is meant to in ordinary decision-making. It has always been hard, in fraught contexts, to tell who is "strangely deluded by some cogging divell".[22] On some occasions excessive or insufficient or contaminated environmental or psychological input owning to interpenetration between the humoral body and environment was a framework for explaining disease. Lady Macbeth's behaviour in terms of conjuring up evil spirits and her later illness can be partly explained by animal spirits. Porous boundaries made the humoral body vulnerable to external corruption or attack. Bright, Platter, Du Laurens, Wright and others warn of the effects of discoloured spirits in terms of melancholy. "To colour", according to the *OED*, is synonymous with "to dye" or "to stain", and hence, as Jonathan Gil Harris notes, in a more metaphorically pathological sense, "to corrupt".[23] The rising of the melancholy humour to the brain, as Timothy Bright believes, "counterfetteth terrible objects to the fantasie, and polluting both the substance, and spirits of the brayne, causeth it without externall occasion, to forge monstrous fictions", and also "a darknes & cloudes of melancholie vapours rising from that pudle of the splene obscure the clearenes, which our spirites are endued with".[24] In this situation, melancholy humour was caused

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Theodore analyses the relationship between reason and brain, he talks about the animal spirits which could be influenced by internal and external causes.

[22] Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces*, 207.

[23] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economics: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 56.

[24] Timothy Bright (1550-1615), *A treatise of melancholie* (London, 1586), 102.

by tainted animal spirits and they both polluted the substance and spirits of the brain and thus caused disease.

Other corruptions which troubled Renaissance minds in terms of the body's porous boundaries include cosmetics and theatres. Cosmetics, according to Philip Stubbes[25] and John Downame,[26] have an eerie ability to penetrate not only the borders of the body, but the boundary distinguishing body from soul. Material poisons applied to the skin reappear as internal, moral decay. Therefore, cosmetics were not only associated with physical contamination, but also, socially and politically, with moral impurity. The most common complaint against cosmetics was that they, "like original sin, or the mark of Cain", [27] evoked an uneasy sense of permanent taint impossible to cleanse. It was a sin against truth which blurred the boundary of internal and external, material and immaterial, and thus evoked anxieties.[28]

The early modern theatre's boundaries are also tenuous and not fixed. As Stephen Greenblatt points out, although it is marked off from the outside world by the wooden walls and licensed and regulated to operate within a specific domain, its boundaries are remarkably porous and permeable.[29] It is the permeability of the boundaries that worries Anti-Theatrical proponents and

[25] Philip Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (London, 1583), 57-58.

[26] John Downame, *Foure Treatises* (London, 1613), 203.

[27] Tanya Polland, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 91.

[28] For contamination and corruption caused by cosmetics see Polland, *Drugs and Theatre*, 91.

[29] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 14.

makes them accuse theatrical performances in early modern England. It could be that the boundary separating spectators from their spectacles is so tenuous that it dissolves at the slightest pressure[30] and the content of the performances, like the poison in painted bodies, seeps contagiously into the spectators' vulnerable humoral body.[31] Anti-Theatrical proponents also pointed to theatre's contamination of the spectators' minds and morality and its deleterious effect upon the social order. The theatre, deriving from the Greek verb for "viewing", was considered a show place for all beastly and filthy matters. Players were accused of barbarously diverting Nature, and defacing God's own image in the theatre, by metamorphosing human shape into bestial form and violating vestimentary order. The contents of performances breached the proper boundaries of hierarchy and gender by heaping different things together in one place indistinguishably and caused metaphorical plague.

What made theatre especially dangerous was early modern physiology according to which body and mind are inseparable, so performances on the stage were believed not only to influence spectators' bodies, but also transform their minds. Polland described theatre's transformative power as "curative, soporific, poisonous, narcotic, addictive, aphrodisiac, soothing, intoxicating", which

[30] The theatrical world directed by Prospero is too fragile to be immune from the disturbance from the real world.

[31] The dumb show directed by Hamlet and other plays-within-plays in some Renaissance dramas also cause immediate physical as well as spiritual impact on the audience, and sometimes the boundary between the on-stage and the off-stage suddenly collapses.

meant that it "can alter its spectators, its actors, even its directors and writers".[32] Renaissance anti-theatricalists especially complained about theatres' poisonous power exerted through languages upon audiences' minds. The moralist Stephen Gosson complained that plays "are the doctrine of the Deuill; the Counsell of the vngodly; the way of sinners, the chaire of pestilence" which is" the Assembly of wicked worldlings",[33]and he also emphasized that theatrical form had privileged access to both physical and spiritual interiority through the gateway of the ears. Compared with cooks and painters who appealed only to more outward superficial senses, playwrights could take advantage of the ears to penetrate and attract the internal heart and mind, and it is what Renaissance anti-theatricalists worried about.

Whether it is the effect of internal fluid humours or external cosmetics, or theatrical fluid poisonous spirits, because the boundaries between "within" and "without" are fragile or even dissolved, the dangers of fluid, imbalance, disorder and contamination exist. Lady Macbeth's conjuring up of evil spirits disturbs her balance of spirits and foretells future trouble. Othello's puddle spirits, similar to the spirits described early modern writers including Bright, are spirits corrupted and disordered.[34] Hamlet's excessive and disordered memory and Prospero's troubled brain both were caused by external disruption and internal disturbance owning to the dissolution of

[32] Polland, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England*, 19.

[33] Stephen Gosson, *Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions* (London, 1582), 20-21.

[34] For puddle's association with corruption, see also Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Roman Historie* (London, 1609),416; and Lodovico Ariosto, *Ariosto's Satyres* (London, 1608), 26.

boundaries.

The humoral body's fluidity called for regulation whilst its openness and porous boundaries on the one hand called for enclosure and containment to avoid potentially external corruption, and on the other hand suggested that excessive humours could be expelled into the external world. Like a state and a government, a humoral body could realize healthiness by diverting excessive humours to the outside world. As Montaigne analysed:

> The infirmities and conditions of our bodies, are likewise seene in states and goverments: *Kingdomes and Commowealths as well as we, are borne, florish, and fade through age.* We are subject vnto a repleatnesse of humours, hurtfull and vnprofitable, yea be it of good humours…wishing this violent and burning emotion we see and feele amongst vs, might be derived to some neighbour war, fearing lest those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodie, if they be not diverted elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, and in the end cause our vtter destruction: And in truth *a forraine warre is nothing so dangerous a dis▪ase as a civill:* But I will not beleeve that God would favour so vnjust an enterprise, to offend and quarrell with others for our commodity.[35]

Therefore bloodletting was widely considered as a way to expel excessive liquid and keep a balance. In terms of a state or country, that Henry IV asked his son prince Hal in future to "busy giddy minds/ With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,/ May waste the memory of the former days" (*2 Henry IV*, 4.5.212-214) is a way to get rid of useless national memories. Henry V's rejecting Falstaff is also a way to expel useless humours and memories to profit himself, as he said earlier:

[35] *The Essays* written in French by Michael Montaigne and translated to English by John Florio in 1613.

I know you all, and will awhile uphold
The unyok'd humour of your idleness:
Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
To smother up his beauty from the world,
That when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours that did seem to strangle him. (*1 Henry IV*, 217-225)

His idle friends such as Falstaff and Poins are in his eyes "unyok'd humour", "contagious clouds" and "foul and ugly mists of vapours" which he will get rid of when they are useless.

Performing mnemonic arts was a way to discipline and control fluid memory. Humanist pedagogy was also favoured to discipline the fluid humorous body. Another way to control the fluid body was to spatialize it, objectify it, localize it, anatomize it and measure it. Female bodies were considered to be more fluid than male bodies since they were composed of more water. Their fluid bodies were spatialized as landscapes, however, which were supposed to be surveyed, mapped and conquered. A lot of examples can be found in Shakespeare's plays. In *Cymbeline* (1611), Imogen's body is like a terrain mapped and publicized by masculine explorer/cartographer Iachimo. After Iachimo writes down the features of Imogen's bedroom, his attention is drawn to the characteristics of Imogen's body.

Ah! But some natural notes about her body,
Above ten thousand meaner moveables
Would testify, to enrich mine inventory.
…

> On her left breast
> A mole cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops
> I' the bottom of a cowslip (*Cymbeline*, 2.2.28-39)

Iachimo even tends to write them down while he observes them. Not only are female bodies treated or imagined as objects manipulable by masculine power, but women also see themselves as objects through men's lenses. Olivia sees her beauty as an itemized object, and when Viola asks her to leave a copy of her beauty to the world, she answers:

> I will give out divers schedules of my beauty: it
> Shall be inventoried, and every particle and
> utensil labeled to my will: as Item, Two lips,
> indifferent red; Two grey eyes, with lids to
> them; Item, One neck, one chin, and so forth. (*Twelfth Night*, 1.5.264-269)

In *Macbeth*, troubles and sorrow which are fluid are regarded by Macbeth as solid objects to be plucked or razed.[36] Hamlet regards his excessively fluid memories as objects which can be wiped away. Hamlet's and Macbeth's fantasies of memories as objects reflect their anxiety about memory and imagination's fluidity and their intention to control them. Further, it could be their intention to use masculine power to control fluid feminine memory, imagination and emotion. Only by considering fluid memory and emotion as manipulable objects can they control and regulate them. This tendency towards objectification and localization of fluid things to some extent reflected the discovery of the New World, the development of new cosmology, and the anatomization of bodies.

[36] "Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,/ Raze out the written troubles of the brain,/ And with some sweet oblivious antidote/ Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff/ Which weighs upon the heart." (*Macbeth*, 5.3.41-45)

In early modern England, not only were bodies anatomized, but so were the external world and the internal humours, as *An Anatomy of the world*[37] and *The Anatomy of Melancholy*[38] show, because the external world and the internal world also had some characteristics of fluid, and therefore needed to be localized and examined. Only by dissecting the inside can we see what is in it. Another area which fused the boundary of the interior and the exterior and caused interest in anatomization is fluid identity.

Identity Within or Without

Anxieties about the inseparability of the external from the internal caused by cosmetics, painted bodies and theatrical performances led to similar anxieties caused by the fluid identities adopted by people in early modern England. In the fluid and complex politics of early modern England,[39] although political virtue was regarded as masculine and the portrayal of corruption was gendered as feminine, Virtue and Vice were not Manichaean opposites but near neighbours, and their boundaries were often blurred.[40]

Andrew Fitzmaurice[41] points out that war of religion eroded the notion of a common good.

[37] John Donne, *An Anatomy of the World* (London,1611).

[38] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1621).

[39] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[40] Quentin Skinner, "Moral Ambiguity and the Renaissance Art of Eloquence", in *Visions of Politics, vol.2: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[41] Andrew Fitzmaurice, "The Corruption of Hamlet", in *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*, eds. David

Europeans increasingly abandoned humanist teaching that emphasized virtuous action undertaken for the common good and they sought the wisdom of Tacitus and Seneca and their recent interpreters, including Lipsius and Montaigne, on how to survive in a world where "Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg" (*Hamlet*, 3.4.154). Although I would not agree that Europeans abandoned humanist teaching, I admit that Seneca's and his interpreters' influences were widespread.

Sir Thomas Smith's observation that "the nature of man is never to stand still in one maner of estate"[42] and Jonson's belief that masks, disguises, and varying roles reflect the inconstancy of vice and folly echo Seneca's words:

> …nobody can be one person except the wise man; the rest of us often shift our masks. At times you will think us thrifty and serious, at other times wasteful and idle. We continually change our characters and play a part contrary to that which we have discarded. (Epistle CXX. 21-22)[43]

Tacitus, Machiavelli, Erasmus, More and Shakespeare also explored the differences between appearance and reality.[44] Greenblatt notes that Shakespeare's universe is one in which "no character with a clear moral vision has a will to power".[45] The character who has a will to power like Henry V is among those illustrated by Machiavelli.

Armitage, Conal Condern and Andrew Fitzmaurice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 141.

[42] Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (London, 1583).

[43] Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1934)

[44] Robert B. Pierce, "Shakespeare and the Ten Modes of Scepticism", *Shakespeare Survey*, 46 (1994), 145-58; Damian Grace, "*Utopia* and Academic Scepticism", in *More's Uropia and the Utopian Inheritance*, eds. A.D. Cousins and Damian Grace (Langam, MD: University Press of America, 1995), 1-14.

[45] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespeare's freedom* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 78.

> …a ruler must know well how to imitate beasts as well as employing properly human means...Since a ruler, then, must know how to act like a beast, he should imitate both the fox and the lion, for the lion is liable to be trapped, whereas the fox cannot ward off wolves. One needs, then, to be a fox to recognize traps, and a lion to frighten away wolves. Those who rely merely upon a lion's strength do not understand matters.
>
> Therefore, a prudent ruler cannot keep his word, nor should he, when such fidelity would damage him, and when the reasons that made him promise are no longer relevant.[46]

According to Seneca, the vicious or foolish person shares the inconstancy and instability of time. Seeking things dependent on time and chance, he himself partakes of the everchanging fluctuation of time and the times to which he is tied. The good person stands in opposition to fortune and seeks to create in himself the stability that counters the inconstancy of life.[47]

Identity in external trappings and external show to confuse people are detachable from identity within. As Neill argues, "identity in the vestimentary system is always imagined as a kind of guise". [48] When a vicious or foolish person pursues external identity and a virtuous person seeks interior identity by using the same tools, confusion occurs. As false people use inky clothes "[t]ogether with all forms, moods, shapes of grief" (1.2.82) as a show of sadness, Hamlet's use of inky clothes and similar forms to express his true sadness is tainted and regarded as false. In a world full of falseness, truth is regarded as false. Language has the same destiny. Language, on the one

[46] Machiavelli, *The Prince*, eds. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 61.

[47] Seneca, *De Providentia*.

[48] Neill, 14.

hand, cannot always express meanings fully and truly owing to its inadequacy, something long debated by Western and Eastern philosophers. On the other hand, it can be easily corrupted if it is overused or misused falsely and rhetorically by vicious people as a disguise. In *King Lear*, language is adopted rhetorically by Cordelia's vicious sisters to profit in spite of their true feelings. When everything is expressed in the form of words by her sisters who are false, language is corrupted, and Cordelia can only use "nothing" to express her true feeling without being tainted. Hamlet seems conscious of language's disadvantage and thus he, as Richard Meek observes, "refuses to convert his predicament into a repeatable or narratable form".[49] For Hamlet, anything that could be acted is potentially false; it will be somehow lacking in authority or value. As John Lee stresses, "That Within" is of value because it cannot be duplicated, it "passeth show".[50] By this refusal, he refuses to allow his "self" to be duplicated falsely and can keep his internal truth. To protect the truth of their internal identity, however, Hamlet and Cordelia have to sacrifice their lives.

Talking about Hamlet, Terry Eagleton says "that there is no heart of the mystery to be plucked out. Hamlet has no 'essence' of being whatsoever, no inner sanctum to be safeguarded: he is pure deferral and diffusion, a hollow void which offers nothing determinate to be known".[51] I do not share Eagleton's conviction that Hamlet has no essence of being whatsoever, but I do think

[49] Richard Meek, *Narrating the Visual in Shakespeare* (Ashgate, 2009), 96.

[50] John Lee, *Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the controversies of Self* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 157.

[51] Terry Eagleton, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 72.

Hamlet's essence – his mind like a pure territory[52]– is covered by many layers hard to be seen and plucked out. With the development of anatomy and cartography, the human body and the world were easily measured, dissected and put on show, and anxiety about being shown and seen through grew increasingly. Mass death from widespread plague also contributed to the anxiety. Hamlet's mind has to be covered so that it cannot be seen and contaminated. His mind can probably be better understood in comparison with Chapman's Stoic hero Clermont's suggestion in *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*:

> The garment or the cover of the mind
> The human soul is; of the soul, the spirit
> The proper robe is; of the spirit, the blood;
> And of the blood, the body is the shroud. (*The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, 5.5.170-175)

The mind is elaborately insulated by layers of increasingly material substance – soul, spirit, blood, body[53] – which provide necessary shelter for the true, vulnerable core of human identity, even while precluding any direct communion between the interior subject and exterior objects.[54] Whereas most people's identities are shown by external trappings such as clothes and some are decided by humours and blood within the body, Hamlet wants to regard his mind as his identity. To keep his interior identity, he has to adopt certain measures. Death, silence, practising equivocation and

[52] Margreta de Grazia argues that *Hamlet* is a play preoccupied with questions of land and property, and it is framed by "territorial conflict". I think Hamlet's inner world is a territory he tries to protect from penetration and anatomization. Margreta de Grazia, .*Hamlet without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31-3.

[53] This idea can also be found in other early modern texts, including Philippe de Mornay's.

[54] Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance*, 192.

pretending madness or foolishness are among them. When Thomas More and Shakespeare's innocent character Cordelia choose silence, and some people prefer death in torment to avoid betraying their inner convictions by conforming outwardly, Hamlet chooses equivocation and disguise through feigned madness and foolishness. Hamlet's fluid external appearance is meant to protect the stability and purity of his mind.

The vicious person is usually a time-server, which Jonson associates with corruption and multiplicity, whereas the virtuous individual usually stands in opposition to the times, which Jonson himself pursues to realize. Jonson's praise of Shakespeare as a transcendent writer to some extent exposes his intention. Stoicism attempts to provide a solution. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, attempting to liberate himself from what he saw as a "morally debased" age, stressed the importance of keeping a distance from external things – neither desiring them nor being influenced by them. Hamlet is a character influenced by Stoicism. Initially, He wants to purify the corrupted eternal world, but he does not succeed, and in fact is corrupted and risks being corrupted further. In the face of the fluid external world, he finally realizes that, since he is not able to purify the external corrupted world, he can at least keep a pure transcendent mind inside. He tries to be detached from the world, although his fluid humorous body betrays him time and again.

Engagement in the world can make one see something in nothing whereas detachment makes one see nothing in something. Just as evil spirits are most likely to tempt people who are

vulnerable and likely to believe them, Hamlet is so obsessed with the memory of his father that he sees his father's ghost when his mother can see nothing, and Macbeth sees ghosts while other people see nothing. Once Hamlet's mind becomes detached from his memory of his father and the whole external world, the ghost disappears. It is similar to a Buddhist mind: when every ordinary man can see dust on the surface of a mirror, a Buddhist can see purity instead since his/her mind is pure;[55] although the wind blows and the leaves shake, the pure mind is stable and tranquil. Hamlet says "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so" (2.2 259-261); here we can say, there is no dust because the mind is pure, and there is nothing fluid since the mind is tranquil and stable.

Fluid identity can corrupt body politics and vice versa. It is widely recognized that sensitivity to corruption was fundamental to Renaissance political cultures in which the health of politics was believed to rest more upon the character and spirit of citizens and subjects than upon the strength of political institutions. In the most significant epistemic shift in seventeenth-century medical science, the eclipse of the old Galenic and Aristotelian cosmology of qualities, elements, and humours was gradually challenged by the new mechanistic philosophy of quantifiable matter in

[55] 参看《六祖坛经》会能禅师之语"菩提本无树,明镜亦非台,本来无一物,何处惹尘埃"(There is no Buddhist tree at all, nor is there a bright mirror: there is nothing at all. So how could there be dust?), see Hui Neng. *Liuzu tanjing*. For the context of this argument in English, see Ying Liang's *A Comparative Study of Eighteenth to Twentieth Century Chinese and American Country-of-women Utopian Fictions*, 118.

motion.[56] Transmigratory foreign commodities, as Bright, Milles and Jonson believed, can contaminate the body politic by breeding and spreading disease, and fluid identities can cause more profound anxiety in corruption of body politics. The breakdown of the most fundamental social relations, of family and friendship, in Hamlet's Denmark is indicative of the depth of the corruption in the kingdom as a whole.[57] The corruption of the court also results in false and fluid identity.

Not only personal identity and political identity, but also national identity and religious identity are fluid and unstable, like theatrical roles. For example, as Harris argues, a usurer's fluid identity is like a palimpsest, within which discrete categories of national and religious identity have been fused and confused.[58] A usurer was usually a foreigner and non-Christian and thus could cause corruption to Christian society which regarded usury as vicious. The foreign was fashioned as a corrupted repository of Jewish hybrids and transnational fluidity. The foreign and the usurers were often associated with disease and corruption because of their fluid identities. In terms of fluid religious identity, frequent changes of religion in early modern England were a main contributor to its corruption. Between the early 1530s, when Henry defied the authority of Rome, and 1558, when Elizabeth ascended to the throne, England witnessed four changes of religion.

Living in such a protean world, some truly religious people thought that, if they could keep faith with their conscience, their external religious show to others was of minor importance, morally

[56] Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*.

[57] Andrew Fitzmaurice, "The Corruption of Hamlet", 140.

[58] Harris, *Sick Economic*, 53.

almost chimerical. That a Protestant adopted the appearance of a Catholic when the monarch supported Catholicism, or a Catholic claimed to be a Protestant when Protestants won the religious battle, was not unusual.[59]

What is an identity, within or without, or even both? How is an identity identified? Is it identifiable as a locus or is it fluid resisting localization? From the perspectives of philosophy, politics, religion and physiology, we may see more fluidity and changeability in identity than stability. Detachment of interior identity seen by oneself and God from exterior identity shown to others was a popular phenomenon. "Separation between 'what must show' and what is in the heart"[60] and disassociation of inner conviction and external practice were, in Slights' view, both the hope of the Elizabethan Settlement and the greatest moral hazard of the age.[61]

The recognition that external identity could be and was separate from internal identity does not mean that they did not have associations with each other. On some occasions, external identity indicated by exterior costumes and props impressed its memory on characters in such a way that it could even transform their internal identity, as some Shakespearean characters show. Henry V's change of identity as indicated by his change of clothes and environment is also closely associated

[59] Both Protestants and Catholics conceal their true beliefs when necessary, and Catholicism is especially associated with "equivocation" through which one could conceal one's belief without actually committing the sin of lying, as referred to in *Macbeth*.

[60] On interiority and identity see Anne Ferry, *The "Inward" Language: Sonnets of Wyatt, Sidney, Shakespeare, Donne* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) and Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance*.

[61] Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, 166.

with his change of memory and his change of thinking. Memories are changing in fluid, thoughts are changing, and internal identities are changing as well, let alone external identities. John Locke has incisive insights into identity's multiplicity and fluidity: "That human being might be several persons at once – he might, that is, occupy several roles or guises at the same time – and he might shake off a person earlier imposed upon him".[62] A more pessimistic view is that identity is not only multiple and fluid but also considered empty in some ways, as Locke notes:

> God and Nature has made me so: But there is nothing I have, is essential to me. An Accident, or Disease, may very much alter my Colour, or Shape; a Fever, or Fall, may take away my Reason, or Memory, or both; and Apoplexy leave neither Sense, nor Understanding, no nor life ....None of these are essential... to any Individual whatsoever, till the Mind refers it to some Sort or Species of things.[63]

Locke's argument also indicates the dynamic interaction between personal identity and the environment. Any change to the environment can be a source of a change of identity, which demonstrates the permeable boundary between personal identity and the influential environment. Humoral body interacts with the environment, personal identity interacts with the environment, and exterior identity, alienated from interior identity, also interacts with interior identity. Economy, like a humoral body which crosses the body boundary, also crosses national boundaries and contributes to the complicity of identity by alienating exterior identity from interior identity.

[62] Kenneth P. Winkler, "Locke on Personal Identity", *Journal of the History of philosophy*, 29.2 (1991): 213.

[63] Kenneth P. Winkler, "Locke on Personal Identity", 224.

Economy: From Endogenous to Exogenous Loci

In the early modern period, as is widely acknowledged, boundaries between different fields such as physiology, psychology, economics, and politics were very tenuous and easily broken. For example, given that the humoral body had a distinct set of internal procedures dependent on a differential caloric economy[64], the language boundary between economics and physiology was semipermeable or even indistinguishable.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, disease was imagined as a state of internal imbalance, caused by humoral disarray or deficiency. An excess of melancholy, phlegm, or choler, or a deficiency of blood, was understood as both the immediate cause and the form of the illness. In terms of the prevalent plague and other epidemic diseases in early modern England, however, Galenic humoralism's understanding of disease as an endogenous state could not successfully explain the operations of contagion, and Hippocrates's miasmic theory of contagion was the one medical writers resorted to for explanation. According to miasma theory, polluted air or vapours were responsible for disrupting humoral balance. Disease was understood to be endogenous, rooted in the complexion (or mix) of the body's internal substances and it could also be influenced by exogenous corruption. [65]

Economics operated in a similar way to pathology and they shared much vocabulary. As

[64] Gail Kern Paster, The *Body Embarrassed*, 8.

[65] Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991).

Harris argues, pathology and economy were interconstitutive domains of discourse.[66] Like disease, the fluid economy can be exogenous as well as endogenous and it gradually developed from an endogenous state to an exogenous state. Traditional economics was to a great extent based on individual morality whereas mercantilist economics featured an orderly and systematic sphere of transnational commerce. Moral economics, which was endogenous, was gradually replaced by systematic economics, which was exogenous.

For those economic geographers in an early marketplace, trade was endogenous. As a threshold, the early marketplace was assigned a symbolic space defined by the movement of people and commodities, permanently as well as temporarily. As Jean-Christophe Agnew observes, it "protected transactions and transitions alike from the consequences of formlessness and pollution that the experience of change and exchange implied and that the corresponding threat of placelessness inspired".[67] Transnational trade, however, broke boundaries and bred disease and corruption as well as wealth and prosperity. Disease and wealth both needed systematic control and management. Systematic economics took over and it began to favour the entry over the aristocracy and set limits to the extent of aristocratic expense or display. As Richard Halpern notes, it also interrupted the circuit through which these older forms of symbolic capital could be reconverted into liquid wealth, while creating entirely new domains of cultural capital (literacy, education, and

[66] Harris, *Sick Economies*.

[67] Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theatre in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

others).[68]

As the increasing liquidity of wealth in the form of credit held over debts increased, the resulting opulent wealth as well as the depressing poverty led to problems of disorder and vagrancy, and the maintenance of accounts and household management became important. This trend needed a civil society based on the concepts of order, legality and rationality. The Reformation which brought in providentialist religion and consolidated humanist education catalysed the developing conceptualization of civil society between 1500 and 1640. The humanist art of household management, and civil legal institutions helped to maintain the fluid credit orderly and securely. [69]

Both Catholic and Protestant humanists encouraged their students to keep a commonplace book in which to record any notable passages or amusing sayings they had read or heard, so that by regular conning they could memorize them and trot them out to drive home their argument when making a speech or writing a letter. Rhetoric and morality were often closely connected in this enterprise, and the better-organized commonplace book had appropriate headings under which to record sententious sayings or proverbs, such as charity, justice, family, love, or conscience.[70]

In terms of the humanist art of management, every entry in the double-entry bookkeeping, like everything in the household, was assigned a proper place, as Wellbery notes, so when

[68] Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 88.

[69] Criag Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998).

[70] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 403.

something was missing, the gaping space would cry out.[71] Classical rhetoric was a specialized system of knowledge, acquired through formal education, to maintain property and reinforce the social hierarchy by discriminating its audience according to ranks, education, and social character. [72]

The economic change had far more influence. The fluid was not limited to money, commodity and markets. People of different ranks and location flowed as well. It was a time of unprecedented transnational fluidity of goods, coin, and people. As Lawrence Stone observes: the period from 1500 to 1650 was one of extraordinary and unprecedented economic movement, both "vertical" (up and down the ranks of the social hierarchy) and "horizontal" (from one profession, trade, or location to another within a social rank).[73]

Although rural and urban communities had always been porous, in the Elizabethan era, Andrew McRae points out, the nature and volume of mobility increased markedly. The fluid became socially endemic. The mobility of common men and women was perceived as one of the most urgent social problems of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[74] Whereas late feudal ideology tended to bind the poor to a corporative social or religious body, early modern ideology worked to expel them as alien and threatening. As Halpern describes it, they were displaced and homeless on the margins of society "like a kind of volatile fluid, wandering and

[71] This parallels with an image wiped from a memory table and a dead body tossed up from a grave.

[72] Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and society*.

[73] Cited in Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 88.

[74] Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

coursing irregularly through the social body and visible everywhere in it, representing the possibility of a total and anarchic breakdown of the existing social mechanisms of order and control". They could also be said to reflect and "mimic the qualities of capital itself, whose ceaseless movements tended to ignore or to dissolve traditional social bonds and beliefs". [75]

In terms of "to be placeless is a crime",[76] they were threats, causing anxiety and fear. On the one hand, their fluid migration between different places contributed to the success of the fluid economy, and on the other hand they can be contagious to the commonwealth. Whether the fluid people, especially marginal people, were productive or destructive to the society depended on how they were managed. Like the humoral body or printed books, regulated flow was the best way to keep the body in balance and healthy. A Utopian society should be in a healthy and harmonious state, without surpluses or depletions and one main characteristic of it is the regulated flow (of goods and populations).[77] Just as bodily health is a "calm and harmonious state of the body", Utopian society is the best state of a commonwealth.

Money defined by Marx and illustrated by Andy Mousely as "being that utterly indiscriminate medium of exchange which renders unlike things, including people-as-things, anonymously alike",[78] caused anxiety of identity. Money's transnational fluidity and its character of

[75] Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 74.

[76] McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*, 95.

[77] Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 171.

[78] Quoted from Grav, *Shakespeare and the Economic Imperative*126.

measuring almost everything aggravated this anxiety. The formless and characterless nature of the monetary form became a recurring motif in Renaissance and Reformation literature. In this protean social world where social and individual identity became mobile like a commodity with mercurial exchange value, liquidity and changeability were dissolving, dividing, and destroying form and boundaries and confounding the character of all exchanges. The prevalence of monetary values also engendered the privileging of quantitative thinking over qualitative, and even emotion was transformed to be quantifiable and weighable.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, purse and person become equivalent and exchangeable, and a bond regarding economic relations becomes a bound of body.[79] In *Twelfth Night*, beauty is itemized like commodities to be sold,[80] and in Shakespearean sonnets, beauty is also a commodity to be consumed before expiry date rather than wasted if unused.[81] In *King Lear*, quantifiable value is placed on immaterial things like love which cannot be quantified. The anxiety evoked by King Lear's quantitative thinking of love and Hamlet's pondering on undistinguishable skulls are both reflections of money's quantitative measurement, formless character and levelling power.

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[79] Antonio's "My purse and my person" (1.1.139); Shylock's "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!" (2.8.15); Portia's "the full sum of me/ Is sum of nothing" (3.2.158-159), etc. For investigation of money and person in *The Merchant of Venice*, see my paper 'Purse' and 'Person' in *The Merchant of Venice*", *Literature Education*, 4(2012).

[80] Olivia considers her beauty as an itemized object which consists of items such as "Two lips, indifferent red" and "two grey eyes, with lids to them" (1.5.267-269).

[81] The beautiful young man is regarded by the poet as a "beauteous niggard" (4.5) whose "unus'd beauty" (4.13) would be wasted. "Treasure thou some place/ With beauty's treasure, ere it be self-kill'd./ That use is not forbidden usury,/ Which happies those that pay the willing loan" (6.3-6) equates beauty with commodity.

Boundary and Authority in Texts

A person's body parts, like Antonio's flesh, were not only measured by monetary value but also measured and dissected like texts and maps. The terms "book of face", "book of memory", "book of mind" and "book of soul" are scattered throughout some of Shakespeare's plays. Romeo's face in Juliet's eyes is "fairly bound" (3.2.83-84), and Paris in Juliet's mother's eyes is a book which she asks Juliet to examine:

> Read o'er the volume of young Paris' face
> And find delight writ there with beauty's pen;
> Examine every married lineament,
> And see how one another lends content;
> And what obscur'd in this fair volume lies
> Find written in the margent of his eyes.
> This precious book of love, this unbound lover,
> To beautify him, only lacks a cover (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1.3.81-88)

Paris is a fair book and Juliet can be the fair cover which makes it perfect.

Just as bodies composed of volatile liquids like animal spirits were fluid, texts composed of volatile liquids on a smooth surface[82] were also fluid, especially after the Reformation and the development of printing technology. The Reformation and the printing press brought great changes to texts. Andrew Pettegree points out that scholars have established their interpretations on these two apparently solid pillars since Elizabeth Eisenstein's book *The Printing Press as an Agent of*

[82] Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital*, 81.

Change[83] was published: "Protestantism was the religion of the book; the book was a Protestant instrument".[84] The change of religion and new book technology resulted in fluidity of texts.

First, authorial texts became far more fluid. For scholars such as Peter Stallybrass, Leah Marcus, Margreta de Grazia, Jonathan Goldberg, and Stephen Orgel, the transcendent authorial text was regarded as being very fluid and unstable.[85] The transcendent author disappeared and the self-authorized writer had not yet appeared. Some Renaissance writers were used to the situation of being authorized by others, by plural, external, potentially competing guarantors of a fluid, shifting and collaborative Renaissance dramatic text.[86] There were also some writers who intended to create their own authority from other authorities and Montaigne was one of them. He did not simply store authorial texts; instead, He digested authorial texts and fashioned his own texts and his own character, and actually, his book, as a repository of his thoughts, experiences and judgments, was a part of his life as he admitted:

> If in reasons, comparisons, and arguments, I transplant any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceal the Author, thereby to bridle the rashnesse of

[83] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[84] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 7.

[85] Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 5, 57.

[86] At the same period in China, the production, transmission and consumption of songs which involved writers, readers, commentators and even audiences was also a collaborative act. For more details and examples, see Tian Yuan Tan's "The Transmission of Sanqu Songs, Writers' Reputation, and Literati Network in The Mid Ming: Local and Trans-local Considerations", *Ming Qing Studies*, 2010.

> these hastie censures, that are so head long cast upon all manner of compositions,
> namely young writers, of men yet living[87].

From the intertextual compost heap of authorial texts including his own previous texts, Montaigne had a polylogue with those who had ceased to be and fashioned and established his authority, which was ceaselessly changing as the polylogue[88] went on throughout his life.

Second, the boundaries between texts and margins, imitation and innovation were blurred. Initially margins were the sites where authorities gathered together to authorize the texts, and imitation of authorial texts was of great importance. For humanist pedagogy, mimetic assimilation was a fundamental tenet. Erasmian imitation was not limited to one model. Endorsing the study of multiple models, Erasmus encouraged readers and writers to internalize texts in the hope of mastering them instead of being mastered. Such imitation could raise two concerns. One was that emphasis on imitation could paralyse the writer if he thought of imitation as exact reproduction by stamping, printing, and coining without any innovation. Another concern would arise if the writer was too innovative, as the chaotic productiveness of style could threaten to overturn customary authorities and distinctions. Fashion seemed to be a dangerously deconstructive phenomenon to a wide body of social observers. Not only did it blur traditional class lines, but it was subject to a

[87] Michael de Montaigne, *The Essayes or Moral, Politicke, and Militarie Discourses of Lo: Michael de Montaigne*. Trans. John Florio, 3 vols. 1603. rpt., (London: J.M. Dent and Sons), 1965, 93.

[88] On Montaigne's polylogue, see Engel's *Mapping Mortality*,126-8, 255.

bewildering mutability.[89] Fluidity of innovation was more dangerous than static imitation and copy. Gradually the texts had their own authority and abandoned the margins. Jonson's early use and later abandonment of the margins highlighted the contested nature of authority in the early modern period, the competing claims of external authorities and an emergent notion of internal authority.

After the Reformation, external authorities were increasingly confronted with challenges, and internal authority gradually became the one most people resorted to. The absolute authority of the Pope was replaced with the authority of scripture and of faith which were accessible by turning inwards and conducting self-scrutiny. God, in the view of English theologians, as stated by Greenblatt among other Shakespeare critics, "was no longer a monarch with whom lowly mortals could negotiate by means of supplication, ascetic self-discipline, and other propitiatory offering".[90] In *Measure for Measure*, Isabella points out that even authority "err[s] like others" (2.2.134). Multiple interpretations of the Bible and God instead of one authority became possible under such circumstances.

Third, with the development of printing technology the hitherto limited manuscripts circulated within specific circles metamorphosed into numerous fluid copies. The fluidity of copies gave hope to Protestants who used the printing press as a tool to win religious territory from Catholic authority. Therefore, to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, it was a threat and could

[89] Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 29-40.

[90] Greenblatt, *Shakespeare's Freedom*, 2.

cause anxiety and fear. Even writers like Dekker Thomas, Ben Jonson and Edmund Spenser, seeing publication of texts as "pressing to death",[91] expressed anxiety about allowing their words to circulate beyond their control. Compared with the idea of the publication of texts as flowing into an external wide world, the idea of a circle, with all its implications of closure and self-containment, still naturally held great appeal for so radically contingent a being as the Elizabethan author. Although authors are concerned about being unable to control the circulation of their texts, the anxiety of the hierarchy of Church and the monarch was greater without any doubt. Publication by the underground press caused worry that the press could incite treason, could divide the people and set them against the hierarchy of Church and state through fluid and uncontrollable publications.[92]

Concern was especially clear regarding the circulation of the Bible. The fluid copies of the Bible spreading across the country within a short time and without control posed a great threat to Catholic authorities and even the monarch. The individual interpretation of the Bible without resort to authority was another anxiety. The fear of proliferation and diversity, of an entropic shift from authority located within traditional institutes to its location within potentially recalcitrant, wilful, and headstrong subjects, called for control, order and hierarchy. More's fantasy of regulated circulation was a product of such anxiety. More invoked an idea of absolute control over the

[91] Thomas Dekker in his *The Wonderfull Yeare* (1603) says, "he that dares hazard a pressing to death (thats to say, *To be a man in Print*) must make account that he shall stand (like the olde Weathercock ouer Powles steeple) to be beaten with all stormes". See Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare*, A3.

[92] Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, 8-28.

circulation of the Bible, imagining a ruthlessly regulated economy of distribution which echoes his fantasy of a Utopian society which was a harmonious and healthy community by virtue of being well governed and regulated.

The Reformation affected writers in different ways. Just as religious people turned their eyes from external authority to their own interior world, some writers fashioned their own authority. Authorities' dissolution on the one hand liberated the literati's thoughts and made establishment of their own authorities possible, and on the other hand it deconstructed the sacredness and stability of authority. Printing, although it helped to spread their works efficiently, removed their authority over their own books once they were put into circulation. The separation of one's authority from one's own texts caused by the prevalence of printing presses produced anxiety.

Printing and the Reformation were two innovative and influential forces which affected fluid and unstable authority over texts and the permeable boundary between texts and margins. In broader fields like astronomy and religion, there are also senses of fluid.

Fluid in Astronomy and Religion

Astrology and religion both played an important part in Renaissance attitudes towards fluid and loci, change and stasis. In a general sense, Christian belief and Aristotelian /Ptolemaic cosmology both regard change as negative. According to Christian belief, Adam and Eve's sin is corruption and after the Fall of Adam and Eve a process of decay started, and therefore all natures involved are tainted

and corrupted. The world has become weaker and less fruitful since corruption is progressive and inevitable in both physical and moral terms.

Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), defining melancholy as the human condition, implies that history reveals a process of continuous decay. Though man's first state was pure, perfect, and happy, with original sin he lost his wholeness, health and purity, and in the course of time there has been a progressive falling away from his first state. Burton suggests that the only growth has been in human misery since the time he lives in has more diseases than in ancient time. He frequently reminds us that, as a punitive effect of the Fall, melancholy cannot be permanently cured by human efforts.

John Donne expresses a similar sense of decay. In his *An anatomie of the World* he connects his self-engendered disease with those of the greater world: for both microcosm and macrocosm, such generation is perverse, characterized not by life but decay.

> Then, as mankinde, so is the worlds whole frame
> Quite out of ioynt, almost created lame:
> For, before God had made vp all the rest,
> Corruption entred, and deprau'd the best: [93]

The process of corruption and decay is a loss of original wholeness or unity and a process of dissolution. With original sin man lost his integrity and the world lost its wholeness, and they both became disjointed and corrupted. In the process of time the pieces have become further separated.

[93] John Donne, *The First Anniuersarie*, 18-9.

The scattering of dust is the final step in the process of dissolution that began with the Fall.[94] This process of fragmentation was the cause of many things including language. When men tried to erect the Tower of Babel, the unitary language was fragmented into many chaotic languages.

In the course of time, "Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone;/ All iust supply, and all Relation: / Prince, Subiect, Father, Sonne, are things forgot" (25-27),[95] and corruption dissolved almost all relationships and boundaries. The boundaries between death and life, virtue and vice, internal and external were all dissolved because of fluidity and corruption. All the changes after the Fall of Adam and Eve, according to this view, were owned to corruption and decay.

The Aristotelian /Ptolemaic cosmology also contributed to this negative view of change. It regarded stasis as the ideal and change as mutability, decay, mortality, and imperfection, and it was dominant down through the sixteenth century and persisted in some quarters even into the eighteenth.[96] In what Thomas Kuhn calls the traditional "two-sphere" Aristotelian cosmology, the immutable, unchanging, and therefore perfect heavens contrasted with the terrestrial sphere, the realm of mutability, change, and decay. This sense of decay and corruption was intensified by the recurrent epidemics of plague which devastated England and other European countries for over 350 years. Beginning with the outbreak of the Black Death in 1347, the plague flowed across boundaries

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[94] Achsah Guibbory, *The Map of Time: Seventeenth- Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History* (Urbana nad Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 74.

[95] John Donne, *Poems with Elegies on the Authors Death* (London, 1633), 242.

[96] Guibbory, *The Map of Time*, 18.

and caused mass death. The horror was most painfully felt after the Reformation when the burial custom was broken down. Seeing decayed copses indistinguishably scattered on the ground or heaped together in pits, people were worried about their destiny after death.

Whereas traditional cosmology reinforced the association of change with decay and imperfection, the revolutions in astronomy during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in many ways fostered a different and more positive attitude towards change. Giordano Bruno was an eloquent spokesman for this positive view of change. Believing that the universe was continually changing, he asserted unequivocally that change was a sign of perfection. Galileo, who was the most important scientist of the early seventeenth century, also argued for the new Copernican astronomy. Both believed that change is not inevitably "corruption", a mark of imperfection.[97] Bruno's thought is complicated, however. On the one hand he is a performer of mnemonics, important rules of which are fixity of images, order and loci; on the other hand, he holds a positive view of change. Senses of fluid and loci seem to coexist harmoniously in his mind.

Fluid and loci, or change and stasis, which I regard as equivalent in some cases, were seen differently by writers in early modern England, however. Whereas Bacon assumes that all human

[97] From the perspective of aesthetics, Hugh Grady and Stephen Greenblatt among other Shakespearean critics have noted that imperfection and impurity were regarded as a kind of beauty by some early modern minds. See Greenblatt, *Shakespeare's Freedom* and Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*. In Shakespearean plays and sonnets, sense of strangeness, otherness, imperfection, fragmentation and quality of individuation are stronger than perfection and sameness. Featurelessness, implying sameness, risks being indistinguishable and sinking into oblivion and annihilation.

effort should lead to a state of rest and stasis (the Sabbath), Milton's heaven (the goal to which human beings aspire) is characterized not just by rest but also by change and variety.[98] Stasis is not ideal for Milton, as he reasons that if the waters of truth "flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition".[99] Milton's idea often echoes Shakespeare's evil characters who advocate change to improve their situations. In *The Tempest*, when Sebastian says to Antonio that he is "standing water", Antonio replies "I'll teach you how to flow" (2.1.30), which implies their plan to murder the king and change their lives. Whereas in Shakespearean plays some villains advocate change, some so-called good characters also regard change rather than stasis as the ideal. Before he tells his story to Hamlet, Old Hamlet narrates, "I find thee apt;/ And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed/ That rots itself in ease on Lethe wharf,/ Wouldst thou not stir in this" (1.5.31-34). Stasis leads to putrefaction and death whereas change creates vitality.

Actually, Milton implies that change may be essential to perfection. His definition of perfection as including change may well be related to the idea of an infinite universe, which developed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this newly expanded universe change as well as infinity was sometimes seen as an expression and, indeed, a celebration of the creator.[100] Although religion's status began to give way to economics and new sciences, which saw the more

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[98] Lewalski, "Time and History in *Paradise Regained*," 68.

[99] John Milton, *Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parlament of England*, 26.

[100] Murray Roston, *Milton and the Baroque.*

positive aspects of fluidity, fluidity's better side in the fields of religion and astrology was also increasingly highlighted.

Conclusion

In sum, as regards physiology, economics, cosmology and politics, fluidity exists in numerous forms, including humoral bodies, identities, money, commodity and texts. On the one hand, like blood in a humoral body or capital in economics, fluidity gives life and engenders productivity. On the other hand, as it dissolves boundaries and is sometimes out of control, it breeds disease and corruption, which results in anxiety. Its characteristic of breeding and spreading contamination and corruption by crossing boundaries poses a threat and causes people's concern. How to keep its advantages in terms of breeding life and productivity and in the meantime avoid failing to control it and being contaminated is a question worthy of consideration. Bloodletting, localizing the body by anatomization and mapping, mnemonic artists' discipline regarding memory, and humanist discipline of the humoral body are all ways to localize and regulate the humoral body's fluid either by containing it or by balancing it. More's fantasy of regulated circulation of the Bible, systematic control of economics, merchandise double entry account book and Utopian society are different ways of taming, localizing and regulating fluidity in different fields.

Chapter Three

Death and Memory in *Hamlet*

Hamlet as a play is obviously permeated with death: from old Hamlet's ghost in the beginning of the play to the feast of corpses in the end, from a series of murder plots to an accidental killing, from poison to drowning, from skulls tossed up to indistinguishable dust, death is pervasive like a shadow. Another shadow which also haunts *Hamlet* is memory: from the Ghost's "remember me!" (1.5.91), "Do not forget!" (3.4.109) to the skulls as memento mori in the graveyard, from Hamlet's decision to wipe his memory from his table of memory to Fortinbras's claim of "some rights of memory in this kingdom" (5.2.403), the tragedy is worried about the failure of memory, its unreliability as well as its depth, excessiveness and dilation.[1]

Death and memory, haunting *Hamlet* and especially the eponymous Hamlet, often appear as twins. The ghost of old Hamlet's "remember[ing] me" (1.5.91) which drags Hamlet backward to the past and the skull's memento mori of "remember[ing] that you will die" [2] which pushes Hamlet forward to the future, both are the symbols of death and memory. Hamlet appears in the play as a

[1] For arguments on forgetfulness or excessiveness of Hamlet's memory, see: Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 218-29; Dennis Kennedy, "Memory, performance, and the idea of the museum", in *Shakespeare, Memory and Performance*, ed. Peter Holland, 341-42; Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre*, 112.

[2] "Memento mori" is a Latin phrase reminding people of their mortality. It is translated as "remember that you will die", "remember you must die" or "remember your mortality".

man troubled with his father's death and his memory of the past, and in the end of the play, he disappears as a dying man worrying about how he will be remembered. It is without doubt that Hamlet is troubled by both death and memory, and particularly anxious about corruption and fragmentation of them, both exterior and interior, which are reflected in his language and the words spoken by other characters. As the boundaries are blurred and become permeable and corrupted, Hamlet's exterior world and interior world are corrupted and fragmented. Death and memory, corruption and fragmentation, loci and fluid, work in a dynamic way in *Hamlet*. This chapter analyses the dynamics and tension between them and digs the historical context to investigate death and memory in *Hamlet*.

Hamlet's Memory: Fluid, Excessive and Fragmentary

Hamlet, who claims that he has "that within which passeth show" (1.2.85), is widely considered as a character having a deep interior world.[3] The depth of his interior world can be seen from the depth and excessiveness of his grief and memory. The alienation of the interior world from the exterior appearance performed by many people is in contrast with Hamlet who asserts that his show is in conformity with his interior depth. When his mother Gertrude asks him, "why seems it so particular with thee?" (1.2.75), Hamlet answers:

[3] Works such as Maus's *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance* and Lee's *Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the Controversies of Self* have examination of Hamlet's interior world.

> Seems, madam! Nay, it is; I know not 'seems.'
> 'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother,
> Nor customary suits of solemn black,
> Nor windy suspiration of forc'd breath,
> No, nor the fruitful river in the eye,
> Nor the dejected havior of the visage,
> Together with all forms, modes, shows of grief,
> That can denote me truly; these indeed seem,
> For they are actions that a man might play:
> But I have that within which passeth show;
> These but the trappings and the suits of woe. (*Hamlet*, 1.2.76-86)

In this passage, clothes are associated with human emotion and mourning. Clothes in early modern England are also closely linked with memory and some prescribed behaviours.[4] They are especially useful in the art of memory, as images to be remembered decorated with various clothes can impress memory and invoke memory.[5] In *Hamlet*, the clothes old Hamlet's ghost wears plays a similar part. The ghost armed with warlike form and armour invokes Horatio's episodic memory of old Hamlet. Clothes as external appearance in Hamlet's eyes, however, are inseparable from his interior world. Hamlet's "inky cloak" (1.2.77) implies the depth of his internal world and memory. Ink's characteristic of permeation contrasts with ordinary clothes' superficial function of decoration. Whereas other people's grief and memory in his eyes are like "the trappings and the suits" (1.2.86) for show which can be cast away like objects, Hamlet's grief and memory are integrated with his

[4] For the relationship between memory and clothing, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and Materials of Memory*.

[5] Clothing's effect on the art of memory was widely acknowledged among mnemonists such as Matteo Ricci.

interior world as a whole entity which cannot be set apart.

As Catholic extravagant ceremony was, claimed by some active Protestants, corrupted and were mere show, the integrity of exterior appearance and interior truth collapsed and the signified and the signifier were alienated. Therefore, the appearance adopted in the ceremony such as "inky cloak" (1.2.77), "customary suits of solemn black" (1.2.78), "fruitful river in the eye" (1.2.80) "together with all forms, modes, shows of grief" (1.2.82) can be merely shows. What is really true cannot be shown by exterior appearance which everyone can adopt and copy, as John Lee has written, "'that within is of value because it cannot be duplicated, and it 'passeth show'" (1.2.85).[6] Maus also points out that Hamlet's exterior appearance fails to denote him truly "not because they are false – Hamlet's sorrow for his father is sincere – but because they *might* be false, because some other person might conceivably employ them deceitfully".[7] It is possible that duplication and falseness of exterior appearance may replace or taint the original meaning and emotion in the interior world, so Hamlet, who adopts the same exterior appearance to express his interior true feeling, risks being misinterpreted as false. It is not the only danger Hamlet confronts. As Hamlet uses the same exterior appearance which has already been corrupted by Catholicism, his interior truth is correspondingly misread and contaminated. The reformers like Claudius consider exterior appearance either as "obsequious sorrow" (1.2.92) or as "unmanly grief" (1.2.94) and aim to

[6] Lee, *Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the Controversies of Self*, 157.

[7] Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance*, 1.

eradicate or minimize them. In this context, Hamlet's grief which he believes cannot be denoted truly by his exterior appearance is merely considered by Claudius as a show on the one hand and unnatural and unmanly on the other hand. As in *King Lear* the language abused and contaminated by Goneril and Regan fails to express Cordelia's true love, the exterior appearance abused and contaminated by Catholicism fails to denote Hamlet's true grief.

"[I]nky" may also imply grief and memory's penetrating invasion of Hamlet's subject. In *Richard II*, "inky" appears in Gaunt's words "with inky blots, and rotten parchment bonds" (2.1.64). Not only the "inky cloak" is associated with memory, the word "inky" together with "denote" and "forms" probably cannot be separated from Hamlet's table of memory where all forms are recorded. Hamlet's interior world is penetrated, invaded, corrupted and even paralyzed by grief and memory of the past. Not long after his emphasis on his interior depth and authenticity, Hamlet is obsessed with death wish and troubled with unwilled memory.

> 'tis an unweeded garden,
> That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
> Possess it merely. That is should come to this!
> But two months dead: nay, not so much, not two:
> So excellent a king; that was, to this,
> Hyperion to a satyr; so loving to my mother
> That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
> Visit her face too roughly. Heaven and earth!
> Must I remember? Why, she would hang on him,
> As if increase of appetite had grown
> By what it fed on; and yet, within a month,
> Let me not think on't: Frailty, thy name is woman!

A little month;

…

…within a month (*Hamlet*, 1.2.135-153)

Denmark in Hamlet's eyes is like a corrupted garden where rank weeds have displaced seeds. Seeds of the good past and weeds of the present corruption both struggle to hold a seat in Hamlet's thought. Intermittently unwilled recollection of his father's past love of his mother and the uncertain and blurred time of his father's death battle in his mind, causing his mind's distraction and fragmentation. "[T]wo month" "not so much, not two" "within a month" and "a little month" is a reflection of his uncontrollable memory and mind, and Hamlet's repetition of time also reflects his anxiety of memory's fickleness. On the one hand, memory is so deeply rooted in Hamlet's mind that he is not able to control it; on the other hand, memory's fickleness shown in Gertrude's forgetting of her husband within months causes his anxiety. His uncontrollability of his excessive and fluid memory and his anxiety of memory's fickleness both trouble and disable him.

Some critics argue that Hamlet's problem is in his failure to remember while others contend that it is Hamlet's failure to forget that troubles him.[8] I would argue that Hamlet's problem is also about what he remembers and what he forgets, or, what he tries to remember and what he intends to forget. Memory of the past and memory of the present, memory of his father and memory of

[8] On Hamlet's memory, see Michael Cameron Andrews, "'Remember me': Memory and Action in *Hamlet*"; Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster*;
Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character*, 139; Nicholas Ray's "Excessive Inscription: Hamlet and Sonnet 122", in *Tragedies and Otherness: Sophocles, Shakespeare, Psychoanalysis*.

himself, contend in his heart and brain, and his heart and brain both want to hold him. Hamlet is indeed troubled by excessive memory of the past and fails to forget the past, and his anxiety is aggravated by his recognition that memory decays very quickly. That Hamlet who worries about the fading of memory is at the same time a victim haunted by excessive memory is also noted by Greenblatt in *Hamlet in Purgatory*[9]. Memory's depth and fickleness all together trouble and disable Hamlet. His decision to remove old memory and replace it with new memory of the ghost's words also demonstrates his belief of memory's fickleness.

> Remember thee!
> Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
> In this distracted globe. Remember thee!
> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
> That youth and observation copied there;
> And thy commandment all alone shall live
> Within the book and volume of my brain
> Unmixed with baser matter (1.5.95-104)

In his earlier speech, Hamlet emphasizes his depth of grief and memory which cannot be shown and now he wants to wipe off his memory table clean. He doesn't realize how deep and excessive his memory is, however. Even if he is able to remove his previous memory from his mind, there would be another danger: if Hamlet's memory table can be cleaned, it would mean that things on his memory table are not secure and they will also have the risk of being removed. As Stallybrass

[9] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 218.

points out,

> Hamlet first imagines the tables as figuring a mind from which the past can be erased so as to store a present memory. But the present memory is in turn vulnerable to the material form on which it is inscribed: an erasable surface, from which the present "command" can be wiped out as easily as the trivial records of the past.[10]

Just as a skull in a grave can be tossed up to spare space for a new corpse, the memory table can be cleaned to store new remembrance. The apparent paradox shows Hamlet's attempt to control his memory.[11] On the one hand, memory's fickleness makes it possible for him to remove old memory, and on the other hand, memory's depth gives him hope that the new memory will be kept for a long time. Memory's fickleness outweighs its depth in Hamlet's mind.

Memory's apparent paradox of depth and fickleness are related to Renaissance minds' complicatedly diverse recognition on memory. Faculty psychology, the art of memory, humour physiology and the theory of animal spirits all have similar and different recognition of memory.[12] Furthermore, metaphors of memory also contribute to the complication. [13] According to Faculty psychology and the art of memory, memory is believed to be located in the hinder cell of the brain, while in terms of humour physiology and the theory of animal spirits, memory is related to humours

[10] Peter Stallybrass etc. "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England".

[11] In his paper given at the University of Exeter, Rhodri Lewis also said that Hamlet tries to "convince himself that he has control over what he will and won't remember". For more information see Lewis's *Hamlet, Metaphor and memory* which is forthcoming in *Studies in Philology* 109 (2012).

[12] See "Locative Memory and the Brain" and "Fluid Memory and the Heart" in Chapter one.

[13] Also see Chapter one.

and spirits which are fluid. If memory is localized then it is very likely that it can be cast away like an object. If memory is fluid like humour and spirits, borrowing Hamlet's words "Hic et ubique", memory is hard to be controlled and got rid of. As I explored in the introductory chapter, memory is considered both as a container and contents, a container for solid objects like treasures as well as for fluid things like running streams.[14] Memory as contents can be treasures orderly placed as well as fluid things in motion. [15] Whatever memory is, it causes anxiety. As aforesaid, if memory is a container for treasures, it has the risk of being ransacked; if memory is a collections of orderly placed objects, it has the danger of being disordered and being removed; if memory is fluid, it is hard to be controlled and recalled; if memory is liquid like spirits, it risks vaporization and rotting if mixed with rank things and being still without being stirred.

Hamlet's speech is also permeated with the senses of corruption and fragmentation. Replacing old memory with new memory "unmixed with baser matter" (1.5.104) is Hamlet's purification of his memory. "[B]aser matter" may, as "some vicious mole of nature" (1.4.24) "take[s] corruption" (1.4.35), corrupt new memory if they are mixed. "[D]istracted globe" can be Hamlet's brain or the globe theatre or even the whole country or the macrocosmic universe, all of which could be in the state of being distracted.[16] Brain is fragmented as three parts where imagination, reason and memory take place. The world, with the development of cartography, is dissected and

[14] Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preseruation of the Sight.*

[15] Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces*, 1998.

[16] See Chapter Two regarding "distracted globe".

distracted like a body. Albeit Hamlet's words "while memory holds a seat/ In this distracted globe" can be interpreted in different ways, the ghost of Old Hamlet's "remember[ing] me" also implies his intention of holding his seat in Hamlet's memory.[17] The ghost could also be the lingering voices of past performances which still haunt audience's memory when they are sitting in the distracted globe theatre. Given that a variety of interpretations on the distracted globe make sense in some respect, I would stress that, it is more likely that "this distracted globe" indicates the reformed world where catholic ceremonies with purgatory are removed and catholic ghosts haunt and intend to hold a seat in the memory of the living. *Hamlet*'s engagement with memory is a critical commonplace, as regards the rich vocabulary of memory and Shakespeare's shifting of the focus from revenge in Ur-*Hamlet* to remembering.[18] Therefore, it is very likely that Hamlet's memory reformation in many ways reflects the Reformation. Although Shakespeare's attitude to religion is obscure, his sympathy to the Catholic ghost is implied.

Hamlet's speech, permeated with images of corruption and fragmentation, implies his anxiety of them, which hovers the whole play. Ophelia is "[d]ivided from herself" (4.5.85), Hamlet "from himself be ta'en away" (5.2.248), Horatio says he is "a piece of him" (1.1.19), and Claudius is considered by Hamlet as "a king of shreds and patches" (3.4.102). Not only people are

[17]Augustine once referred memory to a seat of his mind when he said that "And I came into the innermost seat of my mind – which the mind has in my memory", See *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, Trans. Francis Joseph Sheed (Continuum International Publishing Group, 1944), 188.

[18] See Thomas Lodge, *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), 56; and Lewis, *Hamlet, Metaphor and Memory*.

fragmented, but also time and space are fragmentary. Time is "out of joint" (1.5.188) and Denmark is a dungeon filled with corrupted things. It is not exaggeration when Stephen Greenblatt says "*Hamlet* is a play of contagious, almost universal self-estrangement".[19] Hamlet's anxiety focuses on death as well as memory and it originates from his anxiety of corruption and fragmentation in terms of death.

Hamlet's Anxiety of Death: Corruption and Fragmentation

The soliloquy of "To be or not to be—that is the question" (3.1.56) has been a question confusing people for so many centuries and it is still and will be a question worth exploring in future.

> To be, or not to be: that is the question:
> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrow of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them? To die: to sleep;
> …
> But that the dread of something after death,
> The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
> No travelers returns, puzzles the will,
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of? (3.1.56-82)

To live or to die? To die? Death seems to be able to help Hamlet end the suffering of "a sea of troubles" in this world, while the one after death is still an unknowable world from which "no

[19] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, *211*.

traveller returns", and the "dread of something after death" tempts him to pause. In terms of suicide, the consequence is more serious according to beliefs of that era. At least, "Shards, flints and pebbles should be thrown on" (5.1.253) those who commit suicide. To live? If he chooses to live, then the country he is heir to has become a contaminated world, and even a prison, contaminated by his rascal uncle-father and his mother, and its time is out of joint. His uncle-father has poisoned his honourable father, married his mother and spread the plague to the whole country. Now in Denmark, in Hamlet's eyes, custom is forgotten and concepts of "degree" and "order" are violated: boundaries between naturally discrete things dissolve and opposites fuse, day merges with night and Sundays are indistinguishable from weekdays.

To live in such a tainted world, what should he do? To act or not? He has "cause and will and strength and means" (4.4.45) to act, to avenge his father. However, he does not have enough resolution to carry it out. The main reason is, according to his own words, "the native hue of resolution is sicklied over with the pale cast of thought" (3.3.84-85) and "some craven scruple of thinking too precisely on the event" (4.4.41) makes him unable to take action. Why does he lose himself in labyrinths of thought and what does he think about?

Firstly, he is a man having his weakness and lacking gall as he says, and he is easily attacked by melancholy and excessive memory. Thus he reflects, procrastinates and avoids unpleasant duties, and often reproaches himself in vain. This probably is the essential factor. Secondly, the world he

enjoyed and appreciated before his father's death proves extremely degraded now. A series of vicious events has overthrown his belief in kingship, kinship, love and friendship. Now he is suffering "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" which almost send him into despair. This is an exterior factor triggering his excessive grief and thought.

Another reason is the near impossibility of the task of revenge that the ghost of his father requested—revenge while "taint not thy mind" (1.5.85). How to act within a tainted world without becoming tainted himself? To live amid such a contaminated world is a tough task, let alone act within it without being tainted. Furthermore, if he pursues his identity of a son avenging his father, it will mean he has to give up his own peculiar identity.

Not to act? In fact, he ponders too much on the suffering of life rather than takes action to solve it. What life presents before him is "a sea of troubles" "calamity of so long life" "whips and scorns of time" and "grunt and sweat under a weary life". He cannot escape suffering by ending his life, neither can he escape avenging since he has "cause and will and strength and means" to act. However, he hasn't had enough resolution and preparation to act immediately. So he now can escape by pondering and reproaching himself.

Death seems to be a shelter from suffering, and yet he has no clear idea of what death exactly looks like and what will happen after death. He dreads "something after death", and yet he does not know what this "something" is. Death at this moment is relatively abstract and exists in his

imagination and contemplation. Death as peaceful sleep is a well-known recognition to help people conquer their unease over death, but once Hamlet contemplates it in a deep sense, the problem of unknowability of the world after death begins to trouble him. On the one hand, he still believes some of the prevalent ideas and doctrine on death, and on the other hand, he finds it questionable when he argues about them further. The same paradox is also reflected in his thoughts regarding heaven and hell when he considers whether to kill Claudius at prayer. In the prayer scene, Hamlet concerns so much about Claudius' sin that he misses the best opportunity to kill Claudius.

In his mother's chamber after the play he plotted, he directly faces death by killing Polonius rashly. He responds to Polonius's death in such a calm way that it seems he does not care as much as he used to do about death. Then in the sea scene, when he reads the commission and looks upon his death warrant, death no longer appears abstractly as an unknowable "not to be". He is shocked at the fact that death is so near to him yet he is not even aware of it. He succeeds in escaping death and instead sends his unfaithful friends to death. In the grave yard scene, as Calderwood indicates, "Death is most corporeally present. It appears to Hamlet as neither an undiscovered country nor an imagined axe but an immediately perceptible grave – Death's long hour house occupied by decaying bodies, worms and dust, and a skull."[20] It is also here in the graveyard that he sees his lover's corpse. In the sea scene and the graveyard scene his thought on death is transformed

[20] James L. Calderwood, *To Be and Not to Be: Negation and Metadrama in "Hamlet"* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 100.

significantly: death is not abstract anymore and sometimes it is so real and close that it can take people away abruptly when they are least ready; After death everyone decays and becomes a skull and indistinguishable dust, no matter once he was a king or a beggar. Death is determined by divinity and providence and it cannot be dominated by oneself; when death comes, "the readiness is all" (5.2.236).

As Michael Neill says, death is "the one we are born to meet, an uncanny companion we carry with us through life, a hidden double who will discover himself at the appointed hour".[21] This appointed hour is not determined by ourselves and we are not informed either, so what we can do is make sure we are in a state of "readiness". So from then on, Hamlet does not deliberately plot to revenge, instead, he passively reacts to whatever comes to him. Even when he confesses to Horatio "Thou wouldst not think how ill all's here about my heart" (5.2.223), he accepts the King's suggestion to play with Laertes by saying "I am constant to my purposes. They follow the King's pleasure. If his fitness speaks, mine is ready. Now or whensoever, provided I be so able as now" (5.2.208). Even though he can feel something bad probably is going to happen, he still accepts it. His reaction to what happens is just like Calderwood's analysis on the gravedigger's saying on Ophelia's death.

> As the water seeks out its innocent victim, so the murder of Claudius seeks out Hamlet. That murder is instinct within Claudius' plot, within the duel-as-scene, and Hamlet quite

[21] Neill, *Issue of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy*, 5-8.

> literally obliges the duel to come to him… as emblematic of his protective strategy, we do not see Hamlet enter to the King and court but rather the King, the Queen, and 'all the state' enter to Hamlet. Argal, as the Gravemaker would say, he does not initiate his revenge is not wholly guilty of its performance.[22]

If water approaches Ophelia, it is her "appointed time" and her destiny which is inevitable; if she actively approaches water, she is guilty because it is not her due time and it is she who shortens her life. Hamlet's action to the King is similar. It is death and revenge which approach him rather than Hamlet who approaches death and revenge. So he is not guilty. Hamlet's death in the end of the play is noble, as "for his passage the soldiers' music and the rite of war speak loudly for him" (5.2.414). After this rite, his name and story will be told and remembered.

Hamlet has meditated on abstract death and touched the skull of a dead body before he finally confronts his own death. As the ambassador of death, he also brings death to other characters who are involved directly or indirectly, including Polonius, Guildenstern and Rosencrantz, Ophelia, Claudius, Gertrude and Laertes. To purge the worldly evil and reconstruct a new world instead of the corrupted and unweeded garden, everyone pays his price. Among them, Ophelia dies as a victim to this diseased world. Her death scene is the most unforgettable one. Her death is not noble like Hamlet, but it is elegant, beautiful and pitiful. While the rosemary held in her hands representing memory and, her beautiful death has impressed a lot of audiences, readers and critics, death and memory associated with Hamlet are mainly related to corruption and fragmentation.

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[22] Calderwood, *To be and Not to Be*, 109.

"Speak with daggers": Hamlet's Dissection of Death and Memory

Obsessed with the sense of corruption and fragmentation, Hamlet tends to dissect microcosm and macrocosm like an anatomist, in words as well as in thoughts – or it could be said that his obsession with dissection creates or intensifies his sense of the corruption and fragmentation of both worlds. Hamlet is, as emphasized by many critics, obsessively interested in the interior of the body, physiologically, philosophically and psychologically.[23] John Hunt points out that Hamlet has a despairing contempt for the body.[24] I would stress that Hamlet's attitude towards body, exterior and interior, combined with his rich vocabulary, suggests that he is like an anatomist who has dissected human body with daggers of words and formed the habit of seeing things from a perspective of dissection.

In Hamlet's eyes, his father's death and his mother's hasty marriage to his uncle, are the fall of the world and the loss of the golden world. The world now becomes an "unweeded garden" (1.2.135) where "things rank and gross in nature/ Possess it merely" (1.2.136-137), and what used to be good and noble becomes actually, under his dissecting knife, death and corruption. In his speech to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, "this goodly frame, the earth" (2.2.317), in his eyes, becomes "sterile promontory" (2.2.318); "this excellent canopy, the air" (2.2.318-319) becomes "a

[23] Polland, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England*, 123. See also Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance*.

[24] John Hunt, "A Thing of Nothing: The Catastrophic Body in *Hamlet*", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 39:1 (1988), 27.

foul and pestilent congregation of vapours" (2.2.322); noble reason, infinite faculty and "the beauty of the world! The paragon of animals" (2.2.327-328) are all merely regarded as "quintessence of dust" (2.2.329).

Hamlet's anatomy here is not confined within the microcosm of human fabric but extends to the cartographic and geographic macrocosm[25], similar to John Donne's "anatomy of the world"[26], and even further to the whole universe. This fallen world is one "bathed in melancholy"[27], and Hamlet, who can see the inner contents of things, sees its essence through skins and films, and discovers that there is nothing immanent except death. Immanent meaning of the organic microcosm and macrocosm prove to be immanent death and corruption. Human life is a continual death[28] and the macrocosmic world is corrupted and decaying.[29] His melancholy is not only physical and psychological but also philosophical and religious. From a religious and philosophical viewpoint, the world after its fall is one in a process of decay. In Caygill's words, melancholy is more an ontological property of things than a psychological state.[30]

Hamlet's philosophical and meditative dissection of the world later takes a more corporeal

[25] Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrocosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1618).

[26] Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy*, 129. Neill mentions John Donne's "Anatomy of the world" and an extraordinary seventeenth-century print, *Geographers Dissecting a Globe.*

[27] Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*, 151.

[28] See my previous account of Philippe de Mornay's illustration of the essence of life.

[29] For my previous discussion on corruption and decay of both the microcosmic and the macrocosmic see *Fluid in Astronomy and Religion* in Chapter Two.

[30] Caygill, *Water Benjamin's Concept of Cultural History*, 88.

and concrete form – self-dissection in a soliloquy.

> Who calls me villain? Breaks my pate across?
> Plucks off my beard and blows it in my face?
> Tweaks me by the nose? Gives me the lie in the throat,
> As deep as to the lungs? (2.2.607-610)

The direction of his self-dissection is from the top downwards, from his pate to be broken, to his beard to be plucked off, then to his face to be blown, to his nose to be tweaked, to his throat, and then as deeply as to his lungs. Through anatomy, his organically united body[31] is dissected into separate and objectified parts which could probably be catalogued[32] and measured[33].

After his self-dissection, he begins to dissect his mother Gertrude's psyche with his daggers of words. This dissection starts by setting up a glass in words for Gertrude to see her innermost part, which Gertrude mistakes as an attempt to murder her. Hamlet later claims he will wring her heart to see if it is "made of penetrable staff" (3.4.35-36). After such loud "thunders in the index" (3.4.52), he uses images and words to provoke her memory of old Hamlet and dissect her sin and shame until Gertrude admits,

> Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul;
> And there I see such black and grained spots
> As will not leave their tinct. (3.4.89-91)

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[31] Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*, 191.

[32] See catalogued items of body in Shakespeare's *The Twelfth Night* and *The Winter's Tale.*

[33] One pound of flesh in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.

Since Gertrude's eyes have seen the spots in her soul, Hamlet continues his dissection, discovers corruption underneath and asks her to repent what is past.

> Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
> That not your trespass but my madness speaks;
> It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
> Whiles rank corruption, mining all within,
> Infects unseen. Confess yourself to heaven;
> Repent what's past; avoid what is to come;
> And do not spread the compost on the weeds
> To make them ranker. (3.4.145-152)

Words like these do enter Gertrude's ears and cleft her heart. However, Hamlet, holding his dissecting dagger of words, asks her to take action and be purged: "O! throw away the worser part of it/And live the purer with the other half." (3.4.157-158). [34] From Hamlet's dissecting perspective, even the heart can be cut into two parts and still be alive. If the worse part is thrown away, then Gertrude is purged. Hamlet doesn't pack away his dagger of words until the moment Gertrude can hardly bear it.

Hamlet "speak[s] daggers" (3.2.412)[35] not only to his mother but also to Ophelia and others. Although what he says is not pleasant, it is true in some respects. His words on death such as "A man may fish with the worm that/ hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that/ hath fed of that worm"

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[34] Like Macbeth's words "pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow".

[35] Hamlet speaks to himself before he goes to Gertrude's apartment, "I will speak daggers to her, but use none" (3.2.412). Under Hamlet's cruel accusation, Gertrude responds, "O! speak to me no more;/ These words like daggers enter in mine ears" (3.4.94-95).

(4.3.29-31) is, in some ways, a bloody dissection of the essence of death. Furthermore, Hamlet not only speaks words with daggers, but also speaks images[36] with daggers. His dumb show[37] is such a dagger, made of pictures in motion, which penetrates Claudius's mind.

This strong sense of corruption and fragmentation in terms of death and memory and even the whole play, is closely related to the context of the period when Shakespeare was writing *Hamlet*. Renaissance beliefs in humor physiology, the recurrent epidemics of plague among the European society from the outbreak of the Black Death in 1347, and the outbreak of plague in England in 1603, shaped the early modern crisis of death. According to Galenic humoralism's understandings, disease was considered as "a state of internal imbalance, or dyskrasia, caused by humoral disarray or deficiency".[38] However, in terms of widespread plague, disease could also be exogenous. Whether endogenous or exogenous, the humoral body, characterized by "corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries[39]", was fragile in the face of plague's devastating corruption. Increasingly growing transnational economic trades also contributed to anxiety over corruption.

As expounded in detail in the previous chapter, the fluid economy, like disease, was regarded exogenous as well as endogenous, gradually developing from an endogenous state to an

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[36] See Doebler, *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures: Studies in Iconic Imagery*; and Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994).

[37] Rosemary Freeman notes that a dumb show is an elaborated version of pictures in an emblem book, in the same way, as David M. Bergeron points out, that civic pageants are considered as animated emblems. See also Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*.

[38] Harris's *Sick Economies*, 13.

[39] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 8.

exogenous state. Economic movement, both "vertical'' and ''horizontal'', including goods, coins, and people, forms endemic social mobility and fluidity.[40] In terms of goods, some goods from foreign countries are contaminated by exotic disease and thus cause corruption; in terms of coins, which are formless, characterless and anonymously alike, they cause an anxiety of identity, and money's transnational fluidity and its character of being used to measure almost everything, forms a corrosive force corrupting human morality; in terms of people, dispossessed people on the margins of society are threats to the existing social mechanisms of order and control[41], causing further anxiety.

Hamlet penetrates and dissects those people's minds and hearts, and by speaking daggers with words or images, he attempts to affect those minds and hearts. His assumption is that, since disease and sin are both exogenous and endogenous, they should be affected by exogenous force and endogenous behaviour. His behaviour is a paradox, as on the one hand he claims the interiority of his inner world and resists being penetrated and truly interpreted, but on the other hand, he penetrates and vivisects other people's minds and hearts cruelly by evoking their memories. Since his own interior world cannot be penetrated and read correctly by others, how can he ensure that he can truly read the hearts and minds of others? In *Othello*, Iago also "carefully denies access of his interior self for fear of becoming as susceptible to manipulation, humiliation, and punishment as his

[40] Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 88.

[41] Ibid., 74.

victims are".[42] Although I would never imply a general similarity between Hamlet and Iago, I do notice some sense of similarity between them in terms of their attitudes towards interiority and exteriority. In Iago's soliloquy, he states,

> For when my outward action doth demonstrate
> The native act and figure of my heart
> In complement extern, 'tis not long after
> But I will wear my heart upon my sleeve
> For daws to peck at: I am not what I am, (*Othello* 1.1.61-5)

Hamlet uses similar words when he has heard the old Hamlet's narration of his unnatural death and tells his friends about his possible future behaviours, "How strange or odd soe'er I hear myself,/ As I perchance hereafter shall think meet/ To put on an antic disposition on" (1.5.170-172). It is certain that Iago's intention is to do harm to innocent people while Hamlet is a victim and he does so to protect himself. Despite their intentions, their behaviours do share some similarity. Although Hamlet does not intend to hurt innocent people, he does hurt at least one innocent person – Ophelia. The affect upon Ophelia's heart when Hamlet refuses to remember the love letters he wrote to her must be as deep as that upon Falstaff's heart when Henry V cruelly rejects him. Henry V also hides his interior world in a layer so deep that even his father is deceived.

The deceitful behaviours shown by Iago, Hamlet and Henry V are a reflection of the cultural atmosphere of early modern England. Not only the outbreak of plague and the sick

[42] Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, 134.

economy[43] contribute to senses of corruption and fragmentation in an interior world, but also practices of anatomy, religion and politics shifts. As Slights points out,

> the political disruption of spiritual profession was never more violent in England than during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, as accounts of the recalcitrant tongues and tortured hearts of both Catholic and Protestant martyrs make clear. The violent exposure of these disjunctions between heart and tongue underlie the central.[44]

Jonathan Sawday and Devon Hodges, among other critics of anatomical study, have indicated that "anatomists such as Modino, Fabricius, Columbo, Vesalius, and Banister looked into the body for evidence of divine mystery at the most profound level of the soul but found instead only progressive players of surface".[45]

One of the means for people living in early modern England to resist being exploited whilst they exploit others is by claiming inaccessibility of their interior worlds. This may be claiming a depth of their interior world like Hamlet, or hiding it in so deep a layer that it succeeds in deceiving others like Henry V, or simply refusing to acknowledge their own interiority like Iago. This is associated with the issue of identity and even the issue of morality.

In Hamlet's anxiety over corruption and fragmentation, and his dissection of death and memory, he often refers to identity and morality. Hamlet's memory, which is associated with his

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[43] Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*.

[44] Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, 13.

[45] See Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazed: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), 11; and Devon L. Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985), 15.

interior world, is closely associated with his identity. As Warnock[46] points out, memory and personal identity are "twin subjects" whose relationship has been a central philosophical topic for centuries.

Hamlet's trouble with memory affects his identity. Before old Hamlet's ghost appears, Hamlet is drowned in his interior world and especially in his natural memory which is fluid and dilatory. His natural memory is feminine and also features uncontrollability, either too fickle or too excessive. The watery memory floods his feminine heart and disables him. After the ghost's appearance and his words "remember me", Hamlet tries to purify and reform his memory with his masculine will. If the natural memory features fluidity and uncontrollability, then the artificial memory features loci and controllability. From interior authenticity to exterior disguise, Hamlet's memory mode and identity change as well. After putting on a disguise, he becomes an artificial man with an artificial memory. His natural memory's fluidity and depth, and his interior world's fluidity and depth are replaced by his artificial memory's loci and his exterior identity, followed by the final localization of his identity and his intention of localized future memory.

Hamlet's natural memory is excessive and his interior world is full of grief, however, as they are within, they cannot be shown and removed. Once Hamlet puts on madness, his artificial memory considers memory as an object in a locus which is detachable and can therefore be shown and removed. Fluid feminine memory and locative masculine memory compete with each other to

[46] Mary Warnock, *Memory* (Faber: London, 1987), 53.

hold a seat in Hamlet's brain. Natural memory's fluidity makes it difficult to remove excessive memory while artificial memory's loci and detachability makes it hard to retain memory. Hamlet's speeches about the table of his memory and his meditation on "to be or not to be" show his masculine will. However, no matter how eagerly his masculine power attempts to discipline and purify his feminine memory, Hamlet's feminine heart disables his action and therefore he fails to do so. Hamlet not only tries to discipline his own memory, but also stirs other people's memory, either through language, images or performance. He even speaks daggers to his mother to dissect her conscience and morality and make her aware of her identity and sins. The daggers do metaphorically penetrate Gertrude's heart and make her see her inner sin. However, the daggers of speech are merely words which indicate his feminine talkativeness.

Hamlet puts on an artificial appearance to deal with artificial people and accuse them of their artificiality, and also to access the truth of his father's death and to keep truth of his interior feeling. However, after the sea voyage and the grave yard scene, he realizes how finite and futile a human being is and he decides to take off the disguise and expose his naked self to the king Claudius. "[T]his is I,/ Hamlet the Dane" (5.1.279-280) is his proclamation of his identity. He disposes of his former artificial fragmented identities by saying to Laertes that "If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,/And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes, /Then Hamlet does it not; Hamlet denies it./Who does it then? His madness. If 't be so,/ Hamlet is of the faction that is

wrong'd;/ His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy." (5.1.248-253) Hamlet intends to separate his interior identity from his exterior disguise. To him, his interior identity is his true identity. Throwing away disguise, Hamlet's interior identity, with his claim that "[T]his is I,/ Hamlet the Dane", finally becomes his true identity.

After his famous words "if it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all" (5.2.233-236), his positive decision about "to be or not to be" turns to passive obedience "let be" (5.2.238). In the end, before he utters the second "I am dead" he also says "let it be" (5.2.352). Meanwhile Hamlet begins to listen to his heart instead of his brain. He can feel that his heart is ill and when he is dying he wishes Horatio could hold him in his heart. Memory impressed in the heart truthfully with emotion is the ideal memory Hamlet expects. Hamlet's memory has experienced evolution: from being preoccupied with memory of the past, to remembering himself in the present, and to finally being concerned about the future memory of him in history.

Aesthetic of Decline in the Graveyard Scenes in *Hamlet* and *A Dream of Red Mansions*

The graveyard scene and the last scene are feasts of death and memory. So in this section I will explore the graveyard scene and in the following section the final scene will be the focus.

Considering the dominate features of fragmentation in *Hamlet*, Hugh Grady[47] sees "impure aesthetics" as being pervasive in it. Benjamin also has stimulating insights on aesthetics in *Hamlet*. What I am most interested in is William E. Engel's notion of "Aesthetic of Decline"[48] which brings together his "aesthetic of anamnesis" and Michael Neill's "aesthetic of death" in early modern England.

Hamlet, as a play of a fallen, meaningless[49] and melancholic world, features aesthetic of decline which is best shown in the graveyard scene. An early modern Chinese tragic novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* (also known as *The Dream of the Red Chamber* or *The Story of the Stone*), which was written in the early eighteenth century by Cao Xueqin and is as famous in Chinese culture as *Hamlet* is in western culture, also partakes of aspects of the same underlying aesthetic, so I will adopt a comparative approach to explore the similarities and differences between them.

Notwithstanding the fact that each emerges from its own very specific cultural and historical moment,[50] having a look at how this aesthetic of decline manifests itself through each provides a

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[47] Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*.

[48] For "Aesthetic of Decline" and "aesthetic of anamnesis" associated with death and memory see Engel, *Mapping Mortality*, 12, 112-21, 195-202, and *Death and Drama*, 8. I am grateful to Engel for reading this section and offering constructive comments.

[49] Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*, 43.

[50] Although neither of them has any direct historical bearing on the other, there are some indirect relationships between them. Tang Xianzu was Shakespeare's Chinese contemporary. It is widely acknowledged that Tang Xianzu's play *The Peony Pavilion* and Cao Xueqin's *A Dream of Red Mansions* are both "greatly indebted to the late Ming philosophical and intellectual trends centring on the concept of *qing*". It is also true that Cao's *A Dream of Red Mansions* was deeply influenced by Tang's *The Peony Pavilion*, which is shown not only by Cao's mention of *qing* in *The Peony Pavilion* but

lens by which to examine the other, and in so doing, it is possible not only to comment meaningfully on the universal aspects of this aesthetic which is fundamentally part of the human experience, but also shed light on the understanding of death and memory in *Hamlet*. In *Hamlet*, the aesthetic of decline comes to the peak in the graveyard scene, and in *A Dream of Red Mansions*, it is also a graveyard scene that moves a lot of Chinese people and holds a place in their memory, therefore this section is devoted to aesthetic of decline in the graveyard scene in both works.

First of all, death appears in the form of physical objects such as skulls in *Hamlet*, and the eponymous Hamlet adopts a comparatively scientific perspective to see it, while in *A Dream of Red Mansions* death is felt emotionally when it is compared with fallen flowers. The skull held in Hamlet's hand, as a "memento mori" symbolizing the admonition to "remember that you will die", was a lively emblem of death in late middle ages, and death here is objectively observed and scientifically calculated. As the gravedigger tells Hamlet, "pocky corses" (*Hamlet*, 5.1.180) will last the body eight or nine years before it rots and a tanner will last it nine years (5.1.183). In *A Dream of Red Mansions*, no dead body appears in the graveyard and yet death is felt tragically and beautifully. A variety of flowers in *A Dream of Red Mansions* represents different aspects of the characters' morality and personalities. For example, the Peony symbolises fortune and dignity, and the water lily represents purity and the tradition dates back over two millennia.

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also by his citation and imitation of Tang's language. See Song's *The Fragile Scholar*, 104, and also see De Bary's "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought" and Wang's *Langman qinggan yu zongjiao jingshen*.

In *A Dream of Red Mansions*, the characters' personalities and destinies are closely related to, and reflected by, the flowers surrounding them. Flowers and birds, like human beings, all have souls. The relationship between the natural environment and human beings is so close that there is no boundary between subject and object. For instance, Lin Daiyu is so engaged in the scene with her imagination and emotion that she wants to fly like birds to a fragrant place.[51] The flowers, the birds and Lin Daiyu herself become indistinguishably a single entity. Lin's merging of herself with the environment has a touch of Daoism, according to which the highest spiritual pursuit is the merging of nature and human beings. Flowers in *Hamlet* are also of great importance. Whereas flowers in *A Dream* are symbols of different characters, flowers in *Hamlet* are also endowed with emblematic meanings, as shown in Ophelia's words: "there's rosemary, that's for remembrance; pray, love, remember: and there is pansies, that's for thoughts" (4.5.174-6); flowers are associated with emotion in *A Dream* while in *Hamlet* they emphasise remembrance and memory, which shows a difference in the two works, and it is related to the third point which will be explored later.

Lin Daiyu's elegy of fallen flowers begins with: "As flowers fall and fly across the skies, / Who rues the red that fades, the scent that dies?[52]" From the decaying flowers, death appears in Lin's mind. "In my chamber I'm grieved to see spring depart. / Where can I pour out my sorrow-laden heart?" Seeing falling flowers and departing spring, Lin feels the death of human beings with

[51] 段江丽.《红楼梦》中的"比德"： 从"林黛玉隅与花说起". 红楼梦学刊，2006. Jiangli Duan, "Hongloumeng zhong de 'bide' — Cong Lin daiyu yu hua shuoqi". *Hongloumeng Xuekan*, 2006.

[52] There are several versions of this elegy, and here Yuanchong Xu's translation is adopted.

her sensitive heart.

> For three hundred and sixty days each year,
> The cutting wind and biting frost make flowers sear.
> How long can they blossom fresh and fair?
> Once blown away, they cannot be found anywhere.
> Their gravedigger, I find no flowers in bloom;
> My aching heart is further filled with gloom.
> With hoe in hand, tears secretly shed
> Like drops of blood turn bare branches red.

"The cutting wind and biting frost" to flowers in *A Dream* are like "a sea of troubles" (3.1.59) to Hamlet, and they lead to decay and death. When the flowers are fallen, they can be blown to any place without being found, and it is the same with human beings. As Hamlet asks, "here hung those lips that I have kiss'd I know not how oft. Where be your gibes now, your gambols, your songs, your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar?" (5.1.206-210). Both Lin's lament and Hamlet's mock are variants on the "ubi sunt" motif meaning "where are those who were before us?" When comparing human destiny to fallen flowers, Lin Daiyu's heart aches and is filled with sorrow. Her tears run like blood which turns branches of bamboo red,[53] and therefore her tears add tragic mood to the atmosphere. Hamlet also aches when he asks "Did these bones cost no more the breeding but to play at loggarts with 'em?" (5.1.97-99).What makes him ache is the baseness and annihilation of human beings like indistinguishable dust, especially those who have been great. The possibility that "The toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier" (5.1.151-152),

[53] Lin's tears are related to blood in the ancient love story of mottled bamboo (湘妃竹).

and that Alexander's bones could be used to stop a beer-barrel make him ache. Hamlet is like an alienated observer watching a scene of what is happening as well as going to happen in an objective way. Lin's aching heart is for the destiny of all human beings and the emptiness of the transient world, while Hamlet, although he also has similar concern as Lin, he is mainly concerned about the destiny of those great figures, and the annihilation of all their difference from ordinary mortals.

Secondly, Hamlet and Lin Daiyu are both anxious about being corrupted in a fallen and declining world. According to Christian belief, the world after the fall of Adam and Eve is declining and corrupted. The original sin is a permanent taint which cannot be eradicated. Throughout the play, Hamlet worries about the corruption and purity of his mind and memory. The court is an unweeded garden and its air is poisonous. Even his memory is so corrupted by base matters that he decides to replace them with clean contents.

> From the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
> That youth and observation copied there;
> And thy commandment all alone shall live
> Within the book and volume of my brain,
> Unmix'd with baser matter. (1.5.98-104)

When old Hamlet asks his son to remember him, he also emphasises "taint not thy mind" (1.5.85). Accordingly, purifying the corrupted court without being corrupted himself poses a hard challenge for Hamlet. After his killing of Polonius, he realises he is tainted even before his project of

purification starts. When he accuses his mother of corruption, he asks her to "throw away the worser part of" (3.4.157) her heart and "live the purer with the other half" (3.4.158). At the graveyard scene, Hamlet's question "[h]ow long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot?" (5.1.177-178) reveals his persisting anxiety of corruption.

Lin also worries about corruption, corruption of the body, the mind and the heart. Her mind in many ways is a Buddhist mind, according to which a pure mind is like a pure patch of earth which can stand in a corrupted world just as a pure water lily stands in mud without being tainted. Lin's behaviour of burying flowers is due to her intention of preserving purity from corruption (See image one and two in the Appendix).

> Why don't I shroud in silken bag the petals fair
> And bury them in the earth forever to mingle there?
> Pure they come and pure shall go,
> Not sinking to oblivion below.

Lin wants to bury fallen flowers so that they will not be tainted by dirty things of the corrupted and corrupting external world, but whilst Jia Baoyu, a protagonist with similar beliefs, is preparing to bury fallen flowers in water, she prefers to bury them in the earth because when the fallen flowers are floating in water, who knows which dunghill and what dirty things they could meet and thus be tainted? If they are buried in a patch of clean and quiet earth, they will keep their clean quality. "Pure they come and pure shall go," is indicative of her as well as the fallen flowers. "Men laugh at

my folly in burying fallen flowers./ But who will bury me when come my last hours?" In her eyes, the fallen flowers are lucky, as at least she buries them, but who will bury her after her death? Where other people see folly in her behaviour of burying flowers, she sees the tragic destiny of human beings, especially herself. From the fallen flowers, we see and feel death, and apart from that, we can also see and feel beauty and purity instead of ugliness and corruption. By contrast, in *Hamlet*, death appears as disgusting physical objects and images such corpses, skulls, dust, and worms, and the cruel reality of death makes Hamlet ache. There are also some scenes in Hamlet when death is associated with beauty. If Shakespearean scholars are asked to recall an image with words like "death", "water" "fallen flowers" and "Shakespeare", their image would probably be the same—the scene of Ophelia's death. It is a scene of death and yet it does not lack elegance and beauty (See image three in the Appendix). Death appears in a more physical way in *Hamlet* no matter whether it is a scene full of ugly skulls or a beautiful scene like Ophelia's, dead human bodies – newly dead or completely corrupted – are shown to the audience or their minds' eye.

In the graveyard scene of *A Dream*, death merely appears as fallen flowers, declining yet beautiful. Their decay, beauty and the similar destiny of human beings which cannot be controlled, create a tragic mood, and Lin's attempt to preserve the purity of beautiful things in such tragic mood is a feature of the aesthetic of decline in this novel. In *Hamlet*, death – whether as ugly physical objects or beautiful images – together with memory and imagination, constructs a psychologically

dense texture that is part and parcel of the aesthetic of decline.

Thirdly, the skull and Hamlet's memory lead to the creation of a remembrance environment in *Hamlet* and the fallen flowers and Lin Daiyu's emotion result in an artistic conception in *A Dream of Red Mansions*. "Remembrance environment" is a concept invented and illustrated by Evelyn B. Tribble[54]and adopted by Lina Perkins Wilder.[55] Artistic conception, also called *Yijing*[56] in Chinese, is a kind of ideal artistic state, in which two basic components— the situation and emotion[57]— are merged and integrated, becoming a single inseparable entity. Artistic conception is one of the most important aesthetic conceptions among Chinese literati especially in ancient China, and can be traced back to the Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD). Memory to the remembrance environment in *Hamlet* is like emotion to artistic conception in *A Dream of Red Mansions*. Hamlet's memory and imagination are attached to the skulls that are tossed up and Lin's emotion and imagination are projected into the fallen flowers. The tragic sense in *Hamlet* comes mainly from his reasoning with his brain and it comes from Lin's feeling from her heart. As I expounded before, in early modern England memory and imagination, as well as understanding were believed to take place in the brain, while in China, before Matteo Ricci introduced western mnemonic arts to China in late 16th century, the heart was widely believed to be the place where memory, imagination and

[54] Evelyn B. Tribble, "'The Dark Backward and Abysm of Time': *The Tempest* and Memory", 153-55.
"Distributing Cognition in the Globe", 135-55.

[55] Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character*.

[56] 意境 *Yijing*。

[57] "Emotion" 情 itself also means "situation" as examined in Chapter One.

understanding occurred. Chinese characters meaning memory, imagination and understanding are all related to the character of heart. Even after the 16th century the heart occupied the more important place. In early 18th century Qing dynasty when Cao Xueqin was composing this novel, the heart was still very important and feeling from the heart was cherished. Accordingly, Lin Daiyu's flower burial and her elegy of fallen flowers with emotion appeal to the Chinese, as Hamlet's position of holding the skull with his memory appeals to the English.

Hamlet asks "why may not that be the skull of a lawyer?" (5.1.104-105). It can also be asked "why may that be the skull of a lawyer?" That it can and cannot be a lawyer's skull indicates that it can be anyone's skull. Anyone's skull, including Hamlet's future skull after death, is here tossed up and undistinguishable. Annihilation of difference followed by oblivion produces a growing sense of tragedy. On the one hand, since Hamlet is alive, he can definitely keep a distance from death saying that the grave is " for the dead, not for the quick" (5.1.136); on the other hand, Hamlet will die in the future and he will be in a grave like the skull, so death is not far away to him. As one of the gravediggers says "'twill away again, from me to you." (5.1.13138-139).That is also what Lin sees when she sees flowers falling. Whilst Hamlet ponders upon the past and the present, Lin dwells on the present and the future. The past, mingling with imagination comes alive and dilates in Hamlet's remembrance environment. Memory evoked by the skull of the King's jester Yorick and assisted by imagination, extends to the past and to other people like Alexander. Lin can see future sorrow and

sadness from present happiness and glory, so she does not like parties. Every gathering together means ensuing departure. Every glory will dissolve and become empty and silent.

Finally, I would like to emphasise that the tragic mood of these two great works lies in their combination of philosophical thinking and feelings about human destiny. While in *Hamlet*, the philosophical thinking space involves remembrance, imagination and scientific observation and reasoning, in *A Dream*, imagination and emotion fill the philosophical thinking and feeling space. In saying so, I do not mean to exclude emotion from the graveyard scene in *Hamlet*. As I noted in previous chapters, emotion is given great attention by Shakespeare, especially in *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, however, when it is compared with Chinese culture, especially *A Dream of Red Mansions* where emotion is given high status or even adored, *Hamlet* is not distinguished by its concern for emotion but rather by the calculated emblematic expression of mortality insofar as the graveyard scene shows.

"Report Me and My Cause Aright": Life and Death Associated with Memory

In the graveyard scene, death and memory construct a remembrance environment where remembrance of the past, the present and the future interweave in dynamic ways. The skull functions as a *memento mori*, not only reminding the living of their present human conditions and the future states of decay and putrefaction, but also reminding Hamlet of the past glorious human

conditions and the present baseness in general, as shown in Hamlet's recollection of Alexander and the King's jester Yorick. The sharp contrast between an intact living body and a disintegrated body, similar to transi tombs, which were popular in early modern England like *memento mori* and effigies,[58] can be linked to medieval and Renaissance art of memory regarding image making in that the two images are "about extremes, the moments of passage from intactness to decay, and from decay to annihilation".[59] The principles of images in the art of memory as stressed by mnemonic performers show that extreme images are impressed in the memory more deeply.

Although the pictures of the quick and the dead are quite different, the boundary between them is very thin as suggested in one of the gravedigger's words that "from me to you" (5.1.13138-139) is just a step away. This is true, as in the last scene, Hamlet departs from the community of the quick to the world of the dead. When Hamlet is dying, what he considers is also memory, not memory of the past and others but future memory of him. What he expects is to be remembered truly and sincerely: "[r]eport me and my cause aright" (5.2.353) and "tell my story" (5.2.363) are his last wishes.

When talking about death and the afterlife, most people in early modern England could not avoid considering the destiny of their body and soul. Although Hamlet does care about the dwelling place of the soul, which is shown by his giving up his murder of Claudius owing to consideration of

[58] See Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 51-64.

[59] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 152.

his soul, he does not fear death and he is powerless regarding the destiny of his soul, as he said earlier when he determined to follow the ghost of old Hamlet, “I do not set my life at a pin’s fee; And for my soul, what can it do to that,/ Being a thing immortal as itself?” (1.4.65-7) The soul is itself immortal, and Hamlet is not worried too much about his soul, as in the end he just passively responds to what is happening; he is not guilty of his death and revenge. As to the body, after death the corpse is eaten by worms, then the skull tossed up, and then the indistinguishable dust used to “stop a beer-barrel” (5.1.234).

Facing death, Hamlet can do nothing about his soul and body, so what he expects and requires is to be remembered by living people. While the poor ghost wants memory to hold “a seat in this distracted globe” (1.5.96-7), like many other Renaissance ghosts who are forgotten, Hamlet also wants to hold a seat in this globe constructed by memory and is linked to the living world. There are several ways to be remembered, including descendants, monuments, poems, epitaphs and dramas performed by players. Although having children as copies of memory and being remembered by descendants are important themes in Shakespeare’s sonnets, the fact that Hamlet does not have descendants to continue his memory excludes this way of being remembered. Monuments can be a choice, yet poems are considered a better way to keep memory alive, as it is shown in sonnet 55:

> Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
> Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme,

But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stone, besmeared with sluttish time. (Sonnet 55)

Monuments as physical objects decay over time, while poems as mental products can be kept permanently. Therefore, in sonnet 81, the epitaph is regarded as a way to make possible an immortal life by keeping the names of the dead alive.

Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten,
From hence your memory death cannot take,
Although in me each part will be forgotten.
Your name from hence immortal life shall have, (Sonnet 81)

"Your name from hence immortal life shall have" is exactly what Hamlet pursues. Yet, judging from Hamlet's words — "after your death you were better have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you live" (2.2.558-9) — truthful report is also his pursuit. Therefore, Hamlet expects to be remembered by Horatio, "whose blood and judgment are so well co-mingled" (3.2.74) and is in his "heart's core" – his "heart of heart" (3.2.78). Having Horatio, a man of balanced nature and judgment, as his storyteller, to "report me and my cause aright" (5.2.353) is possible. The suggestion that reports have more impact than written records as regards memory is also reflected in Shakespeare's other plays and sonnets. For example, in *Richard III*, the young Prince Edward says:

But say, my lord, it were not register'd,
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day. (3.1.75-78)

Richard III's reply "without characters, fame lives long" (3.1.81) also suggests oral tradition's superiority.[60] Memory in people's brain and heart is also considered more trustworthy than material memory books. Sonnet 122 expresses the idea that memory characterised and recorded in the brain and heart is more lasting than "an adjunct" (sonnet 122, 13) like a notebook which is indeed "to import forgetfulness" (14). This idea is not innovative, and at least as early as Socrates, writing as a form linked to memory is suspected by Socrates. He believes that written records which are detachable are merely reminders to readers of what is stored in their memory, whereas "living discourse" is true memory and more reliable.[61] In the myth of Theuth and Thammuz[62] told by Plato, when Theuth introduced his invention of writing to Thammuz and extolled it as a "recipe for memory and wisdom", [63] Thammuz pointed out that it was merely a reminder of memory and a semblance of wisdom rather than memory and wisdom. From this perspective, writing as a system of symbolic representations, as Carruthers notes, "are no more than cues or triggers for the memorial representations".[64]

Remembered by reports of Horatio, Hamlet can avoid being remembered in a distorted way

[60] On memory associated with detachable written records and oral report, see also Lewis's "Hamlet, Metaphor, and Memory" and his "Note on Shakespeare's *Richard III*".

[61] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 275 D; *Collected Dialogues*, 521.

[62] Theuth, also called Thoth, is the Egyptian god who is also the inventor of geometry and writing; Thammuz, also known as Ammon, is the King.

[63] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 274 D-275A; *Collected Dialogues*, 520.

[64] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 36.

like his father, and lively and truthful memory of him would overshadow his decaying body and indistinguishable dust in the future. Just like Alexander, although after death his dust is undifferentiated and may be used to stop a bung-hole, the noble name of Alexander conqueror of the world lives again in people's memory and in various languages. The remembrance of name is also emphasised in Ross's view of history, in his entry on the memory image of Adonis: "though our bodies die, yet our good name shall flourish, and like a faire flower, shall live and smell when we are gone".[65] This is what Hamlet pursues and what is realised after his death. Prince Edward's view on report and record also concerns lasting memory preserved in name and fame. The prince extolls Julius Caesar's fame in name and wants to set him as an example when he claims that "Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,/ For now he lives in fame, though not in life" (3.1.87-88)

Poet Kejia Zang once said, "Some people alive are in some respect dead, while some people dead are still alive".[66] What Hamlet aims to achieve is to be among those people who are dead and yet still alive in people's hearts. When Hamlet is alive he is forgotten even by himself, but when he is dying, he expects to be remembered as most people do, especially those living in early modern England where plague and the Reformation make memory crucial. When Hamlet is alive he has to

[65] See Ross's *Mystagogus Poeticus* 1647, cited in Engel's *Death and Drama in Renaissance England*, 157.

[66] 臧克家：《有的人》，"有的人活着他已经死了，有的人死了他还活着"。This poem, devoted to Xun Lu, is mainly about the meanings of life and death associated with others. "[S]ome people alive are in some respect dead" refers to those who exploit people, "while some people dead are still alive" alludes to those who are helpful and have made contribution to people. Despite the moral sense contained within the poem, it can shed light on Hamlet's statuses of being alive and being dead.

hold his tongue on most occasions to preserve his interior truth, and when he is dying, he still intends to be remembered as truly as possible. Memory in this last scene is what Hamlet resorts to as most early modern people did to overcome death. "Death makes no conquest" (3.1.87) because memory of the dead by the living overshadows death's power. In this sense memory is a conqueror of death.[67] In some other cases, however, memory, together with excessive thought or emotions, is also a factor contributing to death in a direct or indirect way.

While some scholars claim that Hamlet is forgetful, others argue that he is obsessed with memory. As I aforementioned, these two claims do not conflict as they are made from different perspectives. For example, Hamlet's obsession with memory of the past indicates that he is oblivious of the present. Even Hamlet himself is confused whether he is troubled by memory or oblivion: he ascribes his delay of revenge to "[b]estial oblivion, or some craven scruple/ Of thinking too precisely on the event" (4.4.40-41). "Thinking too much precisely on the event" suggests mindfulness of the event — this is a kind of memory whereas oblivion is opposite. The problem is that Hamlet thinks too much and remembers too much that he fails to act. As remembrance implies action, [68] failure to act is naturally associated with oblivion. When the ghost of old Hamlet appears, he says to Hamlet: "I find thee **apt**;/ And **duller** shouldst thou be than the fat weed/ That rots itself in ease on **Lethe** wharf,/ Woulst thou not **stir** in this"(1.5.31-34); when he appears again in

[67] In the engraving of Sir Walter Raleigh's *The History of the World* (1614), death and oblivion are conquered by remembrance.

[68] On remembrance and action see Sullivan's *Memory and Forgetting*.

Gertrude's apartment, he exchanges words with Hamlet as regards memory and action:

Hamlet: Do you not some your **tardy** son to chide,
That, laps'd in time and passion, lets go by
The important **acting** of your dread command? O! say.
Ghost: Do not **forget**: this visitation
Is but to **whet** thy almost **blunted** purpose. (3.4.106-110)

The words "apt", "stir", "acting" and "whet" imply remembrance and action, while "duller",[69] "Lethe", "forget" and "blunted" suggest oblivion and failure of action. Lethe is the mythological river of forgetfulness, and forgetfulness, seen from the perspective of physiology, owes to "the interruption of the proper function of the animal spirits",[70] which is caused by blockage of certain humours or imbalance of humours such as the preponderance of phlegm over other humours. "Superfluitie of humours", as Bartholomaeus points out, "stoppeth & letteth [the] ways of the spirits in the braine".[71]

Forgetfulness also means alienation from God, and therefore, it is not only associated with humoral disorder but also spiritual and social disorder.[72] Excessive humours, animal spirits,

[69] The exact word "dull" appear about 100 times in Shakespeare's works, and on most occasions it appears with terms related to action such as "spur", "quick" and those indicating oblivion including "sleep", "cloy", "weary", "drowsy" and "spiritless". Macbeth's words "my dull brain was wrought/ With things forgotten" clearly suggests the association of "dull" with forgetting.

[70] See Sullivan's *Memory and Forgetting*, 29-30.

[71] On causes and effects of "superfluitie of humours", see Bartholomaeus, *Batman Uppon Bartholome*, 89.

[72] Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting*, 40.

emotions,[73] thoughts and memory and their unbalance, usually considered as feminine,[74] need to be disciplined and balanced. Masculine temperance, considered as "the founteine & originall of all vertues",[75] was extolled over feminine superfluity and excessiveness in early modern England, as shown in Holinshed's Chronicles:

> But how far we in these present daies are swarued from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beléeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to dowghtinesse, we applie our selues to droonkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excesse with superfluitie: they were temperate, we effeminate.[76]

The virtue of temperance praised by Socrates and Plato, is endowed with almighty power by La Primaudaye, as it is

> the piller of fortitude, the helmet and shield against luxuriousnes, the keeper and guide of the eies, the preseruer of good will, the rasor of euill thoughts, the corrector of vntamed desires, an enimie to the disordered will of the soule: that it shunneth naturall desires, hindereth dishonest actions, breedeth continencie, mollifieth mens harts, and giueth reason for a rule in all things.[77]

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[73] In early modern Europe, especially early modern England, the Galenic theory of the humoral body was still prevalent. Passion associated with fluidity and changeability was widely regarded as a feminine trait, whereas rationality was considered a masculine trait. Accordingly, passion in early modern minds had to be disciplined and cultivated by masculine authority. See *Emotions in Asian Thought* edited by Marks and Ames and *What is An Emotion* by Calhoun and Solomon. Also see Rackin's "Historical Difference/ Sexual Difference", Kennedy's *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger*, Maclean's *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, and Vaught's *Masculinity and Emotion*.

[74] See the following quotation; see also La Primaudaye's *The French Academie*, 75.

[75] Holinshed, *The Second Volume of Chronicles*, 22.

[76] Ibid..

[77] La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, 75.

In terms of memory, emotion and thoughts in *Hamlet*, temperance, together with its two synonyms moderation and modesty,[78] which were used interchangeably in many ways, is also crucial. Hamlet's grief and memory at the beginning of the play are natural and true, but his persistent and excessive thoughts and memory tend to be immoderate, which makes him unable to take action.

He is preoccupied with memories from his first meditation on death to his final death. In the beginning, he suffers the grief of his father's death and his mother's hasty marriage and his memories lapse into uncontrollable chaos. After he meets the ghost of his father and is asked to remember him, he determines to reform his memory and take action to purify the corrupted country. However, the task of purging the country without being tainted can hardly be fulfilled. He spends much time meditating on "to be or not to be" and harbours the death wish. Death and memory are intermingled in Hamlet's minds. After the sea scene and the graveyard scene, it seems that he stops meditating too much and wrestling with his past memories; there is no soliloquy, and instead, he begins to think about the present — "readiness is all" (5.2.236). When he is dying, he thinks about the future and the afterlife, and again he turns to memory and remembrance. But this time he turns to the future memory of him by others rather than his memory of the past.

[78] Whereas temperance was a masculine trait, modesty was a neutral term if not feminine, as it usually appeared in texts with words such as "mild", "quiet", "maiden", "sober", "grave", "meek", "lowly" and "humbly". In this sense, the boundary between masculinity and femininity was permeable. For example, in his treaties on dancing, Vermigli wrote: "Theyr manner was modest & moderate to refresh their minds & recreate theyr bodies: yours immodest, if immodestye it selfe be immodest, and immoderate, if dauncing all daye long, & parte of the night bée immoderate."

Whereas Hamlet is tormented by his excessive thoughts and memory, Ophelia is troubled by her emotions and memory. We can say that she dies from too much grief caused by too much memory which she can hardly bear. Her first encounter with memory is her comparison between Hamlet in the past and Hamlet in the present and the memory of her delightful past. This memory and comparison leads to her grief for the first time.

> O, What a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
> Th'expectation and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
> That sucked the honey of his musicked vows,
> Now see what noble mind and most sovereign reason
> Like sweet bells jangled out of time and harsh –
> That unmatched form and stature of blown youth
> Blasted with ecstasy. O woe is me
> T'have seen what I have seen, see what I see. (3.1.149-160)

Ophelia's grief comes to the peak when she suddenly suffers triple loss: her father's sudden death caused by her lover and hugger-mugger interment by the country, her lover's mysterious madness and exile, and her brother's absence in Denmark. She is used to their advice and obeying their demands as well as being sheltered by their love, but now, all are gone, and her father will never return from "the undiscover'd country" (3.1.79). Her life becomes light and heavy at the same time. Light because now she has the freedom to make a choice without their sometimes conflicting advice, and she is like a kite whose controlling thread is broken. Her life is so light that it seems she can go

anywhere while in fact she has nowhere to go; she is more like a flower, which is kept and confined in a warm greenhouse for a very long time, and now is faced with the fortune of being transplanted to the wild. She could live, but more probably, she will wither. Ophelia's life is also heavy because she is accustomed to being guided by a patriarchal society and she is not able to live without them, especially when her past life to her is sweet. She is not able to escape the haunting memory.

Her grief and excessive memory can be seen from her songs, which are full of references to the death and loss of her father and her lover.

> And will 'a not come again?
> And will 'a not come again?
> No, no, he is dead,
> Go to thy deathbed.
> He never will come back
>
> His beard was as white as snow,
> Flaxen was his poll.
> He is gone, he is gone,
> And we cast away moan.
> God a' mercy on his soul (4.5.182-191)

The way Ophelia dwells on her father's death in this song, and melds the images of her father and lover in her somewhat disordered mind, revealed by her other songs and words, imply the symptoms of her madness. She is overburdened by memory and holding various flowers she reminds the king and the queen "There's rosemary: that's for remembrance. Pray, love, remember" (4.5.174-175).

In contrast with Hamlet and Ophelia, Claudius is not troubled by emotions and memory of the past. After murdering his brother, he quickly marries his brother's wife "with mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage" (1.2.12). "[R]emembrance of ourselves" (1.2.7), "So much for him. Now for ourself and for this time of meeting" (1.2.25-26), and "be as ourself in Denmark" (1.2.122). Looking forward, he does what he thinks he must do without being bothered by the burden of memory unless stirred by Hamlet. His memory of his vicious murder of his brother is stirred up by the play plotted by Hamlet. Even he feels guilty, it does not last long, and his "thoughts remain below" (3.4.97). After kneeling down for a moment, he even conspires to commit more vice.

Too much memory of the past and grief can easily cause a disorder of mind or a burden of mind and thus leads to distraction or even madness. Too little memory of the past and grief is in some respect irresponsible or immoral. As Carruthers notes, "A person without a memory, if such a thing could be, would be a person without moral character and, in a basic sense, without humanity".[79] Memory is closely associated with conscience in *Hamlet*, and that is why both Ophelia and Hamlet want to stir up the memory of the king and the queen, who focus more on the present and themselves. A person with moderate emotions and memory is ideal. However, natural and true emotions and memory do sometimes become excessive. The balance between nature, truth, art and cultivation is still hard to realise.

[79] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 14.

Conclusion

Death and memory are two of the most important themes in *Hamlet*. Almost all of the main characters die in the end, and their death is directly or indirectly associated with memory. Among them, Hamlet's death is obviously related to memory. For him, death and memory are sometimes partners and sometimes enemies. Too much memory of others, of the past, "may flood and wash away the fragile scaffolding of the self".[80] Even if too much memory does not necessarily lead to corporeal death directly, it can to some extent be a factor leading to the "mental and spiritual death"[81] of Hamlet.

Hamlet is anxious about memory's fickleness, and yet it is he who is troubled by memory's depth. He is flooded by fluid memory, and yet he wants to manipulate it as a solid object. Hamlet is anxious about his interior world being seen and yet he penetrates other people's interior world. Hamlet is anxious about fragmentation, and yet he dissects and anatomises. Memory's fickleness exacerbates the crisis of death, and yet it also unburdens those living people; Memory's excessiveness and fluidity contribute to Hamlet's death, and yet memory is also of comfort when Hamlet confronts death. The complicated relationship between memory and death can hardly be simplified as "to be or not to be" (3.1.56). They are to be and not to be.[82]

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[80] Attilio Favorini, *Memory in Play: From Aeschylus to Sam Shepard* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 104.

[81] Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, 31.

[82] Calderwood, *To be and Not to Be*.

Chapter Four

Time and Memory in *Macbeth*

What is time? It is ubiquitous like air and it flows like water. It is not tangible, it is not controllable and it is not measurable. To capture and manage it, however, one needs to treat it as a material thing and then quantify, divide and categorize it. According to different criteria, time is classified in different ways: There is linear time and there is cycle time, physical time and psychological time, and pure time and mathematical time.[1] Although the duration and intensity of real time and psychological time defy measurement and division, mathematical time can be spatialized and generally divided into three parts: past, present and future.[2]

Playwrights and poets in early modern England such as William Shakespeare, John Milton

[1] Henry Bergson distinguishes between two forms of time, pure time perceived by intuition and mathematical time analysed by intellect. Pure time is real time which flows in an indivisible continuity whereas mathematical time is a spatialized form of time divisible into units or intervals which do not reflect the flow of real time and the duration of experience.

[2] Augustine considers that the only time that exists and can be divided is the present, and therefore he suggests that "it might be said rightly that there are three times: a time present of things past; a time present of things present; and a time present of things future. For these three do coexist somehow in the soul, for otherwise I could not see them. The time present of things past is memory; the time present of things present is direct experience; the time present of things future is expectation". (Book Eleven, Chapter XX, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*). He also claims that time can only be measured subjectively in the mind in terms of its duration, as he says, "It is in you, O mind of mine, that I measure the periods of time. Do not shout me down that it exists [objectively]" (Book Eleven, Chapter XXVII). Augustine's ideas on time and memory are better understood in reference to Bergson's in mind.

and John Donne all showed great interest in the theme of time. In terms of Shakespeare's tragedies, Jonathan Bate notes, "King Lear cannot let go of the past, Macbeth cannot wait for the future, Hamlet cannot stop worrying about future: none of them is content to live in the moment".[3] Actually, Hamlet not only worries about his future, but also cannot let go of the past. It is also quite true that Macbeth and Lady Macbeth cannot wait for the future. Hamlet is haunted by the excessiveness and fickleness of memory of the past which also leads to his worry about his future, and in *Macbeth* we know little of their past. The Macbeths are charmed by memory of the future, and then consumed by the consequences of the past they have created. In many ways, Hamlet and Macbeth are characters going in opposite directions. Hamlet is troubled by the past, and although he tries to forget the trivial part of the past by wiping his table clean and only remember his father, he fails and is subsumed by his memory of the past; in the beginning, Macbeth has no past to trouble him or he does not appear to be troubled by the past, and what tempts and puzzles him is the promising future. Whereas Hamlet is dragged backward to the past by melancholy, grief and the ghost of old Hamlet, Macbeth is pushed forward to the future by his ambition, inspired by witches and goaded by Lady Macbeth.[4]

The first sentence of *Macbeth* is in the future tense: "When shall we three meet again"

[3] Jonathan Bate, *Macbeth* (Macmillan, 2009), 3.

[4] Another contrast between them is that Hamlet, who has "the motive and the cue for passion" (2.2.595) to take action, is "unpregnant" (2.2.603) of his cause and fails to act, while Macbeth, who has "no spur/ To prick the sides" (1.7.25-26) of his intent "but only/ Vaulting ambition" (1.7.26-27), acts efficiently.

(1.1.1). The witches' answer to their own question "[w]hen the battle's lost and won" (1.1.4) not only foretells future events, but also is echoed by Duncan's words "[w]hat he hath lost noble Macbeth hath won" (1.2.69). Their words "[F]air is foul, and foul is fair" (1.1.11) are echoed by Macbeth when he says "[s]o foul and fair a day I have not seen" (1.3.38) just before he sees the witches. Providential time foretold by the witches overarches the action of the entire play like "the fog and filthy air" (1.1.12) until Macbeth dies and "the time is free" (5.7.99). In terms of time, there are three kinds in *Macbeth* as analysed by Tom Driver: chronological time, providential time, and Macbeth's time. Chronological time is the objective time or physical time, which can be measured by clock, calendar, and natural phenomena such as the movement of sun, moon, and stars. Providential time is supernatural and is foretold by the witches in an equivocal way.[5] Macbeth's time is a time scheme, which belongs to Macbeth alone.[6] Sometimes the three types of time overlap each other.

Macbeth's Time and Memory

Macbeth's time is composed of psychic time and physical time and overarched by providential time.

[5] Providence is usually associated with God, however, sometimes it is hard to confirm whether it is God's providence or augury or devil's plot. "Providential time" is a supernatural time beyond human being's apprehension and control, as Hamlet says to Horatio about the ghost "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy".

[6] Tom F Driver, "The Uses of Time: *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Macbeth*", *The sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama* (New York: Columbia UP, 1960), 143-167.

His psychic time is internal, packed with imagination and thought, whereas physical, or chronological, time is objective and external,[7] packed with action and events.[8] If they are two ends of a spectrum, then, as the plots develop, Macbeth travels from one end, psychic time, to the other, objective time. Macbeth's time is complicated by providential time. In its shadow, the sense of time, including the boundary between past, present and future, is blurred for almost the whole play. They are interwoven and not clearly distinguishable, which is phenomenal when Macbeth's psychic time intersects with providential time in the first part of the play.

Before the murder, Macbeth is living in his psychic time; from the moment he meets the three witches and is foretold his promising future, he begins to seem "rapt withal" (1.3.57); after the witches vanish, he is once again distracted, as spotted by Banquo, who says "Look, how our partner's rapt" (1.3.142), as at that moment Macbeth is in his psychic time, dwelling upon the witches and his future.

> This supernatural soliciting
> Cannot be ill, cannot be good; if ill,
> Why hath it given me earnest of success,
> Commencing in a truth? I am Thane of Cawdor:
> If good, why do I yield to that suggestion
> Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair
> And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,
> Against the use of nature? Present fears

[7] Michael Witmore, *Shakespearean Metaphysics* (London: Continuum, 2008), 74.

[8] Colin McGinn, *Shakespeare's Philosophy: Discovering the Meaning behind the Plays* (Harper Perennial, 2006), 92, 108.

Are less than horrible imaginations:
My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man that function
Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is
But what is not. (1.3.130-142)

Macbeth is roaming in his psychic time, forgetting his environment, including the physical time, as he claims that his "dull brain was wrought/ with things forgotten" (1.3.149-150). [9] There are different interpretations of "things forgotten". Kenneth Muir notes that Macbeth is lying by claiming something he fails to remember,[10] whereas Garrett A. Sullivan interprets it as the deeds to be performed by Macbeth to attain the prophesied future.[11] Michael Cordner, with regard to performance history, points out the richness of interpretations which can be conjured from it, including "an instruction to himself that he must - for the present at least - drive these thoughts of murder from his brain" [12] In my own opinion, it is what he has just pondered upon when he was "rapt", i.e. images and thoughts which should not be revealed to others, and could be his excuse for his raptness. Macbeth's words involve remembering and forgetting at the same time. Macbeth's obliviousness is not about forgetting things as he says, and he is actually oblivious to the exterior environment when he is engulfed by his interior psychic time. His words about "things forgotten"

[9] For some inspiring perspectives on remembering forgetfulness, see *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, trans. Francis Joseph Sheed (Continuum International Publishing Group, 1944), 179-181.

[10] See *Macbeth* edited by Muir, 1997, 22. Braunmuller and Brook also note that it is Macbeth's excuse for his preoccupation.

[11] See Sullivan's *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama*, 2005, 132-5.

[12] See Cordner's paper "'Wrought with Things Forgotten': Memory and Performance in Editing *Macbeth*", in *Shakespeare, Memory and Performance*, ed. Peter Holland, 98.

suggests that he should now forget the thoughts which have dilated in his psychic time and remember his present environment, including, as he says, remembering the services performed by Angus, Rosse and Banquo, whose "pains are registered where every day" (1.3.150-151)Macbeth turns the leaf to read them. It is worth pointing out the paradox here. Just as Hamlet's decision to purify "the book and volume of his brain" (1.5.103) to bring in new memories implies that new memories could also be replaced in future, Macbeth's words about "things forgotten" could also deconstruct his words about remembering his fellow's favours. Furthermore, record is not considered as reliable as report from generation to generation, as the Prince says: "But say, my lord, it were not register'd,/ Methinks the truth should live from age to age,/ As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,/ Even to the general all-ending day" (*Richard III*, 3.1.75-78).[13] The tension of forgetting and remembering is quite strong. Macbeth's forgetting is mainly associated with his psychic time, as whenever he enters his psychic time, he is oblivious of his environment and even his external identity.[14]

Although Macbeth's faculty of imagination is extremely developed, when goaded by Lady Macbeth, he can force himself to take action rather than delay. Once he lapses into imagination and thinking in his psychic time, he is troubled by his conscience and moral sense, and accordingly, he

[13] The notebook metaphor's association with forgetting is also implied in Sonnet 122: "To keep an adjunct to remember thee / were to import forgetfulness". See also Rhodri Lewis's "Two Meanings in one word".

[14] We all have this kind of psychic time, and what's special to Macbeth is his obsessiveness with it owing to his potential ambition.

is occupied by fear; however, once he takes action, he allows himself no psychic time where imagination and thinking take place and make him "a coward" (1.7.43).[15] Time in this context is two compartmentalized containers, and he can only locate himself in one or the other. There are also many other things attached to the image of "container" in Macbeth's mind. "But now I am cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in/ To saucy doubts and fears" (3.4.24-25): within this short sentence he uses four different words to express this sense of being contained. Whereas Hamlet tries to penetrate others and in the meanwhile refuses to be penetrated, Macbeth tries to confine something while at the same time he does not want to be confined. He has the ambition to be the future king as prophesied, but he fears the consequence of murder which is hard to trammel within the action and the present. Confronted with this puzzle, he even aspires to "jump the life to come" (1.7.7).

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
> It were done quickly; if the assassination
> Could trammel up the consequence, and catch
> With his surcease success; that but this blow
> Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
> But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,
> We'd jump the life to come. (1.7.1-7)

In this soliloquy, he wants to contain the consequence and thus end all rather than be affected by it. If he cannot contain the consequences he wants to contain and avoid being contained, he would

[15] Hamlet refers to himself as a coward more than twice, and he reasons that conscience and excessive thinking are the main reasons, as he says, "Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;/ And thus the native hue of resolution/ Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" (3.1.83-85).

choose to "jump" to avoid the consequences caused by his behaviour. Even his ambition is vaulting, in the sense of overleaping.[16] In terms of memory, he has the same feeling.

> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart. (5.2.41-45)

He wishes the rooted sorrow could be plucked from the container of the memory, the written trouble could be razed from the container of the brain and the perilous stuff could be cleaned from the container of the heart.[17] Memory and time in Macbeth's eyes are like objects which can be spatialized, contained, measured, dissected, divided, and decapitated.[18] Memory's fluidity and time's fluidity and linearity[19], which imply their uncontrollability, are ignored by Macbeth.

Before the murder, Macbeth is so dominated by his imagination and psychic time that he is haunted by the imagination of a dagger. The dagger is not motionless. As Macbeth's psychic time passes, the dagger changes as well, from a clean one prior to murder to one covered with blood which shows that the murder has been committed in his mind's eye. In the beginning, Macbeth, like

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[16] "but only/ Vaulting ambition, which o'er-leaps itself/ And falls on the other" (1.7.26-28).

[17] Macbeth speak those words to the Doctor in desperate hope for a cure for Lady Macbeth, and he may not believe his wishes could be fulfilled, however, these words do in many ways reflect early modern minds' tendency to materialising, measuring and purifying immaterial things.

[18] Dylan Trigg, *The Aesthetics of Decay: Nothingness, Nostalgia, and the Absence of Reason* (Peter Lang, 2006), 27.

[19] Henry Bergson in *Matter and Memory* provides an inspiring analysis of time and memory.

everyone else except the king, is a passive object of physical time.[20] After he meets the witches and knows providential time, he becomes active. As his future in providential time is promising and his present in physical time is a kind of suffering, his attitude towards time becomes paradoxical, sometimes embracing it and sometimes alienating him from it. He struggles between physical time, psychic time and providential time: he lives in physical time, he looks forward to the future in providential time, and he is troubled in his psychic time. When he is about to carry out the murder, he wants to separate the action of murder from himself by attributing it to the time, providential time. "I go, and it is done; the bell invites me" (2.1.69). It seems there is no time gap between "I go" and "it is done" and there is no relation between him and the action: he is merely the agent and the action can be alienated from him.[21] One could conclude that, to alienate himself from the evil murder, Macbeth thinks or wishes that the bell is the actor which should be responsible for the future consequence.

However desirous Macbeth is to detach murder from himself, murder is crucial in reshaping Macbeth's character and his time. After the murder he formally enters his providential time, like Faust's making a contract with the devil. The image of blood on his hands when he murders Duncan is a blemish inscribed in his mind and he has embarked on the journey of the decline of his morality – from being fair to being foul.

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[20] Jonathan Gil Harris, "Untimely Mediations", 30 Nov, 2009. http://emc.eserver.org/1-6/harris.html .

[21] Colin McGinn, *Shakespeare's Philosophy*, 95.

From then on, his actions affect him and become part of him no matter how much he wishes to alienate himself from them. By committing murder, he fulfils his first part of the providential time – becoming king, which is in his own interest. Since the second part of the prophecy, that Banquo's descendants will be the kings, is anathema to him, Macbeth attempts to cancel it, by competing with time and even dominating it. He becomes the issuer of a series of evil actions and a manipulator of time. Although Banquo is murdered, however, his son flees, so Macbeth has not succeeded in jumping to the future like a liberated giant and he is still not free of psychic time.

> Then comes my fit again: I had else been perfect;
> Whole as the marble, founded as the rock,
> As broad and general as the casing air:
> But now I am cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in
> Saucy doubts and fears. (3.4.21-25)

He is right, because immediately he sees the ghost of Banquo while other people see nothing. He is lost again in psychic time, forgetting all the guests at the banquet, despite promptings of his wife, "Sweet remembrancer" (3.4.37). After he recovers from his fit, he thinks it happened because he was young in deed and feared too much. He therefore attests "Strange things I have in head that will to hand,/ Which must be acted ere they may be scann'd" (3.4.139-140). His decision is confirmed after he sees the witches and foresees potential danger from Macduff. His "from this moment/ The very firstlings of my heart shall be/ The firstlings of my hand" (4.1.146-148) gives him no space for psychic time. After the show of eight kings, he raises a question "Will the line stretch out to the

crack of doom?"(4.1.117), and from then on, time in his perspective changes from an ally to an enemy who anticipates his "dread exploits" (4.1.144). Time becomes pernicious and should be "accursed in the calendar" (4.1.134).

After his fierce competition with physical time to enter providential time, he experiences a state of "spiritual decay" – his psychic feeling of the passing of time,[22] and his life, in his own words, "is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf" (5.3.25). Macbeth has almost forgotten many things, including the taste of fear, and he does not need a remembrancer like Lady Macbeth to remind him of his identity and his environment when he is lost in psychic time, as he does not give himself psychic time in which his thoughts and imagination dilate. His numbness to things which used to cool his senses, and his indifference to Lady Macbeth's death, demonstrate his ruthlessness, and his comment on time after her death demonstrates his spiritual nihilism.

> She should have died hereafter;
> There would have been a time for such a word.
> To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
> To the last syllable of recorded time;
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more; it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing. (5.5.17-28)

[22] Ibid., 106.

In this soliloquy, the future, the past, and the present, are the same, as they are all components of a recorded time. So there is no future for him to jump into but only coming death for him to creep into: Since life is nothing but a shadow walking towards the last syllable of recorded time, then death is an event which should occur sooner or later, as Hamlet says: "If it/ be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come" (*Hamlet*, 5.2.233-235). Hamlet initially thought he could set right the time which was "out of joint" only to find that he cannot change the time, and therefore he realises he should follow the time calmly; Macbeth at the beginning had ambition to manipulate time but now he realises in despair that "the seeds of time" (1.3.58) are indeed "recorded time". He followed Lady Macbeth's advice "to beguile the time" (1.5.64) only to find that he has been beguiled by the providential time. Chronological time moves on as usual but Macbeth's providential time comes to an end and his time frame comes to an end as well, as indicated by Macduff's exclamation "the time is free" (5.7.99) and Malcolm's declaration "What's more to do/ Which would be planted newly with the time"(5.7.110).

As Colin McGinn points out, Macbeth "is engaged in an epic struggle with time – a struggle he definitely, and predictably, loses". He cannot compete with physical time, he cannot evade the "laws of time – of action, memory, and consequence", [23] and he cannot change "recorded time" (5.5.21) (predetermined time), either. On the contrary, he is assimilated and defeated by providential

[23] Ibid..

time. Macbeth's accusation of the weird sisters' equivocation – "the equivocation of the fiend that lies like truth" (5.5.46-47), implies that providential time is an equivocator, fair outwardly yet foul inside. Deceived by its fair aspect, Macbeth lets his ambition swell and represses his moral sense, until finally his fame is tainted by a foul murder, which, like the ineradicable blood stains, is a sin hard to purge and he is transformed from a valorous general to a ruthless tyrant.

If the weird sisters and providential time are equivocators as Macbeth claims, the Macbeths and their house are also equivocators. They are also fair outwardly but foul inside. Macbeth's house smells sweet[24] and seems to be full of life,[25] but actually a foul murder is plotted in it, which later turns this house of "heaven's breath" (1.6.5) to a hell whither comes "an equivocator, that could swear in both/ the scales against either scale; who committed/ treason enough for God's sake, yet could not/ equivocate to heaven" (2.3.10-13). The Macbeths are such traitors, whose guile is to "look like the innocent flower,/ But be the serpent under't" (1.5.66-67).

The Macbeths are deceived and misdirected by the weird sisters' equivocation, and Duncan and Banquo are both deceived by the equivocation of the Macbeths and their house. All of them are deceived by fair external shows and fail to see the underlying corruption. Earlier Duncan claims:

[24] Duncan says "This castle hath a pleasant seat; the air/ Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself/ Unto our gentle sense" (1.6.1-3); Banquo also says "that the heaven's breath/ Smells wooingly here" (1.6.5-6).

[25] Banquo sees its harmony and vitality from a bird which "Hath made his pendent bed and procreant cradle:/ where they most breed and haunt" (1.6.8-9).

"There's no art/ To find the mind's construction in the face" (1.4.11-12), however.[26] In the beginning, providential time and Macbeth are both seemingly fair, and once Macbeth is actively involved in providential time through his murder of Duncan, the fair aspect of both Macbeth and time are displaced by their foul aspect. In the end, Macbeth's time terminates with his being killed by the man untimely born, and accordingly, both Macbeth's psychic time packed with imagination and thoughts and his physical time packed with action come to an end.

So far I have analysed Macbeth's sense of time throughout the play, and I would now like to clarify the relationship between that and memory. In the beginning, Macbeth is preoccupied by his thoughts and imagination in psychic time and forgets the external environment, until gradually he becomes engaged in a series of actions in physical time to fulfil providential time and forgets his original character. In other words, his character changes significantly. His memories are changed, and his moral sense declines as well. Macbeth's murder has penetrated his mind to become a mole or a disease corrupting his morality. In *Hamlet*, the mole is endogenous and takes the form of corruption within, whereas in *Macbeth* it is exogenous. Exterior action has great power to change and form a character. Macbeth is a fissured, unstable, dramatic subject in the process of being made by his own action[27]rather than a fixed locus.[28] Macbeth's change of character is shown by his

[26] Duncan's point is that it is impossible to avoid being deceived, and he is right: after being deceived by Cawdor, he is once again deceived by the new Cawdor Macbeth.

[27] Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (Routledge, 1990). 3.

[28] Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Neison, "Macbeth, the Jacobean Scot, and the Politics of the Union", *SEL* 47, 2

indifference to Lady Macbeth's death and his numbness to things which used to cool his senses.

According to humoral physiology, the human body is porous and fragile. The human mind, believed by early modern people to be inseparable from the body, is permeable and penetrable as well. The transformed character of Macbeth is a demonstration of the body's and the mind's permeability. Lady Macbeth's conjuration of spirits into her body, her troubled mind and her death also show the fluidity of the microcosmic world as well as the macrocosmic world, and the permeable boundary between them.

Lady Macbeth: on the Rack of Time and Memory

Lady Macbeth's time is influenced significantly by providential time as well. Knowing the prophecy of Macbeth's future, Lady Macbeth is more far-sighted than he is. She is so fascinated by the future that she pays no attention to the present, as she tells Macbeth, "Thy letters have transported me beyond/ This ignorant present, and I feel now/ The future in the instant" (1.5.59-61). She can hardly bear the gap between the present and the future. Living in the present, she ignores it and aspires to the future, and she cannot stop goading Macbeth to take action to fulfil the future, so at this moment she is on the rack of the future. Ironically, in the later part of the play she is haunted by the memory of the past. Instead of enjoying the pleasure of the partly fulfilled future, she starts to think of the past, and from then on she suffers on the rack of the past formed by Macbeth and

(Spring, 2007), 389.

herself. Time sense, for Lady Macbeth, becomes more obscure. It reaches a peak when she unexpectedly lapses into a seemingly unconscious state, haunted by her disordered and uncontrollable memory.

In Act V Scene I, her sense of time is blurred and "she relives in the unchronological" state.[29]

> Out, damned spot! Out, I say! One;
> Two: why, then, 'tis time to do't. Hell is murky!
> Fie, my lord, fie! A soldier, and afeard? What
> Need we fear who knows it, when none can call
> our power to account? Yet who would have
> thought the old man to have had so much
> blood in him?

A variety of past images – the blood stains on her hands, the time of the commitment of the murder, hell, Duncan's blood – all hurl themselves upon her beyond her control. They are the images belonging to the category described by Augustine as what "pour out in a heap" and "hurl themselves upon" people "in masses".[30] Whereas Augustine can get rid of those involuntary memories by brushing them from the face of his memory with the hand of his heart, Lady Macbeth, because of her disturbed mind, is carried away by the unwilled memories.

What is worse is that memory, allegorized by Edmund Spenser as a spacious chamber and

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[29] Kranz, David L. "The Sounds of Supernatural Soliciting in Macbeth." *Studies in Philology* 100.3 (2003): 361.

[30] *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, Trans. Francis Joseph Sheed (Continuum International Publishing Group, 1944), 172.

library,[31] and considered by Augustine as "a spreading limitless room" [32] and a thing of a "profound and immeasurable multiplicity", can hoard innumerable images.

> In the innumerable fields and dens and caverns of my memory, innumerably full of innumerable kinds of things, present either by their images as are all bodies, or in themselves as are our mental capacities, or by certain notions or awarenesses, like the affections of the mind...in and through all these does my mind range, and I move swiftly from one to another and I penetrate them as deeply as I can, but find no end.[33]

Accordingly, like pieces and fragments from an earthquake or a volcano, the images of a bell calling Macbeth to action, the knocking at the gate and other innumerable images, all flow in her memory unchronologically. The mentally archaeological layers of events which happened in chronological time are now in disarray.[34] Different images imputed by different senses are overlapping and interrupting each other, and they all swarm out of her mental compartment and disorderedly appear in her mind's eye, and finally express themselves in Baroque language which is "the fragmentary and the chaotic".[35]

Having said that Lady Macbeth unexpectedly lapses into a seemingly unconscious state, I want to place more emphasis on "unexpectedly". Unexpectedly, because it is she who has summoned evil spirits to unsex her to do a horrible deed, it is she who has condemned Macbeth's

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[31] Spenser, *Faerie Queene*.

[32] See *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, 174.

[33] Book Ten of *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, 181.

[34] See Harris, "Untimely Mediations".

[35] Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 209, Cited in Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics*, 143.

hesitation and goaded him to commit murder, and it is also she who has claimed she would pluck her nipple from the baby that suckles her and dash its brain out. When Macbeth, who initially seems less cruel than she, continues his evil actions, she, whose mind is paralysed or infected, has to retreat passively and unconsciously. What triggers this unexpected change? I think the reason lies in her inability to control the world outside her and the world inside her.

On the one hand, the world outside is obviously out of her control. There are so many things happening that she does not anticipate. She is unable to stop Macbeth's fantasy about the ghosts of Duncan and Banquo, and she also worries about Macbeth's accidental betrayal of their acts, for which she has to come up with a sound explanation. These "written troubles of the brain" (5.3.47) are beating in her brain. She can choose her action, but she cannot control its consequences. Action in the present may have unexpected consequences in the future. "Time unfolds and bears the consequences of our action", as McGinn says, "no matter how much we may wish to confine them to the instant of action".[36]

She cannot control her swelling desire, either. "Nought's had, all's spent,/ Where our desire is got without content" (3.2.4-5). Desire is most often evoked by external conditions and situations, and since the external conditions and situations sometimes cannot be controlled, desire tends to swell without ceasing. "[W]ithout content" can mean emptiness, echoing "Nought" or without

[36] McGinn, *Shakespeare's Philosophy*, 105.

satisfaction, both of which make sense. One desire is fulfilled and another one grows. As Seneca[37] observes,

> the long-standing and seasoned vices of human intelligence, the ones we call "diseases", are uncontrollable – for example, greed, cruelty, fury. It follows that the passions too are uncontrolled, since one slides from the passions to the diseases. Next, if you grant any authority to sadness, fear, desire, and the other wicked motions, then they will not be in our power. Why? Because the things which stimulate them are outside us.[38]

Disease can be endogenous and exogenous. The things outside us which stimulate and tempt us cannot be controlled as we wish. Lady Macbeth cannot control the stimulation of their desire and Macbeth's fears, which are outside themselves, or their stimulation, which is exterior.

On the other hand, most importantly, Lady Macbeth's microcosmic world is out of her control as well. She wants to unsex herself and fill herself "from the crown to the toe top full/ Of direst cruelty" (1.5.43-44) so that she can goad Macbeth to commit murder. She also intends to "stop up the access and passage to remorse" (1.5.45); however, both the microcosm and macrocosm have their own natural way of working and their features of permeability and fluidity cannot fulfil her wish.

Two mental faculties are worth noting in this context: memory and imagination. Memory is incalculable. As a locus like sea to store memories, memory is boundless and bottomless; as

[37] Shakespeare is apparently well aware of Seneca and Stoicism, as can be seen from many of his plays. Therefore, Seneca's comment on desire and disease may account for Lady Macbeth's rapid change.

[38] *Seneca: selected philosophical letters*, 42.

contents – limitless information to be stored like treasures, memory is limitless. On the other hand, as a storage room in the brain which is bounded, memory should be bounded as well. Furthermore, memory, as "the warder of the brain" (1.7.65),[39] is frail and fragile: in Lady Macbeth's words, "a fume". Its status as a storehouse attests to the feared possibility of being ransacked or rendered disorderly.[40] Lady Macbeth's memory is being rendered disorderly. Imagination and memory, as faculties located in the brain, share some similarities. In Bergson's view, memory is more vivid than imagination.[41] But as imagination is sometimes based on the treasures stored in memory, it can be as vivid as memory. If imagination is more about the future and memory is more about the past, then future memory is similar to imagination. Future memory, or prospective memory, is a memory of the future. Macbeth's imagining of a dagger covered in blood is a future memory, and it is also owing to the uneasiness of his conscience.[42] Imagination and memory are faculties belonging to human beings. If they are repressed, human beings would be like machines or animals. Macbeth,

[39] Pierre Charron observes that "Memorative faculty is the Gardian and Register of all the species or kinds and images" in *Of Wisdome three bookes*, trans. Samson Lennard (London, 1658), 48. Others also regard reason as the guardian of the brain, such as Batman.

[40] Tribble, Evelyn B. '"The Dark Backward and Abysm of Time": *The Tempest* and Memory', 151-168.

[41] Henry Bergson, *Matter and Memory*.

[42] The image of a moving dagger with blood is not only a "fatal vision" (2.1.36) marshalling him to the murder of Duncan, but also a struggle of Macbeth's conscience. The future and the past are fused with the present, hellish images presented in his memory and conscience are merged as well. For conscience see Perkins's *A Discourse*, 1596, 1-10. Perkins defines conscience as "a little god sitting in the middle of men's hearts" to as an arbitrator to give judgment and sentence. For more studies on late medieval and early modern ideas about conscience, see *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009), a special issue dedicated to the Renaissance conscience. For conscience and memory see Long's "Toward an Early Modern Theory of Trauma" 2012. Long observes that in the way that memory and conscience were both likened to a "notary" and "register", "conscience resembles early modern memory".

driven by a lot of actions, represses his imagination which can let him to have dialogues with his conscience and he becomes similar to a machine without feeling and sympathy. Lady Macbeth represses her memory and emotion to such an extent that her mind becomes a machine out of function whose parts finally collapse.

The Macbeths' behaviours and their destiny are presented by Shakespeare in an ironic way: The Macbeths attempt to manipulate time and "beguile the time" only to find they are manipulated and beguiled by the time; Lady Macbeth attempts to live in the future, but she is ironically tortured by the past; Macbeth has murdered time and then he is killed by a man "untimely born"; they have murdered sleep, and Lady Macbeth ends her life in sleeplessness. The Macbeths are actually killed by time and memory – memory of the future and memory of the past.

Trapped in time and memory, how do the Macbeths remember and how are they remembered? In some Shakespearean plays and sonnets, posterity is one of the consolations of the dead. As the original copy of their posterity, the dead can be remembered both through and by their descendants. Lady Macbeth, however, has no children, and even if she has, by the possibility of dashing the baby's brains out, she may not have children survive. As Chamberlain argues, "By erasing the possibility of an heir, i.e., lawful succession, Lady Macbeth likewise blots from the cultural memory future traces of Macbeth's lineage".[43] Macbeth has no children to keep alive his

[43] Stephanie Chamberlain, "Fantasizing Infanticide: Lady Macbeth and the Murdering Mother in Early Modern England", *College Literature*, 32.3, Summer 2005, 84.

memory and no monument to inscribe his past and tell people of his previous glory. His only lasting memorial is his "cursed" (5.7.84) severed head, as Macduff describes it, "painted upon a pole" (5.7.55), on which is written, "Here may you see the tyrant" (5.7.56). This is what Macbeth has foreseen:

> My way of life
> Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf;
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
> Curses, not loud but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
> Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not (*Macbeth*, 5.2.22-28)

Macbeth and Lady Macbeth would have been remembered as a couple loyal to the king, had they not had their desires swell, changed their nature and murdered the king. Their betrayal leads them to death and they are remembered as nothing more than murderous traitors.

"She Should Have Died Hereafter": Death and Emotion *Qing* 情

When Macbeth is told that "[t]he Queen, my lord, is dead" (5.5.16), his indifferent response "she should have died hereafter; There would have been a time for such a word" (5.5.17-18) seems unbelievable. Whatever evil they have committed, Macbeths love each other, trust each other and rely on each other. Therefore, Lady Macbeth's death would be a heavy loss to Macbeth, and it would be natural for him to feel sad as Macduff is after the death of his wife and children. When

Malcolm asks him to "[d]ispute it like a man" (4.3.219), he replies, "I shall do so;/ But I must also feel it as a man:/ I cannot but remember such things were,/ That were most precious to me" (4.3.219-222).

The implication that it is not the right time for her to die indicates Macbeth's indifference, which derives from his annihilation of emotions and senses: just before the death of his wife, he claims "I have almost forgot the taste of fears./ The time has been my senses would have cool'd/ To hear a night-shriek"(5.5.9-11). Even after the murder, he still has emotions. Before the murder he is so sensible to feelings that he is troubled by an imaginary moving dagger, which he asks, "Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible/ To feeling as to sight? Or art thou but/ A dagger of the mind, a false creation,/ Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?" (2.1.36-39). After the murder, he is so haunted by the memory of the scene that he says to his wife "I am afraid to think what I have done;/ Look on't again I dare not" (2.2.52-53). He even admires dead Duncan's peace, as he says "Better be with the dead, / Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace, / Than on the torture of the mind to lie/ In restless ecstasy. Duncan is in his grave; / After life's fitful fever he sleeps well" (3.2.19-23). Macbeth's senses are believed to be "pester'd" (5.2.23) by other people and he has forgotten the emotions of fear and sadness. His betrayal of his human nature by doing "[u]nnatural deeds" (5.1.78) and the repression of his emotions breed "unnatural troubles" (5.1.78) for him.

Macbeth's indifference to Lady Macbeth's death recalls Brutus's calmness on his wife

Portia's death and Zhuangzi's abnormally happy response to his wife's death. Brutus is not as indifferent as Macbeth although his exterior reaction suggests he is, nor does he feel as happy as Zhuangzi does. Brutus feels sick and sad as he tells Cassius "I am sick of many griefs" (*Julius Caesar*, 4.3.143), but he is practising Stoic philosophy to avoid showing his emotional and vulnerable interior world. The greater the losses he can endure by controlling his emotion, the more likely he is to achieve the state of Stoic *apathia*.[44] This is unnatural to most people, including Cassius, as he claims, "I have as much of this in art as you,/ But yet my nature could not bear it so" (4.3.193). Arguments on nature and naturalness are also presented in *Hamlet* regarding the quantity or proportion of emotions. Hamlet grieves over his father's death out of natural feeling and mourns for him by using exterior forms while proclaiming his innermost feelings; however, in his mother Gertrude's view, "all that live must die, / Passing through nature to eternity" (1.2.72-73), and Claudius, after pointing out the naturalness of Hamlet's mourning for his father, emphasizes that his obstinate condolence on the natural death of his father is "a fault against the dead, a fault to nature" (1.2.102). Hamlet's natural expression of feeling is regarded as unnatural by Gertrude and Claudius because of their different understanding of nature, just as Confucius and Zhuangzi differ from each other in terms of their perspectives on nature.

What is natural and proper behaviour depends on the understanding of the nature of death. If

[44] Apatheia indicates a state of mind which is not disturbed by the passions. It is achievable by sages. A better translation would be equanimity rather than indifference.

death is regarded as part of the natural world, or believed to be a port to eternal life, then it is not bereavement. Yet if it is a thing people fear and try to avoid, then grief towards it is a natural response. Therefore, what's natural and moral depends on agreement on understandings of nature of death and nature itself. It seems Claudius's insights on death are in some sense similar to Zhuangzi's, but there are more differences than similarities. On the one hand, Claudius's comment on Hamlet's grief is a means to cover his murder; on the other hand, by emphasising the naturalness of death, Claudius makes it just and reasonable for him to forget the dead in the past and remember himself in the present. Zhuangzi also favours forgetting, but the objects of his forgetting also include himself. In his philosophy, forgetting is a very important concept. The highest level of freedom and achievement for human beings is merging with the cosmos by forgetting themselves,[45] and realizing the integrity of human beings and the cosmos by following the law of nature and *Dao*. His happiness about his wife's death is based on this idea of merging with the natural world and following *Dao*.

Lady Macbeth's death is associated with "perturbation in nature"[46] – perturbation of her spirits, humours, emotions, mind and soul. First of all, her body like any human body is porous and

[45] There are some interesting parallels with early modern Catholic mysticism here. For example, Spanish mystic writer and visionary St. John of the Cross (San Juan de la Cruz) in his poem *On a dark night (En una noche oscura)* expressed similar forgetfulness. Abandoning himself, he is lost in oblivion with his cares left among the lilies. Despite the similarity of their forgetfulness of themselves, Zhuangzi's forgetfulness is because of his integrity with nature whereas St. John of the Cross's self-oblivion derives from a religious aspiration.

[46] While listening to the report from the waiting woman about Lady Macbeth's abnormal behaviours, the doctor of physics says "A great perturbation in nature, to/ receive at once the benefit of sleep and do the effects of watching!"

full of fluid substances including spirits and humours, which exchange with the environment and cannot be easily controlled. In early modern England, spirits are vital to body and mind, and they can refer to different things including, according to the *OED*, "The animating or vital principle in man (and animals)",[47] "A supernatural, incorporeal, rational being or personality, usually regarded as imperceptible at ordinary times to the human senses, but capable of becoming visible at pleasure, and freq. conceived as troublesome, terrifying, or hostile to mankind" and "One or other of certain subtle highly-refined substances or fluids (distinguished as natural, animal, and vital) formerly supposed to permeate the blood and chief organs of the body". Spirits could be material and immaterial, godly and evil. Lady Macbeth's perturbed spirits are a mixture of animal spirits and supernatural spirits.

Macbeth has ambition and yet he is "too full o' the milk of human kindness" (1.5.18). Lady Macbeth has to pour her spirits in his ear to goad him, so she conjures up spirits to unsex her and fill her "from the crown to the toe top full/ Of direst cruelty" (1.5.43-44). Yet cruelty is not her nature, or she would not need to conjure up spirits to strengthen her and "stop up the access and passage to remorse" (1.5.45); neither would she say "yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?" (5.1.40-41)[48] after Duncan's murder. Even when she says "I have

[47] As in the Bible 1611, "the bodie without the spirit is dead".

[48] Amy Kenny's paper "'Fair and noble hostess': Lady Macbeth as a Dutiful Wife" at British Shakespeare Graduate 2010 Conference argues that Lady Macbeth is a dutiful wife. Whether one agrees with her view or not, I would argue that in nature she is not as evil as she says she is or appears to be.

given suck, and know/ How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:/ I would, while it was smiling in my face,/ Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,/ And dashe'd the brains out, had I sworn as you/ Have done to this " (1.7.54-59), it is merely intended to show that she keeps her word and it could also be a means to goad Macbeth to take action.

In terms of her decision to "stop up the access and passage to remorse", she does seem to be on the way to achieving it. Whereas Macbeth expresses his fear and horror, she forces herself to repress them, as she says "These deeds must not be thought/ After these ways; so, it will make us mad" (2.2.34-35). Although her question "yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?" shows her true feeling and unconscious regret, she forces herself to repress her emotion. In terms of psychophysiology, which regards body, mind and spirit as associated with each other closely, to keep them in a balanced status, the passage for spirits and humours cannot be blocked forever, as Malcolm says to Macduff: "Give sorrow words: the grief that does not speak/ Whispers the o'er fraught heart and bids it break" (4.3.209-210). Those whose mind, body and soul fail to communicate efficiently owing to clogged spirits, "become not only internally fragmented (leading to the malfunctioning of individual parts) but also increasingly vulnerable to external influences".[49.] Lady Macbeth's fragmentary memory to some extent is a consequence of her blocked spirits.

On the one hand, the body and mind dilate and are full of fluid substances that are hard to

[49] Floyd-Wilson, "English Epicures and Scottish Witches", 139; also see Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces*, 47.

control, and on the other hand, they are porous and allow the external environment to penetrate. As Mary Floyd-Wilson says, in the early modern period, "a people's degree of passibility was a popular basis for establishing ethnic or national characteristics".[50] What makes it worse is that once human body and mind, which are porous and permeable, are penetrated and corrupted, they can only be controlled and cleared with difficulty. That is probably also the reason why Macbeth has such a strong sense of confinement and containment. Scotland was a place where witches and supernatural spirits dwelled, according to geohumoral theory; the Macbeths in Scotland were especially vulnerable to supernatural elements. The exterior world and the interior world penetrate each other in a dynamic way, and corruption is inevitable. Repression, confinement and whitewashing are not the right way in which to control fluidity and corruption.

Shakespeare's Art of Memory in *Macbeth*[51]

Today, the play *Macbeth* still lives actively in our memory like a monument built by Shakespeare's words. To build this monument, a symbol preserving memory, Shakespeare also uses his art of memory. In Chapter One, a general description of the origin and development of the art of memory is given, and I would like to focus here on the art of memory in early modern England, and then locate Shakespeare's art of memory in this context.

[50] Floyd-Wilson, "English Epicures and Scottish Witches", 134.

[51] Shakespeare, "Macbeth", in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. W. J. Craig, 1935.

The art of memory was widely used in ancient times as a rhetorical device and its influence extended into the seventeenth century. The pivotal transformation of the art of memory in the sixteenth century was owned to Giulio Camillo. He outlined the construction of his "memory theatre" in his book *L'idea del Theatro* (1550) which became the talk of Europe. Camillo's theatre is in many ways analogous to the theatre system of Fludd who was also influential regarding the art of memory. Francis. A. Yates noted that the construction of the Globe Theatre in Shakespeare's time bore some relationship to Camillo's ideas and Fludd's theatre memory system. Yates stated in *The Art of Memory*:

> it is only in the context of the history of the art of memory that the relationship of Fludd's memory system to a real theatre can be understood. It is in strict pursuance of the history of the art of memory that we have found ourselves introduced into the Shakespearean theatre. To whom do we own this extraordinary experience? To Simonides of Ceos and Metrodorus of Scepsis; to Tullius and Thomas Aquinas; to Giulio Camillo and Giordano Bruno. For unless we had travelled on our long journey with the art of memory down the ages, though we might have seen something exciting in the Fludd engraving (as Bernheimer did) we could not have understood it. It is with the tools forged in following the history of the art of memory that we have been able to excavate the Globe theatre from its hiding place in Fludd's Utriusque Cosmi …Historia.[52]

Another popular treatise on memory, Peter of Ravenna's *Phoenix*, was first published in Venice in 1491 and English translations were available in London in the late 1540s. It was adopted by Gregor Reisch, mentioned by Johannes Romberch and referred to by Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of*

[52] Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 366.

Melancholy, and it also had significant influence on Giordano Bruno.[53]

The art of memory was still widely known and adopted in rhetoric and religious preaching in early modern Europe. According to Yates's account, the importance of the art of memory "dwindled in the purely humanist tradition but grew to vast proportions in the Hermetic tradition". The rise of science mingled with the art of memory generated a new vista. The typical example is Giordano Bruno, who was famous for his hermetic ideas and died as a result of them. The year 1600 was a remarkable year, as it not only witnessed the death of Bruno, but was also the year after which *Hamlet* was produced. As Hilary Gatti says:

> The exact date of the composition of *Hamlet* is unknown, but it is now generally thought that the play was written or at least completed in 1601, a date which gives it a particular significance, for not only does it evoke the beginning of the new century, with its closing in on the new enquiries and debates, but it follows at only a year's distance the moment of Bruno's death. [54]

I am not sure whether Bruno had direct contact with Shakespeare and whether there is a link between Bruno's death and Hamlet's birth, although it is a fact that Bruno and the character Hamlet had both been to Wittenberg and Bruno had stayed in England between 1583 and1585, or perhaps it is just a coincidence. I hesitate to push this connection, however. What I intend to do is examine Shakespeare's art of memory in *Macbeth* and compares with the traditional art of memory.

In my introductory chapter, I explored dynamic natural memory, which features fluid and

[53] Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*.

[54] Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, 114.

the heart, and the art of memory, which features locus and the brain. Shakespeare's art of memory emphasizes some aspects of the art of memory and is dynamic as well, so I would argue that it is a combination of dynamic natural memory and the art of memory. As the Chinese pattern of memory is a dynamic natural memory, I suggest these two patterns are a basis for analysing Shakespeare's art of memory.

Ancient Western Art of Memory

事物 things —感知 *perception* —立象 building-up of images- — 图像 image-printing — brain（记忆的器官）

Ancient Chinese Pattern of Memory

事物 things — 感知 *perception* — 背诵 recitation — 心 heart（记忆的器官） [55]

(Between perception and recitation there is a creative process involving learning, thinking and reflection, aided by mnemonic poems and rhyming jingles. The process is similar to natural digestion, so time is more important in this pattern than space, whereas loci are crucial in the art of memory)

In both patterns we can see that the first stage of memory involves perception by the senses, i.e. sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. Shakespeare knows well the importance of senses to memory and that is why he makes full use of them in his play to stimulate the audience's senses and create and strengthen new memory as well as trigger old memory. Of all the senses, the keenest is

[55] See Jie Wang's "On the Fate and Revelation of Matteo Ricci's 'Treatise on Mnemonic Arts in Ming & Qing Dynasty' " (《论<西国记法> 在明清之际中国的遭遇和启示》), 27; See also my paper "A Flower not in Bloom".

the sense of sight,[56] especially relevant for a play to be performed on stage. In the art of memory, image, as one of three components, is of vital importance. To attain an impressive effect, the images should be lively and striking. The images, as described in Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci's *Mnemonic Arts* written in Chinese in 1596,[57] should be extremely beautiful or ugly, or laughable, or distinctive, and they should be decorated, and if the images are abnormal like a person with three heads and six arms or a dragon with nine tails, the effect would be even better. Shakespeare uses a lot of clusters of images and, in *Macbeth*, these images are extremely striking because most of the important ones are directly or indirectly related to blood, such as bloody hand, bloody baby, Macbeth's head, a mother dashing out the brains of her suckling, smiling baby. The bloody dagger envisioned or imagined by Macbeth is also a memorable image. It is not a still image, but in fact is like a moving picture. Whether it is a still image or an image in motion or a series of images like a dumb show, it should be striking enough to be imprinted on the memory.

Sometimes, to make his images more striking, Shakespeare, I think, consciously sets foils to make it happen. The image of the baby smiling is a foil for the image of the mother dashing its brain out. I use "consciously", because Shakespeare's characters make the use explicit. In Shakespeare's history play *Henry IV*, before Henry V ascends the throne, he speaks to himself:

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[56] Cicero *De Oratore* 2.87.357.

[57] Matteo Ricci, *Mnemonic Arts*. See the original texts written in Chinese in Jie Wang's "On the Fate and Revelation of Matteo Ricci's 'Treatise on Mnemonic Arts' in Ming & Qing Dynasty".

> And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
> My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,
> Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
> Than that which hath no foil to set it off. (*Henry IV*, 1.3.234-237)

As Prince Hal uses foils to make him distinguished and attractive, Shakespeare also 'makes good use of mnemonic principles like "distinction" '[58] by creating strikingly different images in his plays.

Apart from the keenest sense of sight, smell and sound are other senses Shakespeare uses in *Macbeth*. The play begins with thunder and lightning, whose effect is caused by the detonation of fireworks. The audience can see the light, hear the sound and smell the odour. The smell will "[h]over through the fog and filthy air" (1.1.12). According to Jonathan Gil Harris, "…playgoers' responses to the odour of the squibs were not just physiologically conditioned, but implicated within larger cultural syntaxes of olfaction and memory".[59] The smell could trigger the audience's collective memory, including the Gunpowder Plot and the ritual incense of the Roman Catholic mass abandoned by Elizabethan Protestants. The smell could also trigger individual memory, such as previous performances with the same smell or other individual experiences. Therefore, through smell, the past emerges in the present and the two coexist. This situation of memory is what Harris calls "palimpsest". The palimpsest is a site of temporality, neither synchronic nor diachronic, but

[58] "Shakespeare's 'Books of Memory': 1 and 2 Henry VI", Jerome Mazzaro. *Comparative Drama*. Kalamazoo: Fall 2001/Winter 2002.Vol. 35, Iss. 3/4; pg. 393, 22 pgs. Mazzaro also points out that, Shakespeare uses different images such as banners, flowers, uniforms and dialects to differentiate different armies, factions, and social classes to impress memorable images upon his audience's memory.

[59] Jonathan Gil Harris, "The Smell of Macbeth", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 58.4 (2007): 467.

polychromic, whereby the traces of multiple pasts are not erased but coexist with the present. The difference between the palimpsest smell and the polychronic smell is that the former comprises plural temporalities contained inside the object whereas the latter "locates its polychronicity ambivalently inside and outside the object", which means it contains the subjective olfactory experience of the object.[60]

A palimpsest is a very lively and precise metaphor which can describe the situation of an audience whose memories are triggered by smell.[61] It is a site where the past fractures in the present, and the past, the present and even the future coexist. I would suggest that there are other states of memory which could be described by the mystic writing pad described by Sigmund Freud. In the mystic writing pad, multiple pasts are erased on the upper waxed paper but traces exist on the lower wax slab. For people whose memory is stirred by smell but is not as fresh as the present and fades away to leave only traces, Freud's mystic writing, I would argue, is a suitable metaphor.[62] Different people can smell out different odours emanating from the same object. King James can smell gun powder whereas Duncan can smell something sweet and fair from Macbeth's inwardly foul and dangerous house.

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[60] Ibid., 472-43.

[61] Or memory triggered by the taste of certain things, such as the taste of madeleine cake in the "episode of the madeleine" in *In Search of Lost Time* or *Remembrance of Things Past* by Marcel Proust.

[62] *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, ed. Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead, (Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 115-117. Source: Sigmund Freud, "A Note upon the 'Mystic Writing-Pad'" [1925], in *On Metapsychology: The Theory of Psychoanalysis*, Vol.11 of 'The Penguin Freud Library', trans. James Strachey, ed. Angela Richards (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 429-34.

Besides sight and smell, Shakespeare also uses aural sense, which is very important in theatrical performances. The noise of "knocking" is heard three times by Lady Macbeth and Macbeth just after they finish the murder, and it is followed by the porter's striking repetition: "knock, knock" appears twice, "knock, knock, knock" appears twice, and "[knocking within]" appears five times. The repetition of "sound" words etches the images in the audience's memory, and also that of Lady Macbeth. It not only indicates the physical door, but could also imply the door to the conscience of the Macbeths: thus every sound of knock is an imprint on their memory. Shakespeare, as a master of words, uses the sound of words to imprint memory.

In terms of Shakespeare's fondness for repetition, it may be fair to say he shares with John Locke the following sentiment:

> There seems to be a constant decay of all our Ideas, even of those which are struck deepest, and in Minds the most retentive; so that if they be not sometimes renewed by repeated Exercise of the Senses, or Reflection on those kind of Objects, which at first occasioned them, the Print wears out, and at last there remains nothing to be seen. Thus the Ideas, as well as Children, of our Youth, often die before us: And our Minds represent to us those Tombs, to which we are approaching; where though the Brass and Marble remain, yet the Inscriptions are effaced by time, and the Imagery moulders away. The Pictures drawn in our Minds, are laid in fading Colours; and if not sometimes refreshed, vanish and disappear.[63]

As shown in the "Ancient Chinese Pattern of Memory", the memorization process after perception is a creative process involving learning, thinking and reflection, which takes a lot of time. If the art of memory values locus to put things in order in the brain, dynamic natural memory takes fluid time

[63] *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, 75-79. Source: John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [1700; first published in 1690], ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 149-155.

to imprint things in the heart. Repetitive acts like chewing the cud[64] can gradually imprint memory.

Repetitions are especially used by the weird sisters, Lady Macbeth, Macbeth and the porter. There are at least three kinds of repetitive form. First is repetition of words by the same person, including doubling, tripling and even quadrupling words.

> **To bed, to bed**: there's knocking
> At the gate. **Come, come, come, come**, give me
> Your hand. What's done cannot be undone.
> **To bed, to bed, to bed**. (Macbeth, 5.2.72-75)

Within this short passage, there is doubling ("to bed"), tripling ("to bed") and quadrupling ("come"). Whether it is because the mind of Lady Macbeth is diseased or her repetition echoes those weird sisters, this repetition and the resulting intensity are striking on the ear and thus inscribe the words in the audience's memory.

Second is repetition of the same meaning in different words and by different people. After the murder of Duncan, Macbeth expresses the meaning of his murder of sleep by saying "Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more" (Macbeth, 2.2.43-44). "Glamis", "Cawdor" and Macbeth denote the same person, so this sentence repeats the same meaning three times. Some words are echoed by different people. "Fair" and

[64] Augustine also uses the term "chewing the cud" when he says "as meat is by chewing the cud brought up out of the belly, so by recollection these out of the memory". The Chinese "chewing the cud" involves rumination which involves dynamic interaction and mixture between stored memories so as to integrate them, whereas Augustine's "chewing the cud" focuses on recalling memories objectively and individually, which is associated with the art of memory. On some occasions Augustine's "chewing the cud" is associated with religious mediation.

"foul" are spoken by the weird sisters and Macbeth, and "lost" and "won" are spoken by the weird sisters and Duncan.

Third are repetition and the increasing expansion and intensification of meaning.

> Macbeth does murder **sleep**,' **the innocent sleep**,
> **Sleep that** knits up the ravell'd sleave of care,
> The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
> Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
> Chief nourisher in life's feast, (Macbeth, 2.2.37-41)

Here Macbeth's words are like a flower blossoming: the small bud of "sleep" grows to "the innocent sleep" and then to an even bigger blossom which comprises four lines, starting with 'Sleep that'.

Shakespeare's adoption of various repetitions is like colouring a picture layer by layer to make it more striking and stop it fading away in the audience's memory. In *Macbeth*, the words "fair" and "foul" are among the most memorable ones. This is partly because they "are part of a line that has distinct rhetorical and rhythmic properties as well. Fricative alliteration reinforces the repetition, and the completely monosyllabic nature of the line crisply highlights its iambic meter".[65] It is also because they are first spoken by the weird sisters and then repeated by Macbeth. They also help to remind the audience of the past: the foul smell of the squib in the Gunpowder Plot and the fair perfume related to Roman Catholic ritual mentioned earlier. "[F]air" and "foul" thus trigger the

[65] Kranz, David L. "The Sounds of Supernatural Soliciting in Macbeth." *Studies in Philology* 100.3 (2003): 346.

audience's memory of past politics and religion, and also embed themselves in the audience's mind, reminding as well as being remembered.

Time and memory in *Macbeth* are both fluid and spatial; Shakespeare's art of memory covers both the fluidity in dynamic memory and the locus in the traditional art of memory. Time can be fluid and linearly undividable, and it can also be measured and jumped over. Memory can be fluid fume which vaporizes like spirits, and it can also be a spot like the blood on the Macbeths' hands, hard to clean. Shakespeare uses his art of memory to locate different characters and properties on the stage, and he also makes them move and makes memory flow dynamically on the stage and off the stage, on the page and off the page.

Conclusion

The Macbeths' tragedy is a tragedy of desire and ambition, and it is also a tragedy of time and memory. They are tempted by providential time, and to pursue their so-called predicted providential time they manage to change their human nature. Macbeth forces himself to take action and push aside his psychic time in pursuit of the promised providential time. Lady Macbeth represses her natural emotions and spurs Macbeth's ambition. Emotions, including fear, had a psychophysiological basis in early modern time. Repression of them caused blockage of spirits and

humours and finally led to malfunctioning of the body, mind or even soul, and eventually to death. From the perspectives of morality and religion, betraying and murdering kings are sins which usually also lead to death.

In Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, we can see different results of repressing natural emotions. One is the explosion of emotion by way of involuntary and fragmentary memory, and the other is the extinction of emotions and senses. Lady Macbeth's diseased mind and uncontrollable memory imply that, time, memory and body, mind and soul are not manipulable objects; Macbeth's indifference towards his wife's death and his nihilism towards time also show his failure to dominate his destiny in a recorded time.

Shakespeare's art of memory in *Macbeth* as well as his other plays, is combination of dynamic natural memory and the traditional art of memory. In *Macbeth*, Shakespeare uses striking images and the various senses as well as repetition to convey memory; in *Hamlet*, natural fluid memory and the art of memory both try to occupy Hamlet; in other plays, natural memory and the art of memory also often coexist. On the one hand, Shakespeare knows well the art of memory, including its three factors – image, order and loci, and uses some of their principles to create new memory, evoke past memory and preserve memory. For example, he frequently uses words like "image", "character", "seal" and "print" which "lend mnemonic colouring";[66] on the other hand, as Jerome Mazzaro argues, he 'shows little interest in developing a systematic, humanly engineered

[66] Jerome Mazzaro, "Shakespeare's 'Books of Memory': 1 and 2 Henry VI", *Comparative Drama*.

"art of memory"'. One may go further by saying that Shakespeare even mocks its systematic classification and inventory: Hamlet satirizes that "to divide him inventorially would dizzy the arithmetic of memory" (5.2.119-120) and Olivia speaks in an ironic tone that "I/ will give out divers schedules of my beauty: it/ shall be inventoried, and every particle and/ utensil labelled to my will" (*Twelfth Night*, 1.5.264-267). He is more keenly interested in the dynamics of natural memory.[67] Art comes from nature and it can perfect nature. As Polixenes says in *The Winter's Tale*, "this is an art/ Which does mend nature, change it rather, but/ The art itself is nature" (4.3.95). The art of memory is based on the natural fact that images placed in order can impress memory; therefore natural memory can be cultivated. It is similar to the *Dao* the cook Pao Ding follows which makes it easier for him to dissect oxen and keep his cleaver as new even though it has been used for nearly two decades.

[67] Jonas Barish, "Remembering and Forgetting in Shakespeare," *Elizabethan Theatre: Essays in Honour of S. Schoenbaum*, ed. R. B. Parker and S. P. Zitner (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996): 214-221.

Chapter Five

Memory, Metaphors and Morality

This chapter investigates economic exploitation, political colonization, and ethical morality regarding memory as well as metaphors of memory in plays including *Henry V*, *The Tempest*, and *The Winter's Tale*. Section one and two focus on *Henry V*. It is a history play and is well-known for depicting the memorable battle led by Henry V on the field of Agincourt. Henry and the future communal memory he creates are imprinted in people's mind onstage and offstage. Though he is victorious, his history is one of exploitation – exploitation of all the memory, past and future, private and communal – with tears and blood as well as joy and pride. His economic thinking and exploitation of memory contribute to his victory which immortalise him, yet in the meantime they mar his morality, which is most important from the perspective of the "Three Immortalities" in Chinese culture.

Section three is devoted to memory in *The Winter's Tale.* From the perspective of religion, Paulina's reminder of Leontes's memory of the sin he committed is a way to his salvation, and it echoes Donne's idea that "the art of salvation, is but the art of memory". Section four and five expound metaphors of memory such as "cell", "sea" and "book" and the art of memory in *The*

Tempest. Whereas three different versions of the same contents in *The Winter's Tale* show different views held by Camillo, Polixenes and Leontes and suggest their varied thoughts, three characters Prospero, Caliban and Ariel all struggle to imprint their versions of memory to each other's mind. Here, almost every one intends to colonize memory by imprinting their versions of memory in "the book and volume" (1.5.103) of other people's brains and hearts, just as the Renaissance ghosts struggled to hold their seats in the distracted.[1]

Henry V's Economic Exploitation of Memories

Although Henry V claims "I am not covetous for gold,/ Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost (4.3.24-25)", he does uses a lot of economic terms, and even thinks from the perspective of economics. In this sense, he is a competent economist with a rich economic vocabulary. Words and phrases like "profit", "debt", "advantage", "gold", "treasure" and "make use of" are prevalent in his language. As Prince Hal in *Henry IV*, he has already planned to maximize his profit in the future by making his first investment in memory.

[1]Reading *The Tempest*, we naturally associate it with colonization. Albeit most critics focus on its political and linguistic colonization, the colonization of memory is also worth noting. For a colonial reading of *The Tempest*, see: Paul Brown, '"This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine": *The Tempest* and the discourse of colonialism'. *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, eds. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London, New York: Methuen, 1986); Jerry Brotton, '"This Tunis, Sir, was Carthage": Contesting colonialism in *The Tempest*', *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, eds. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London, New York: Routledge, 1998).

When this loose behaviour I throw off,
And pay the debt I never promised,
…
My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off. (*1 Henry IV*, 1.3.230-237)

His present "loose behaviour" is a disguise, which seems to be "the debt" but in fact is his hidden investment. His present fault will become the foil for his planned reformation. His intention and economic vocabulary are echoed and in a way explicitly interpreted by Warwick in *2 Henry IV.*

The prince will in the perfectness of time
Cast off his followers; and their memory
Shall as a pattern or a measure live,
By which his Grace must mete the lives of the others,
Turning past evils to advantages. (*2 Henry IV*, 4.4.74-78)

Hal's followers will be cast off like a garment as he throws off his loose behaviour and what's left will be memory as a pattern or a measure which will be advantageous for his future life.

Although a garment can be thrown away, a memory pattern persists. Admitting the antithesis between clothes as the surface/outside and the person as the inside/depth, Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass argue that clothes were seen as printing and charactering memories in early modern England. This characteristic of clothing is further confirmed when Hal becomes King Henry V. He wears the "new and gorgeous garment, majesty", but seeing the sorrow of others at Henry IV's death, he says "sorrow so royally in you appears/ That I will deeply put the fashion on/

And wear it in my heart" (5.2.51-53). Clothes, "deeply put on" can permeate and fashion the wearer by inscription. [2] Through the pattern of memory, his past evils can be turned to advantages. Since the purpose of his "loose behaviour", "fault" and even "past evils" is to exploit advantages and maximize his profit, and he has decided to cast off them as well as his followers, it is not beyond expectation that he will reject Falstaff when he becomes king and puts on a new garment.

> I know thee not, old man: fall
> To thy prayers;
> How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!
> I have long dream'd of such a kind of man,
> So surfeit-swell'd, so old, and so profane;
> But, being awak'd, I do despise my dream.
> Make less thy body hence, and more thy grace;
> …
> Know the grave doth gape
> For thee thrice wider than for other men.
> Reply not to me with a fool-born jest:
> Presume not that I am the thing I was
> …
> I have turn'd away my former self. (*2 Henry IV*, 5.5.51-63)

His words on Falstaff's age, fatness and other physical features are so ruthless that Falstaff does not believe or probably chooses not to believe them. Falstaff's jests which used to bring happiness to them are now regarded by Hal as foolish. These words echo those spoken by Hal when he set a dish of apple-johns before Falstaff and said "I will now take my leave of these six dry, round, old withered knights" (*2 Henry IV*, 2.4.7-9) in a metaphorical sense. Although it angered Falstaff "to the

[2] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 2, 4.

heart, but he hath forgot that" (2.4.9-10); there is a similar scene in the first part of *Henry IV*. When Hal plays his father and Falstaff plays Hal, Hal describes Falstaff as "a fat old man" (*1 Henry IV*, 2.4.499), "a tun of man" (2.4.499), "that trunk of humour" (2.4.501), and even as "that bolting-hutch of beastliness" (2.4.502) whose worthiness is nothing but villainy. Albeit it is just a play for fun, Falstaff takes it seriously in some way, and his refute is intense and emotional:

> Banish Peto,
> Banish Bardolph, banish Poins; but for sweet
> Jack Falstaff, kind Jack Falstaff, true Jack Falstaff,
> Valiant Jack Falstaff, and therefore more
> Valiant, being, as he is, old Jack Falstaff, banish
> Not him thy Harry's company: banish not him
> thy Harry's company: banish plump Jack, and
> banish all the world (2.4.528).

Hal is Falstaff's heart and his world whereas Falstaff is merely a fertile body full of useful nourishment for him. Falstaff's fatness and roundness represented by his big belly implies the richness of jests and memories, and its fertility benefits Hal. As Wilder claims, Falstaff's body, "figured as food, as costume, or as the debt with which he sustains both", "represents a past to be consumed". Falstaff is an object consumed and "remembered in a diminished way by others rather than an active remember", [3] and the theatrical past he embodies must give way to Henry as a historical actor. Whereas Wilder associates Falstaff with Henry's memory from the perspective of

[3] See Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre*, 100-1. Falstaff's mind, like his loose body and trivial matters in his pocket, is turned inside out by Hal on many occasions, and in many ways Falstaff is transparent in Hal's calculated mind whereas Hal is opaque and deceives a lot of people.

theatrical performance, Baldo relates him to Henry's manipulation of the national memory from the perspective of politics. He argues that a pattern of forgetting is disguised under Henry's rhetoric of remembrance, and Henry's betrayal of Falstaff is a systematic forgetting of him belonging to "an intricate pattern of forgetting", which "is not merely a lapse in personal or private obligation, a betrayal of old friends, but is intimately connected to the exercise of power".[4] I would argue that it is a combination of Machiavelli calculation and economic exploitation.

When Falstaff's body is fertile and useful it is exploited by Hal, and when it becomes dry and withered, Hal determinedly and indifferently turns away from him and points to a place for him – the grave. After this cruelty he adds "When thou dost hear I am as I have been,/ Approach me, and thou shalt be as thou wast,/ The tutor and the feeder of my riots"(2 *Henry* IV, 5.5.65-67). Henry's ironical saying suggests he has no intention of being as he was, and hence no intention of recalling Falstaff who used to feed him. Even when Falstaff as base and useless matters is cast off in his memory, Falstaff is still a useful pattern of memory in Henry V's mind. Hostess says Falstaff is "in Arthur's bosom" (*Henry V*, 2.3.9-10), and Falstaff is indeed in Henry V's memory, not to be remembered for his own sake but to be exploited to Henry V's advantage.

By changing his garment, Henry assumes a new identity. Compared with blood and spirit, however, a garment is superficial. Since he was, in Henry IV's words, "almost an alien to the hearts/ Of all the court and princes of my blood" (3.2.34-35), he needs to recover his legitimacy in terms of

[4] Baldo, "Wars of Memory in *Henry V*", 140.

blood and spirit. Majesty of garment and majesty of blood help to establish his legitimacy. Thanks to his father's spirit, Henry V survives and accordingly his blood comes back to mingle with the state.

> The tide of blood in me/
> Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now:
> Now doth it turn and ebb back to the sea,
> Where it mingle with the state of floods
> And flow henceforth in formal majesty.
> Now call we our high court of parliament;
> And let us choose such limbs of noble counsel (*2 Henry IV*, 5.2.129-135)

The spirit is like a commodity available for exchange[5] and his blood is a kind of currency which can be used for his benefit. Garment, behaviour, body, blood, and spirit all have the mark of commodities in the eyes of Henry V. None of them, however, including his father's spirit and his own memory are enough, and to maximize his profit he also needs to make full use of the past national memory to his advantage.

In inheriting the spirit of his father and ancestors, he also inherits their memory. Although some of the memories are dangerous and can be wasted as his father suggests by having a foreign war,[6] some of the memories are like rich treasures at the bottom of the sea[7] which he can use to

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[5] Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, 135.

[6] Henry IV's words to Prince Hal: "By it thy course to busy giddy minds/ With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,/ May waste the memory of the former days"(4.5.212-214).

[7] Canterbury asks Henry V to make his "chronicle as rich with praise/ As is the owse and bottom of the sea/ With sunken wrack and sumless treasuries" (*Henry V*, 1.2.163-165).

legitimize his claim to France. Therefore, the balance between waste of memory and treasure of memory leads to his Agincourt battle. Although his army is in a disadvantageous situation, he can still see advantages within: soul of goodness can be distilled in things evil (*Henry V*, 4.1.4), honey can be gathered from weed (4.1.11), a moral can be made from a devil (4.1.12), and even corpses can produce advantage by choking the enemy's clime (4.3.102). One thing puzzles him as it seems no profit can be exploited from it: "idle ceremony", of which he asks, "And what are thou, thou idle ceremony? /…/What are thy rents? What are thy comings-in?/ O ceremony! Show me but thy worth". (4.1.260-264) Idle ceremony has no practical value to him as a king. Providing no "rents" and no "comings-in", ceremony is worthless. Even a slave has "vantage" of a king and goes to his grave with "profitable labour".

After his complaint about the advantage which he cannot exploit from idle ceremony, he tries to gain advantage from God.

> O God of battles! Steal my soldiers' hearts:
> Possess them not with fear; take from them now
> The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers
> Pluck their hearts from them. (4.1.309-312)

His prayer is less about repentance than gaining profit. Schwyzer points out that "his prayer is less concerned with the numinous than with numeracy".[8] Immediately after his prayer, he is possessed by the memory of the sin his father committed and he inherited. Since it is a memory which brings

[8] Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, 143.

more trouble than advantage for his battle the next day, in Greenblatt's words, he "negotiates a settlement with God".[9] "Not to-day, O lord!/ O, not to-day, think not upon the fault/ My father made in compassing the crown (4.1.312-314)".

Looking back at the glorious past of his ancestors he exploits the advantage of past memory, and looking forward to the future, he also wants to create a treasure of future memory and exploit it with his credit card.[10] "[W]here everyone else sees the future as an extension of the past, only he sees its opportunities for radical change".[11] He is not alone in making use of the future, and Richard III also shares his economical thinking of time. When Queen Elizabeth accuses him, he replies:

> And all the **ruins** of distressful times
> Repair'd with double **riches** of content.
> What! We have many goodly days to see:
> The **liquid** drops of tears that you have shed
> Shall come again, transform'd to **oriental pearl**,
> **Advantaging** their **loan** with **interest**
> Of ten times double **gain** of happiness. (*Richard III*, 4.4.319-325)

Past "ruins" can become future "riches" and the present liquid tears are just a loan which can breed future treasures – "oriental pearl". He not only considers others' pain and sorrow in terms of finance, but also treats his future as a bet to earn present interest. While answering Queen Elizabeth's accusation "What canst thou swear by now?" he says "The time to come". His time has already

[9] Greenblatt, *Shakespeare's Freedom*, 79.

[10] Although credit card is an invention at modern times and using it risks anachronism, it is helpful to describe Henry V's thoughts and behaviours in a metaphorical sense.

[11] Hapgood, *Shakespeare's Thematic Modes of Speech*, 41. Cited in Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre*, 90.

been misused by him[12], however, as Queen Elizabeth replies:

> That thou hast wronged in the time o'erpast;
> For I myself have many tears to wash
> Hereafter time for time past wrong'd by thee.
> …
> Swear not by time to come; for that thou hast
> Misus'd ere us'd, by times ill-us'd o'erpast. (4.4.389-397)

Compared with Richard III whose misused future will reap the consequences of his past behaviour, Henry V's future could be a treasure house he explores as well as exploits. Conjuring the memory of the past and the future, his personal memory and the communal memory, his speech at Agincourt becomes a feast of future memory. In previous speeches he conjured up spirits by speaking on behalf of the dead ancestors of the soldiers in an imagined community,[13] and now this community is composed of people who are alive and the memory created will live on after their death.

> Old men forget: yet all shall be forgot,
> But he'll remember with advantages
> What feats he did that day. Then shall our names,
> Familiar in his mouth as household words,
> Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,
> Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,
> Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.

[12] As George is profaned by him, his garter dishonoured, his crown usurped, the world full of his wrongs, his father's death dishonoured and God wronged, his time has already been misused (*Richard III*, 4.4.367-388).

[13] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verson, 1991), 198.

> This story shall the good man teach his son;
> And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered:
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers. (*Henry V*, 4.3.49-60)

There is numeracy in Henry's words in terms of remembrance and honour. Honour is a commodity, so the fewer people there are the more profit they can get, and the honour won by their feats can be remembered "with advantages". After the Reformation, the existence of purgatory was suspected, monasteries were ruined, religious fraternities collapsed, and many other things that linked the dead and the living discarded. The most trustworthy way to occupy a place in this world is to be remembered. In the Homeric and Virgilian traditions, being forgotten is a kind of death; memory functions as a form of immortality.[14] Therefore, that Henry V's imagined community providing equal fellowship and remembrance meets the soldiers' spiritual demands and thus is attractive to them makes him remembered to his advantage. By constructing such a future remembrance environment in rhetorical language whereby soldiers' spirits are refreshed and united, he not only succeeds in framing a glorious memory to serve the present battle but also ensures he is remembered as a glorious figure, although the future he promises turns out to be empty in that Crispin's Day was not celebrated as the anniversary of Agincourt in Shakespeare's time. Henry V's speech, as Baldo observes, "is an attempt to weave together ecclesiastical, patriotic, and even

[14] Sullivan. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster*, 30.

private forms of memory into a united and centralized national memory",[15] and by evoking and framing people's dynamic memories, Henry conjures up soldier's spirits, courage and confidence to win the battle.

Forgetting, Killing and Morality *De* 德 in *Henry V*

In English history, Henry V is mainly remembered as a victorious monarch. His fame is immortal in many ways. Seen from a Chinese perspective, Henry V is also immortal in the sense that he has done great "work" in English history. In terms of morality which is more important than work, however, he is immoral. There are three ways to immortality which are mentioned in *Zuozhuan*: "morality", "work", and "words"[16], which have influenced the Chinese for more than two millennia. "Morality" is most important followed by "work" and "words". "Morality" covers but is not limited to cultivation of morality and personal integrity, "work" means great achievements which benefit many people or making grand contribution to the time or the country. "Words" means writing the truth, composing beautiful literary works and giving helpful instructions to future generations. All

[15] On national memories and religious memories in *Henry V*, see Baldo, "Wars of Memory in *Henry V*", 156, and Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V", 107-8.

[16] 语本《左传·襄公二十四年》："大上有立德，其次有立功，其次有立言，虽久不废，此之谓不朽。" 唐人孔颖达在《春秋左传正义》中对德、功、言三者分别做了界定："立德谓创制垂法，博施济众"；"立功谓拯厄除难，功济于时"；"立言谓言得其要，理足可传"。*Zuozhuan Xianggong Ershisi Nian* and *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi*. The Three Immortalities (*lide* 立德 *ligong* 立功 *liyan* 立言) are also translated as achievements in moral self-cultivation, in public service, and in writing, eg. in Martin W. Huang's *Sentiments of Desire: Thoughts on the Cult of Qing in Ming-Qing Literature*.

three in many ways aim to benefit later generations as eternal treasures and by fulfilling all of them or some of them people can be immortalised after their death. Not many people can fulfil all of them and those who do are sages.

If Henry V is measured by this criterion, his immortality merely relies on his "work". Compared with "morality", however, "work" is secondary. In this sense Henry is far from moral. It is debatable as to whether he is remembered more as an ideal monarch or as a Machiavellian hypocrite. Is Henry V seen as rabbit or a duck?[17] Most people can see both sides including Greenblatt who argues, "Although Henry V is a victorious and charismatic hero, in terms of the ethics of authority, he is deeply flawed in his whole possession of power and in the foreign war he launches as his father suggested".[18]

According to Michael Witmore, people in the early modern era were familiar with the ideas of Machiavelli and others who praised the virtues of the fox, considering that effective action often requires an exquisite sense of timing, of judging exactly when to reveal something, when to take a risk or when to remain silent.[19] Donald Hedrick also attributes Machiavellian ideas to Henry V.[20] Although Henry V is good at taking relevant action at the right time, he abuses his friends' trust and breaks Falstaff's heart. His reformation is a planned development rather than a true transformation.

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[17] Norman Rabkin, "Rabbits, Ducks, and Henry V", Russ MacDonald, *Shakespeare: an anthology of criticism and theory, 1945-2000* (Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 245.

[18] Greenblatt, *Shakespeare's Freedom*, 79.

[19] Witmore, *Shakespearean Metaphysics*, 33.

[20] Donald Hedrick, 'Advantage, Affect, History, "Henry V" ', *PMLA* 118.3(2003):470-87.

Deleting his private memory of wildness and supported by his ancestors' valour and treasures of rich chronicle, he aspires to conquer France. When he finds treachery, he plays the role of God as he condemns the traitors: "thy fall hath left a kind of blot…this revolt of thine, methinks, is like/ Another fall of man… And God acquit them of their practice" (*Henry V*, 2.2.138-144). After creating a future memory of Agincourt, and achieving a glorious victory, he begins his wooing of the French princess. His words to Princess Katharine, "You and I cannot be confined within the weak list of a country's fashion: we are the makers of manners" (5.2.291-293), his creation of future national memory and his dislike of popish ceremony emphasize his Machiavellian traits.

In Shakespeare's primary source, Raphael Holinshed's chronicles *Henry V*, Prince Hal also misspent his youth but he did not do it intentionally to gain advantages. Shakespeare creates a different portrait of Henry V. Is it satirical or heroic?[21] From my knowledge of Chinese moral beliefs, I argue that it is heroic in an obvious way, and, in a satirical way, Shakespeare also adopts a negative attitude towards Henry V's way of abusing his friends' trust and dealing with memory.

There is a question about the appearance of Falstaff in *Henry V*. The character of Falstaff was a great success and in the epilogue of *Henry IV part 2* Shakespeare promised theatregoers Falstaff's appearance in *Henry V*. Yet Falstaff did not appear in person but in people's words and apparently died from a broken heart. Falstaff's appearance or absence in *Henry V* has been a crux to many people. Scholars have brought forward a lot of possible reasons for Falstaff's failure to appear

[21] Marilyn L. Williamson, "The Episode with Williams in Henry V", *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900.

on the stage despite the success of the box office and the earlier promise of his appearance. Most of these reasons are based on consideration of historical facts, including the death of Sir John Oldcastle in the fifteenth century, the departure of Will Kempe who played Falstaff, and Falstaff's popularity exceeding that of Henry V. The text also supplies potential answers. I myself think Falstaff's death has some association with Sir John Oldcastle. Shakespeare promised the audience that "Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a' de killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man" (*2 Henry IV*, Epilogue). Whether Falstaff is or is not the man Oldcastle, he dies like a martyr in *Henry V* because of Henry V's reformation (although it is not a true reformation). Shakespeare probably sacrifices Falstaff to suggest the enormous harm to him because of Henry V's change.

Considered by Falstaff as his heart and his best friend, Henry V's repudiation of him by wiping him from his memory after making full use of him hurts Falstaff deeply. However careless Falstaff is, he is heartbroken, as Hostess indicates: "The king has killed his heart" (2.1.91). Although Henry V does not physically kill Falstaff, he does kill him by rejecting and forgetting him as shown by Fluellen's comparison of Alexander's killing of his friend and Henry V's turning away and forgetting Falstaff: "As Alexander killed his friend Cleitus, being in his ales and his cups, so also Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his good judgments, turned away the fat knight with the green belly-doublet" (4.7.48-52). The only difference is, Henry V's killing is based on "his

right wits and his good judgments", whereas Alexander "in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures, and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicates in his prains, did, in his ales and his angers" (4.7.35-41) killed his best friend Cleitus. It is striking that Fluellen uses such a long list of words like "rages", "furies", "wraths" and five similar words as excuses to suggest that Alexander's killing of his friend is not intentional. Henry V's "right wits and his good judgments" show that his decision to treat Falstaff in such a ruthless, even inhuman, way was made by his reason and there is no excuse for it. Fluellen's words can suggest that Henry V's "kill[ing]" Falstaff by forgetting him is morally unacceptable.

Falstaff is a humorous character, and although he is not honest and even commits crimes, he is frank and open. Faced with Henry V's hypocrisy, Falstaff's frankness and openness act to his disadvantage. Falstaff's excessive humour and dilating heart cannot compete with Henry V's reason and calculating brain. Hostess describes Falstaff as "poor, heart! He is so shaked of a burning quotidian tertian, that it is most lamentable to behold" (2.1.124-126), and also says "his heart is fracted and corroborate" (2.1.130).

If even a character as happy as Falstaff cannot bear being wiped from the memory of his friend, how can a normal person bear it? How can Hamlet bear his mother's hasty forgetting of her husband? How can Ophelia bear Hamlet's rejection of their shared memory? How can Paulina bear Leontes's forgetting his wife after he "killed" her because of his diseased opinion? How can

Prospero bear being usurped of his memory? Extrapolating from the memories of characters in the play to the national culture, how can the nation whitewash its long past? How can the dead bear being forgotten by their family or friends? In this forgetful age, the anxiety of being forgotten is prevalent. The fact that memory decays worries people, but what worries them more is that some people choose to forget memory, or kill memory, rather than let it naturally decay. The player queen's words, "A second time I kill my husband dead,/ When second husband kisses me in bed" in *Hamlet* indicates that forgetting a living person is killing, and forgetting a person when s/he is dead is a second killing. According to this logic, what happens when the memory of a culture is wiped? Does this forgetting give a hint of Shakespeare's attitude towards the Reformation?

There were decades of vicious religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants in early modern England. Upon Queen Elizabeth's ascension to the throne in 1558, Protestantism became the state religion and practising Catholicism was a crime. The persecution of Catholics created a climate of fear that drove many people to carry on their religious practice in secret; they were Protestants in public but Catholics in private. Greenblatt suggests that Shakespeare's mother was probably a devoted Catholic and that his father might have played for both sides.[22] Shakespeare may have experienced a deeply conflicted household. Drawing on still controversial evidence, Greenblatt suggests that Shakespeare might have spent part of his young adulthood working for wealthy Catholic families in Lancashire, in the north of England, which was a stronghold of

[22] Greenblatt, *Will in the world*, 2004.

recusancy, or the refusal to accept Protestantism.

Although the assumptions are not established historical facts, they shed light on Shakespeare's thoughts. Reading his mind by analysing his works is probably more reliable. Despite that Shakespeare rarely demonstrates his religious preference in his works, his emphasis on the heart is more noteworthy. The iconographic and liturgical heart was used by the Catholic Church to bind the faithful to it. As Slights points out, "the Sacred Heart was presented to believers as a powerful metonymy for the Son of God in all His compassion, vulnerability, and suffering. Jesus was the bleeding heart of God made visible".[23] Even after the Reformation and the later dissection of the heart by professors of anatomy, its sacredness and mystery were still preserved. "From the most articulate, university-trained Protestant apologist to the least educated agricultural labourer, there was tacit agreement that the heart was the unique residence of the conscience, the voice of God within each person, and hence the only organ, anatomical or political, that could afford direct union with the Almighty".[24] Considering the heart's vital position in both religions, we can see how serious it is for Falstaff's heart to be killed by Henry V.

Coming back to Henry V's memory and morality, Henry V's attitudes towards memory can be seen to be closely related to his morality. By creating future national memory, he inspires people's courage and achieves glorious work, and therefore fulfils his expectation of being immortal.

[23] Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, 8.

[24] Ibid., 12.

By wiping his private memory, he kills his friend Falstaff and his morality is questionable.[25] His immorality and work are foils to each other, making each image more memorable. Henry V is remembered for his work, his victory, his power of creating future memory. He is also remembered for his immoral attitudes to the memory of his intimate friend Falstaff, history and himself.

Memory and Repentance in *The Winter's Tale*

Whereas *Henry V* is a play where memory is associated with economic exploitation of the future memory as well as the past, memory in *The Winter's Tale* is associated with religious repentance of the past. The beginning of the play is composed of a story of the childhood of Polixenes and Leontes in three versions of memory: Camillo's, Polixenes's and Leontes's, which not only show an atmosphere of nostalgia for the past, but also foretell different future behaviours.

Camillo tells Archidamus about the friendship between Polixenes and Leontes by recalling their shared childhood:

> Sicilia cannot show himself over-kind
> to Bohemia. They were trained together in
> their childhoods; and there rooted betwixt
> them then such an affection which cannot
> choose but branch now (1.1.23-27).

[25] Feng Menglong(1574-1646) who propagated "A religion of *qing*" (*qingjiao*) in his *Anatomy of Love* (*Qingshi*) even insisted that achievement in emotion *qing* should be taken into account as a fourth means to realise immortality. See "Qingxian qu xu" 情仙曲序, *Daxia xinzou* 大霞新奏, *Feng Menglong Quanji* 冯梦龙全集, vol. 37, 1.19a, 41and *Qingshi leilüe*; See also Huang, *Cult of Qing*, 165.

In Camillo's memory, the images are horticultural. The affection is rooted in their childhood and "branch[es]" at the present time. The word "branch", according to Sherman's Freudian interpretation, has two meanings: sprout and flourish, or part away.[26] Together with other verbs such as "pick", "pluck" and "root", "branch" is usually associated with memory in Shakespeare's works.[27] If "branch" means "sprout and flourish", it is associated with memory and if it means "part away", it is associated forgetting. Although Camillo may be referring to "sprout and flourish", Polixenes and Leontes do part away when they gradually grow to adulthood. Whereas Camillo's memory is full of horticultural images, Polixenes's is linked with pastoral pleasantness:

> We were, fair queen,
> Two lads that thought there was no more behind
> But such a day to-morrow as to-day,
> and to be boy eternal (1.2.62-65)
>
> we were as twinn'd lambs that did frisk I' the sun,
> And bleat the one at the other: what we chang'd
> Was innocence for innocence; we knew not
> The doctrine of ill-doing, no nor dream'd
> That any did. (1.2.67-71)

"We knew not/ The doctrine of ill-doing, no nor dream'd/That any did", on the one hand, presents two innocent lambs, whereas on the other hand, they could imply that as adults they know the

[26] Sherman, *Skepticism and Memory in Shakespeare and Donne*, 67.

[27] For example, "**Pluck** from the **memory** a **rooted** sorrow" in *Macbeth* (5.3.41); "**Pick**'d from the worm-holes of long-vanish'd days/ Nor from the dust of old **oblivion rak'd**,/ He sends you this most **memorable** line,/ In every **branch** truly demonstrative" (*Henry V*, 2.4.86-88).

doctrine of ill-doing now, or perhaps imply they are indeed practising it now. If Camillo's word "branch" implies or foretells the possibility of their affection waning, then Polixenes's memory approves this possibility. Leontes's memory is more sophisticated:

> Looking on the lines
> Of my boy's face, methoughts I did recoil
> Twenty-three years, and saw myself unbreech'd
> In my green velvet coat, my dagger muzzled,
> Lest it should bite its master, and so prove,
> As ornaments oft do, too dangerous: (1.2.154-157)

Leontes's memory on the one hand echoes their cute childhood while on the other hand implies the breaking down of their friendship. His image of a dagger which might bite its master is an illustration of his tendency to ill-doing. Although "dagger" and "dangerous" could show cuteness of a child's mind, they also invoke images at court associated with danger, cruelty and complexity. Whether Leontes's muzzled dagger triggers the audience's memory of Hamlet's dagger of speech or Macbeth's moving dagger with blood, it at least foretells his plot to murder Polixenes when he is innocent of his present dangerous situation.

Camillo's horticultural image composed of words such as "rooted" and "branch" may also echo Queen Elizabeth's speech on religion in 1585, "One thing I may not overskip. Religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take root, and, being corrupted, may mar all the tree". [28]

[28] "Speeches: On Religion,1585", *.Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature: Queen Elizabeth*. http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/elizspeechreligion2.htm.

Religion or faith was extremely important in early modern England as it was regarded as the soil which nourished or corrupted what grew in it. In *The Winter's Tale*, the family tree, the tree of friendship and the tree of knowledge are all marred because the affection between Leontes and Polixenes, Hermione, and Camillo, is stabbed and thus corrupted. The soil of jealous rage, in Jeffrey Johnson's opinion, is where the family tree is rooted and religion is nourished.[29] Jealousy rage causes disharmony of the body, the family, and the country. Paulina realizes the root of Leontes's opinion is "rotten/ As ever oak or stone was sound" (2.3.89-90) and Camillo regards Leontes's opinion as being diseased. Jealousy was indeed considered as "a disease of mind" in most early modern English texts.[30]

Some writers such as Nicholas Breton regard jealousy as "inward treason"[31] which conforms to Camillo's description of Leontes as "rebellion with himself" (1.2.355). Accordingly, the consequence of a husband's accusation against his wife in early modern England was severe, as described by Richard Cosin:

> If a man bemoued with a iealous minde, or (as the Hebrewe vttereth it) if the spirite of Iealousie come vpon him, so that hee is iealous of his wife, that (perhappes) is defiled: or if hee haue a iealous minde, so that hee is iealous ouer his wife which is not defiled, and so the matter doubtfull: then the Lorde in such case appointeth, that the man shall bring his wife to the Priest, &c. and the Priest shall charge her by an oathe, and say vnto the woman: If no man hath lyen with thee, neyther thou hast turned to vncleanenesse

[29] Jeffrey Johnson, 'which "longs to women of all fashion": Churching and Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*', *Early Theatre*, 7.2 (2004), 75.

[30] Hurault, *Politicke, Moral and Martial Discourse*, 255.

[31] Breton, *Pasquils Mistresse*.

> from thine husbande, be free from this bitter and curssed water. But if thou hast turned from thine husbande, and so thou arte defiled, and some man hath lien with thee besides thine husbande, (then the Priest shall charge the woman with an Oathe of cursing) and hee shall saie vnto her: The Lorde make thee to bee accursed, and detestable for the oathe, among thy people, and the Lorde cause thy thigh to rotte, and thy bellie to swell: and that this c…rsed water may goe into thy bowels, to cause thy belly to swell, an… thy thigh to rotte: then the woman shall answere, Amen, Amen.[32]

The accusation based on a husband's fancy was questioned by Cosin, as a jealousy person "is iealous of all that he seeth: euen so the enuious man must needs feed his own fancie, though there be no apparent matter wherewith", and it was not fair and just for a wife to be judged "upon that most slender ground of *iealousie*" or "for satisfaction onely of the strange humour of iealousie".[33] Facing ungrounded accusation based on Leontes's fancy or humour of jealousy, Hermione can only say "my life stands in the level of your dreams" (3.2.80-81).As Stephen Greenblatt argues, "*The Winter's Tale* is centrally about horrible consequences of taking fantasies as realities – the whole cause of Leontes's viciously false accusation against his wife".[34] What's tragic is that Leontes is ignorant of the truth and he thinks he has his own faith upon which his "foundation/ Is pil'd" (2.1.429). Obsessed with his own faith, and building his knowledge upon it, he is like a frog in a well, so all he can see is the patch of sky above the well.[35]

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[32] Cosin, *An Apologie for Sundrie Proceedings by Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall*, 151-2.

[33] Ibid., Breton regards jealousy as a hellish humour which corrupts fancy. See Breton, *Pasquils Mistresse*. Paulina also says that she "comes with words as med'cinal as true,/ Honest as either, to purge him of that humour/ That presses him from sleep" (2.3.37-9).

[34] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 202.

[35] There is a Chinese parable named "a frog in a well"井底之蛙（Jing Di Zhi Wa）which satirizes those whose horizons are narrow and limited.

Leontes's false belief and knowledge lead to his distrust of other people and their words and he even suspects the words of Apollo. The consequence is his son dies, his wife "dies" and his new-born daughter "dies". Only then does he realize his mistakes and starts to regret them. From then on, Leontes's mind and heart become a colony where Paulina keeps reminding his memory and sin by evoking his memory of Hermione. Leontes's change from trusting his partial knowledge and opinion to remembering his sin highlights memory's importance, which was extolled by John Donne.

Donne believed, just "as we have found a *Trinity* in heaven, and a *Trinity* in earth, so we must make it up a Trinity of Trinities, and finde a *third Trinity* in our selves"[36] and those three faculties of the soul were reason, memory and will. He also believed in the Augustinian notion that God dwelled in memory, however, whereas Augustine treated the three faculties equally, Donne placed more trust in memory. Because memory was "a unifying force where understanding and will foster disagreement and dissension",[37] in Donne's words, "if thine understanding cannot reconcile differences in all Churches, if thy will cannot submit it self to the ordinances of thine own Church, go to thine own memory" which is "the Gallery of the soul"[38] where all religion were placed just as "Plato plac'd all learning in the memory".[39]

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[36] Donne, *Fifty Sermons*, 49, 163.

[37] Guibbory, "John Donne and Memory as 'The Art of Salvation'", 262.

[38] Donne, *XXVI Sermons*, 271.

[39] Donne, *Fifty Sermons*, 164.

Leontes's understanding is clouded by his jealousy and therefore he fails to "come to clearer knowledge" (2.1.96). When he realises his folly with great price, he can only turns to his memory to repent. Paulina is the remembrancer to remind his past and sin. According to Augustine, truth is learnt from within, which is similar to Plato's idea that learning is remembering,[40] so what's important is to be reminded by a teacher or evoked by words to look within.[41] Paulina even competes with Cleomenes to remind Leontes's sin: while Cleomenes endeavours to persuade Leontes to forget his evil and forgive himself, "for present comfort, and for future good" (5.1.32), and Leontes still remembers his blemishes and Hermione's virtues, Paulina, who "hast the memory of Hermione" (5.1.50) controls her colony by imprinting Hermione's sainted image in his mind and saying "Remember mine" (5.1.67) on behalf of Hermione. Sullivan argues that "To remember, means to behave in a prescribed and restricted fashion".[42] In this sense "Remember mine" is analogous to Hamlet's father's "Remember me", each of which requires some prescribed action. "Remember[ing] mine" suggests that Leontes should remember Hermione and her virtue and should not marry other women.

When he is shown Hermione's statue in Paulina's "removed" gallery, he cannot help remembering his sin.

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[40] See Plato's *Phaedrus*.

[41] See St Augustine, *The Trinity*, XIV, xii and xiii, and *Concerning the Teacher*, 47. See also Guibbory, "John Donne and Memory as 'The Art of Salvation'", 264-5.

[42] Sullivan. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama*, 36.

As now she might have done,
So much to my good comfort, as it is
Now piercing to my soul. O! thus she stood,
Even with such life of majesty, -- warm life,
As now it coldly stands,-- when first I woo'd her.
I am asham'd: does not the stone rebuke me
For being more stone than it? O, royal piece!
There's magic in thy majesty, which has
My evils conjur'd to remembrance (5.3.32-40)

The statue is not only an image evoking memory in terms of the art of memory, but also is what it commemorates. Hermione's sainted statue pierces Leontes's soul and evokes his religious repentance. Leontes's reconciliation with his family, in light of Donne's saying that "the art of salvation, is but the art of memory",[43] to a great extent relies on the remembrance of sins.

Metaphors of Memory: Cell, Sea and Book

As mentioned in Chapter One, two groups of memory metaphors were still influential in early modern England: the *tabula rasa* (wax writing tablet) and the *thesaurus* (the storehouse, and its metonyms). The list of metaphors include libraries, wine cellars, dovecotes, treasure chests and labyrinths as well as some with hidden nature such as caves, grottoes, mineshafts, and the depths of the sea[44].

In Shakespeare's plays, the main metaphors of memory are cell, sea and book. Patrick

[43] Donne, *Fifty Sermons*, 164; see also Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting*, 23.

[44] Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory – A History of Ideas about the Mind*, 3.

Cheney observes that "the word *book* and its cognates appear over 130 times in the Shakespeare canon, spread over nearly all of his works",[45] including "book of memory" (*1 Henry VI*, 2.4.101), "book of love" (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1.1.20) and "book of virtue" (*The Winter's Tale*, 4.3.122). The sea, especially the bottom of the sea is full of rich treasures of memory. In *The Tempest* alone, cell, sea and book are all used as important metaphors of memory.

Prospero tells Miranda that he is more than the "master of a full poor cell". The "cell" may indicate the island or the room or perhaps the cave, where Prospero and his daughter live and his book and utensils are stored. In a metaphorical sense, cell can also refer to the brain or the specific place in the brain where memory takes place, which has its echo in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen* and other Renaissance writings. According to Draaisma, "the cell, originally a stable or stall for domestic animals, later a room in a monastery, was also used as a metaphor for memory. When Chaucer has a monk to say that he has at least a hundred tragedies in his "celle", it refers to what has been recorded in the privacy of his memory".[46]

In Prospero's cell, he stores his book and "brave utensils", and probably there is more stored in his cell of memory. Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen* makes it clear that, during the Renaissance,

[45] Patrick Cheney, *'An index and obscure prologue': Books and theatre in Shakespeare's literary authorship*, from *Shakespeare's book*, edited by Richard Meek, Jane Rickard and Richard Wilson (Manchester University Press 2008) ,32.

[46] Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory — A History of Ideas about the Mind*, 30.

three faculties of the mind were assigned to separate cells of the brain.[47] The reason or the imagination was the keeper of the cell of the memory,[48] In *The Tempest*, Prospero mentions "this cell's my court" which means the physical place but it can also be indicative of the cell of memory on an unconscious level. Before he says "this cell's my court", he talks about memory's neighbour reason and common sense: "they devour their reason, and scarce thinks/ Their eyes do offices of truth, their words/ Are natural breath: but, howsoe'er you have/ Been justled from your senses" (*The Tempest*, 5.1.155-158).

In the theory of three faculties of mind, the cell of memory is a microcosm. It can also reflect the macrocosm like a mirror through the art of memory, especially in the Renaissance, which means the cell can be as small as that part of the brain where memory takes place and as big as a memory theatre or the Globe where actors' memory interact with each other.

Although I talked in Chapter One about the heart and brain regarding memory in general terms, I would like to emphasize my point in detail to make it clearer. Albeit the brain is widely believed to be the place where memory is located, there is also a tradition highlighting the heart's importance for memory. In Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Chinese tradition, the heart is the seat of memory. Aristotle's emphasis on the heart's importance for memory is expounded by Draaisma

> In Aristotle's day the pneuma was the central concept in physics, and Aristotle's theory on the physical

[47] For my account on faculties of the mind see "Locative Memory and the Brain" in Chapter One.

[48] Whereas some consider reason as the keeper of the cell, others regard imagination as the warder.

> substratum of the memory trace fits in with it: memory is the gradually weakening motion with which the pneuma transports sense impressions through the body. The provisional destination of this transportation is the heart, the seat of the emotions. Whatever must be "taken to heart" is stored in the centre of the cardiovascular. After storage in the heart the higher impressions – those of sight, hearing and smell – are transported to the brain by the pneuma.[49]

In the Hebrew tradition, too, the heart was the seat of memory. In Proverbs 3:1-3, commandments and sins are indelibly imprinted on "the table of their heart".[50] The etymological traces are in the Latin verb *recordari* ('to remember') which refers to the heart. The Chinese characters meaning memory and forgetting are both related to the heart.[51] Before the late sixteenth century when western arts and sciences were transported to China by Jesuit missionaries, including Matteo Ricci, the heart was widely believed to be the place where memory occurred. In Greek medical thought, there are both heart-centred and brain-centred traditions.[52]

Martin Luther wrote,

> The human heart is like a ship on a stormy sea driven about by winds blowing from all four corners of heaven. In one man, there is fear and anxiety about impending disaster; another groans and moans at all the surrounding evil. One man mingles hope and presumption out of the good fortune to which he is looking forward; and another is puffed up with a confidence and pleasure in his present possessions. Such storms, however, teach us to speak sincerely and frankly, and make a clean breast.[53]

This is a precise portrait of the situation at the beginning of *The Tempest.* Prospero's purpose for the

[49] Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory — A History of Ideas about the Mind*, 25.

[50] Ibid., 46.

[51] See "Death and Memory in Western Culture" in Chapter One. For more detailed illustration, see Zhang's "A Flower not in Bloom", 8.1, (2011).

[52] Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 132.

[53] Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare and the idea of the book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 176.

storm at sea is similar, that is, to stir those men's "heart-sorrow/And a clear life ensuing". Alonso suffers heart-sorrow and Gonzalo's repetition of the fresh garment is probably a metaphor for a new and clean life.

Sea is a metaphor in the heart and cell is a metaphor for memory in the brain. Cell has the characteristic of confinement which is evident in *The Tempest* and the sea implies its immeasurability. In *The Tempest*, everyone is confined to a specific cell or burden, either in a physical form or in a metaphorical form, except Gonzalo "whose honour cannot/ Be measur'd, or confin'd" (5.1.122). Caliban is "deservedly confin'd into this rock,/Who hadst deserv'd more than a prison" (1.2.361-362) and burden of wood. Ariel is confined "into a cloven pine" (1.2.277), and the king and his followers "confin'd together…all prisoners" (5.1.7-9). Ferdinand is confined to the burden of wood like Caliban. Even Prospero himself must be confined, as he says in the epilogue.

The heart is not only like a ship on the stormy sea; it itself is like a sea. Therefore memory in the heart is immeasurable. In St Augustine's words, "It is a vast, immeasurable sanctuary. Who can plumb its depths?"[54] Prospero decides to drown his book "deeper than did ever plummet sound" (5.1.56) after his project of punishment, and Alonso, considering his son is bedded in the ooze, will "deeper than e'er plummet sounded,/ And with him there lie mudded" (3.3.101-102). Ooze shares similar features to wax, and plummet implies the immeasurable depth of memory.

[54] St Augustine, *Confessions*, trans.R.S. Spine-Coffin（Harmondsworth, 1961), 217. Quoted from: Douwe Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory — A History of Ideas about the Mind*, trans. Paul Vincent (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 57.

Cell's confinement implies its vulnerability and the possibility of being attacked. Prospero's anger at the end of the pageant is partly because of his discovery of Caliban's evil plot but more importantly because of his realization of his crisis of memory and the vulnerability of memory. The cell where he lives and the cell where his memory is are both in danger of being attacked. What angers him most is that he might forget what is supposed to be remembered which means the crisis of memory could happen to him and he is not mentally secure. A collapse from within is more horrible and worrying than an attack from outside. Although he dominates other people's memory he himself suffers an internal crisis of memory. This makes his brain troubled, as he admits "I am vexed;/ Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled./Be not distub'd with my infirmity". The fragility of the cell of his memory causes the trouble of his cell of the brain, and stimulates pessimistic thought about the big cell – the whole globe and its vulnerability.

If the cell implies its confinement and the sea implies its immeasurability, then Prospero's idea of drowning his book "deeper than did ever plummet sound" and Alonso's will "deeper than e'er plummet sounded,/ And with him there lie mudded" could imply the security of memory deep in the sea or deep in the heart. Steve Mentz's view regarding the bottom of the sea and Sigmund Freud's argument on consciousness and unconsciousness to some extent underpin my interpretation. Mentz points out: "At the bottom of Shakespeare's ocean we glimpse treasure and death".[55] Freud notes, in terms of "objects found in a tomb, their burial had been their preservation: the destruction

[55] Steven Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (Continum international Publishing Group, 2009),18.

of Pompeii was only beginning now that it had been dug up".[56] Consequently, whether by drowning the book Prospero abjures the memory or keeps it in a more secure place is worth thinking about.

The metaphor for memory, "book", is like a spirit haunting *The Tempest*. It appears many times in different characters' words but it never appears in its physical form. Furthermore, as a metaphor for memory, "book" here means its characteristic of imprinting. To see this metaphor clearly, it would be good to start from the beginning.

Prospero's past, present and future are all permeated with memory. Memory is power and authority in *The Tempest*. In the past, Prospero dedicated himself to "closeness and the bettering of [his] mind" (1.2.90) by studying liberal arts in his library and left the administration of Milan to his brother Antonio. Antonio took advantage and usurped Prospero's memory and identity, and also thereby his power and authority: "Who having, into truth, by telling of it,/ Made such a sinner of his memory,/ To credit his own lie,– he did believe/ He was indeed the duke" (1.2.100-103).

Then Prospero and his daughter were expelled from Milan and came to the island. His memory and identity being usurped, he tried to dominate the memory of the island and inhabitants by imprinting his own version of memory. He also tried to recover his memory and identity in Milan by provoking the memory of those visitors, some of whom are sinners. Therefore, on the one hand, he uses his art to provoke the sinners' past memories to restore his memory and identity, and, on the other hand, he produces new memories and intends to colonize the island. These islanders

[56] Philip Armstrong, *Shakespeare in Psychoanalysis* (Routledge, 2001), 142.

include his daughter Miranda, his spirit Ariel and his slave Caliban. Whether he evokes past memory or imprints new memory, and which memory he chooses to repress and which to evoke, depends on which benefit him.

When Prospero appears on the stage with his daughter Miranda, he cannot wait to recall the past by asking Miranda "canst thou remember/ A time before we came unto this cell?" (1.2.38-39). Although she was three years old then, Miranda can only in "the dark backward and abysm of time" (1.2.50) remember "four or five people" (1.2.47) who once tended her as in the dream. Prospero answers "Thou hadst, and more" (1.2.48) and the fact she could not remember anything else perhaps implies it is more "a dream than an assurance" (1.2.45) or, in Wilder's words, "half-memory". The past in her memory is like a book with blank paper; as Prosperous continues his story, he is stirring her emotion and imprinting memory in her book. His story is so moving and powerful that Miranda responds "I, not rememb'ring how I cried out then, / Will cry it o'er again". Prospero imprints the memory by evoking her emotion which once again implies Shakespeare's focus on feeling and the heart. Its success is also supported by Carruthers.

> Successful memory schemes all acknowledge the importance of tagging material emotionally as well as schematically, making each memory as much as possible into a personal occasion by imprinting emotional associations like desire and fear, pleasure or discomfort, or the particular appearance of the source from which one is memorizing, whether oral (a teacher) or written (a manuscript page).[57]

[57] Mary Carruthers' s words are quoted from: Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (Palgrave, 2002), 62.

Miranda's book of memory with receptive blank pages is easily printed with memory by Prospero. In fact, after being cultivated by Prospero, Miranda herself is like a book full of wonders.

Ariel has his own memory and he dares to say to Prospero "Let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd/ Which is not yet perform'd me" (1.2.243-244) and "I prithee/ Remember" (1.2.246-247), so there is some memory of his past in Ariel's book of memory. The strategy Prospero uses is to pick up some pages of memory favourable to him and highlight them. He avoids talking about his promise; instead, he focuses his topic on Ariel's past torment and the favour he did by freeing him. He emphasizes Ariel's forgetfulness rather than his remembrance. "Dost thou forget" (1.2.250), "hast thou forgot" (1.2.259), and then continues "I must,/ Once in a month, recount what thou hast been,/ Which thou forget'st" (1.2.261-263).Repetition is one method Prospero adopts to imprint memory upon Ariel and others. The advantage of repetition for imprinting can be seen in Henri Bergson's illustration.

> I study a lesson, and in order to learn it by heart I read it a first time, accentuating every line; I then repeat it a certain number of times. At each repetition there is progress; the words are more and more linked together and at last make a continuous whole. When that moment comes, it is said that I know my lesson by heart, that it is imprinted on my memory.[58]

What is imprinted upon Ariel's book of memory is not a new lesson but a tale of his past, so it makes the work of imprinting much easier. Prospero's repetitive narration of Ariel's miserable past

[58] Quoted from *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, ed. Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead (Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 110. Source: Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory* trans. N. M. Paul and W. Scott Palmer (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 77-84.

and his help makes Ariel feel guilty, and so Prospero diverts Ariel's attention from his failure to fulfil his promise to the favour he did him. In this way, by highlighting some pages of Ariel's past and recounting what he has been, Prospero also shapes Ariel's identity to his own advantage.

Compared with Miranda whose past is a blank book and Ariel whose past cannot be dominated by himself, Caliban's book of memory is full of text of his past which competes with Prospero's version of memory. According to Prospero, Caliban is an "Abhorred slave,/ Which any print of goodness will not take,/ Being capable of all ill"(1.2.352-353). In Caliban's book of memory are expressions like "This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,/ Which thou tak'st from me" (1.2.331-332). The texts written in Prospero's book of memory, such as "I pitied thee,/ Took pains to make thee speak" (1.2.353-354), are different from those in Caliban's memory: "You taught me language; and my profit on't/ Is, I know how to curse" (1.2.363-364). These two competitive versions of memory cannot prevail against each other. Caliban's are pages are full of his own memories which resist Prospero's version of memories. On the one hand, it is hard to imprint texts upon pages which already have their own texts, and the result can only be foul pages; on the other hand, Caliban is considered by Prospero as a foul paper, the one "which any print of goodness will not take,/ Being capable of all ill" (1.2.352-353). Prospero's text is not compatible with Caliban's paper; however, since Prospero has the power by his art, Caliban has to be submissive to him in deed. Caliban can only repress his version of memory until he meets Stephano,

to whom he unfolds his memory by repeating his story. When he met Prospero for the first time he showed "all the qualities o'th'isle,/ The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place, and fertile" (1.2.337-339), and now he repeats the same story, with a more detailed and exquisite description.

> I'll show thee every fertile inch o' the island…
> I'll shew thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries,
> I'll fish for thee…
> I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;
> And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;
> Show thee a jay's nest and instruct thee how to snare the nimble marmoset; I'll bring thee
> To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee
> Young scamels from the rock. (2.2.160--185)

Caliban's memory is like a nature museum.[59] He "becomes a connoisseur of nature's curiosities, offering a veritable cabinet of outlandish specimens".[60] In his mind's eye, he sees a catalogue of exotic names or their images in his book of memory and reads them out to Stephano. Like Prospero, and probably influenced by him, Caliban also tends to imprint memory upon others by repetition. Although his narration is disturbed by Ariel, he still insists, saying "Wilt thou be pleas'd/ To hearken once again the suit I made thee?" (3.2.45-46), and then Stephano lets him "repeat it" (3.2.47), until Stephano, realizing the story has been imprinted upon his memory, says "I remember the story" (3.2.160). Caliban's memory is so intense that repression of it, like repression of emotion

[59] Caliban's cabinet is like the Apothecary in Romeo's memory on which see Lina Perkins Wilder, "Toward a Shakespearean ''Memory Theatre': Romeo, the Apothecary, and the Performance of Memory", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Volumn 56, Number 2, Summer 2005, 156-175.

[60] Chris Laoutaris, *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England* (Edingurgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 132.

in *Macbeth*, cannot last long, and Caliban's repressed memory is a potential danger to Prospero, which later causes trouble for Prospero and his memory.

To some extent, Prospero has succeeded in imprinting memory on Miranda and Ariel and influencing Miranda, Ariel and Caliban. Although Caliban keeps his own memory of the past in his book of memory, he is still influenced by Prospero whether consciously or unconsciously. We can imagine a potential female Prospero from Miranda's words: "Had I been any god of power, I would/ Have sunk the sea within the earth" (1.2.10-11). We can see Prospero's shadow in Caliban's tendency to imprint memory upon Stephano and use authority to beat Trinculo even when he himself is a slave. We can hear Prospero's authoritative voice through Ariel when he reminds Prospero of his promise and when he speaks to the three sinful men.

> You are three men of sin
> …
> But, remember, —
> For that's my business to you, — that you three
> From Milan did supplant good Prospero;
> …
> The powers, delaying, not forgetting. (3.3.53-73)

An imprinter indicates a person who imprints new memory, and a provoker indicates a person who stirs old memory. The fresh garment could be a metaphor for a fresh heart or a clean heart. Gonzalo has a clean heart, and after the tempest, his heart is as clean as before or even cleaner. The grass on the island looks lush and green, implying a promising new life. His repetition on fresh

garment is a persuasion of the cleanness of a clean heart after the sea change. Alonso is so immersed in his sorrow at losing his son that Gonzalo's repetition of the fresh garment is merely words crammed into his ears, "against the stomach of [his] sense" (2.1.113-114). Sebastian and Antonio, still concealing evil thoughts, cannot see the freshness of their garments, the green grass and the island's potential for life. All Gonzalo's words are, to Sebastian and Antonio, because of "an eye of green in't" (2.1.58). Their words, unlike Gonzalo's, deconstruct his words in an ironic way.

> Gon. Here is everything advantageous to life.
> Ant. True; save means to live.
> Seb. Of that there's none, or little.
> Gon. How lush and lusty the grass looks! How green!
> Ant. The ground indeed is tawny.
> …
> Gon. That our garments, being, as they were,
> drenched in the sea, hold notwithstanding their
> freshness and glosses; being rather new-dyed
> than stain'd with salt water.
> Ant. If but one of his pockets could speak,
> would it not say he lies?
> Seb. Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report. (2.1.52-70)

Sebastian and Antonio are also the provokers of Alonso's traumatic memory. When Gonzalo endeavours to imprint the image of a fresh garment on Alonso and also persuade him that his son is not dead, Sebastian keeps provoking the unpleasant memory and imprinting the idea that his son is dead on Alonso's memory.

There are different memories competing for the domain of memory. Each character is, like

"a spirit of persuasion", trying to imprint his version of memory upon others. Although Gonzalo is said to be a "lord of weak remembrance" (2.1.242) and "the latter end of his commonwealth/ forgets the beginning" (2.1.164-165), he can be a spirit of persuasion, let alone others. Prospero's power of manipulation is demonstrated by his not only imprinting and provoking memories but also by his deciding to forget them. When Alonso feels "How sharp the point of this remembrance is" (5.1.138) and regrets the past, Prospero comforts him by saying "Let us not burden our remembrances/ With a heaviness that's gone" (5.1.199-200). Jonathon Baldo points out that it is a kind of "cultural amnesia", that is, controlling the past by virtue of his willingness to forget it, or at least the parts of it which do not support the present.[61] It may be true that Prospero makes memory to serve the present, and it may also be feasible that Prospero stirs the memory of three sinful men to make sure they still remember their evil behaviour. Once he is sure they do remember, then it is not important to continue. Prospero is like the "God of power", and to punish the sinful men he has to restore their memories of forgotten misdeeds and make them conscious of it so that the resurrected people acknowledge every thought or deed about to be punished or rewarded.[62]

The Art of Memory in *The Tempest*

[61] Karl Thomas Rees, *Lord of Weak Remembrance: The Role of Memory in Prospero's Colonial Discourse*; Jonathon Baldo's 1995 essay, "Exporting Oblivion in *The Tempest*." http://www.karlrees.com/academia/literary_criticism/lord_of_weak_remembrance_the_role_of_memory_in_prosperos_colonial_discourse.html. Jonathon Baldo's 1995 essay, "Exporting Oblivion in *The Tempest*."

[62] Kenneth P. Winkler, "Locke on Personal Identity".

The Tempest, *Henry V*, and *The Winter's Tale* in many ways are all associated with the art of memory, and among the three, *The Tempest* is most likely to be influenced by the art of memory performed in early modern Europe. The art of memory in the sixteenth century conserved the traditional basic principles (images, order, places), but it also went radical changes. The renewed popularity of Lullism, the reform of logic related to Ramism, and doctrines of hermetic, cabbalist, and Neoplatonic learning, transformed the art of memory into a Hermetic or occult art, represented by the memory system of Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) and the Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo(1480-1544). Camillo was one of the most famous men of the sixteenth century, especially in Italy and France. His Memory Theatre is a kind of adaptation of the Vitruvian theatre which is also the model for Fludd's theatre. For his mnemonic purposes, Camillo distorted the Vitruvian type of theatre in many ways.[63]

Although we may wonder whether Shakespeare met Bruno when he visited England in the 1580s or heard about his mnemonic system, and whether Fludd's theatre of memory was modelled on an Elizabethan "public theatre" such as the Globe Theatre as suggested by Yates, Shakespeare must have been familiar of the art of memory since it was popular and most of his contemporaries including Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser were no strangers to it. Yates suggests that the character of Prospero in *The Tempest* is like the perfect Elizabethan John Dee who can learn the secrets of nature through his art of angel-conjuring and enable mariners to voyage over unknown

[63] Frances A. Yates, *Theatre of the World* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969).

seas,[64] and that Fludd's theatre of memory was probably based on Dee's lost manuscript and modelled on the Globe Theatre. Some sort of relationship between Shakespeare, Dee and Fludd is therefore likely. There is also a possibility that Shakespeare's *The Tempest* was influenced by Camillo because of the similarity between the plans of Camillo's memory theatre and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Camillo's memory theatre, Fludd's theatre, and the Globe Theatre, are all related to Vitruvian theatre, and Camillo's memory theatre and Fludd's theatre are both constructed for the art of memory, so it is likely that the Globe Theatre and Shakespeare including his play *The Tempest* are related to the art of memory.

In the plan of Camillo's memory theatre, the whole system rests upon the seven pillars of Solomon's house of wisdom which signify eternity.[65] In *the Tempest*, Gonzalo proposes to "Set it down/ With gold on lasting pillars" (5.1.207-8) which signifies the same meaning. There are seven grades running through the seven pillars. On the second grade is "The Banquet" written at the top of all the gates with only one exception. There are seven scripts related to "The Banquet" in different pillars. In the Pillar of Apollo and grade "The Banquet", we can read "THE FATES, Cause, Beginning, End.", and there are "purgatory", "paradise", "fire, a simple element", and "circles" which all appear in *The Tempest*. Other key words in *The Tempest*, such as "fury" "prison" "torture" "punishment" and "labour", or less important names like "Iris" and "Juno" can also find their

[64] Ibid., 18.

[65] Ibid., 137.

echoes in the plan. What's interesting is, "Garment" and "Dido" which are thought irrelative by Antonio appear together in one script in the plan. In another script reads "THE GARMENT, mutation in men". If such a memory theatre is in Prospero's cell of memory, he can easily manipulate the celestial and inferior worlds. He can direct performances in this theatre and be an observer at the same time like John Dee who knew alchemy and was famous for his well-known library.

The art of memory regards the brain as the place where memory occurs. If Shakespeare' s *The Tempest* is related to the memory theatre of Camillo, or the Globe Theatre is the model of Fludd's theatre, Shakespeare is a master of the art of memory. Even if they have no direct relationship with Shakespeare, his plays show his acquaintance with the art of memory which I mentioned in previous chapters. Despite his rich vocabulary associated with the art of memory, his use of some of its principles and the mnemonic colour of his plays, he shows more interest in the disorderly, unwilled quality of memory that memory treatises normally seek to eliminate in order to allow the rememberer to discover the unexpected in his or her own mind. He is aware of the art of memory and knows that memory takes place in the brain, and he also feels the importance of the heart to memory. He cares more about memory in the heart than in the brain.

In *The Tempest*, the cell is a theatre of memory externally and internally. "Externally" indicates the physical theatre where the memories of onstage performers, onstage spectators,

offstage audience and even future audience and readers are interwoven. “Internally” refers to memory theatre in mind. Prospero’s famous speech at the end is typical of his use of the art of memory.

> These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits and
> Are melted into air:
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp’d towers, the gorgeous globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep. (4.1.148-158)

It is a speech taking the audience from the past to the future and back to the present. In this process of travelling, memory, like a wave of the sea, gradually broadens and gets more people involved. At the beginning, Prospero talks about the dissolution of past spirits, then the wave of memory enlarges and extends to the future destiny of the globe and includes spectators on the stage and spectators offstage, and then it spreads to everyone present. Everyone, in the past, in the future and in the present, is involved. It is an unvarying truth to everyone that everything will dissolve however great they are. Past and future are interwoven into this present.

Gonzalo’s repetition of the freshness of the garment also shows the art of memory. On the one hand, Gonzalo’s association of image is a method of mnemonic recall – the metaphor of

hooking fish. From green grass to fresh garments to the marriage of the king's daughter in Africa to the widow Dido and then back to fresh garments at the marriage of the king's daughter, the images, are "fish'd for". On the other hand, fresh garments repeated three times inevitably would evoke the audience's memory of garments which have appeared in previous plots, including Prospero's magic garment, which he asked Miranda to pluck from him when he decided to tell her their past, and the rich garments Gonzalo gave to Prospero. One might wonder where Prospero's magic garment came from? Prospero tells Miranda his books came from his own library, and the garments and other things were given by Gonzalo, so is his magic garment also from Gonzalo? I am not going to track Prospero's magic garment or his book as some people do for Lady Macbeth's children.[66] I ask the question simply because of my assumption that Gonzalo[67] and Prospero could be performers of the art of memory or at least the art of memory permeates their mind and behaviour. Having the tendency to imprint ideas or memory on other people's mind, they are both spirits of persuasion.

Green grass evokes a lot of images in Gonzalo's brain, including garments, which also evoke a lot of images in audiences' memory. The close relationship between garments and memory could possibly invoke memory of Henry V's garments and the image of his casting off his past like casting off a garment. Clothing's association with memory can be seen from at least two aspects: on

[66] Knights criticises this practice by asking the question about Lady Macbeth's children ironically. See Knights, *How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?* 1933.

[67] Gonzalo is regarded by Antonio as "Sir Prudence", and in Renaissance art Prudence is illustrated as having three faces of certain animals respectively related to the past, the present and the future. The art of memory was said to be ruled by the virtue Prudence.

the one hand, cast-off clothes were usually reused as rugs, gifts and livery. Therefore, clothing was "a form of material memory"; [68] on the other hand, people wearing different clothes gave spectators different impressions,[69] and distinctive clothes imprinted deeper memories, as confirmed by the principles regarding images in the art of memory,[70] and therefore clothing had mnemonic functions. The word "garment" can evoke memories and the material garments wore by players also trigger memories.

As regards Henry V, he also uses the art of memory in creating future memory. He thinks he can control his life, including throwing away his past life by "reformation", and he also has the power and intelligence to anticipate his future life and the future of the nation. The St Crispin's Day speech in 4.3 is an example of future memory created through his rhetorical language.

> This day is call'd the feast of Crispian:
> He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
> Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,
> And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
> He that shall live this day, and see old age,
> Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,

[68] For example, some of Elizabeth's clothes were recirculated and reused as masque costumes. Clothing, "richly absorbent of symbolic meaning", embodies memories and social relations. See Jones and Stallybrass's *Renaissance's Clothing*, 2001, 22-7.

[69] Maclean points out that Henry VIII and some members of his court enjoyed "dressing up in Ottoman clothing to impress foreign visitors". Henry was so fascinated with oriental textiles that he possessed more than five hundred Ottoman carpets and enjoyed being portrayed on different Turkish carpets. See Gerald Maclean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 35 and Richard Hakluyt, *The Principle Navigations* (London, 1589), 2: 419.

[70] See Matteo Ricci's mnemonic principles on images in Chapter One section three "Locative Memory and the Brain".

> And say, "To-morrow is saint Crispian:"
> Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,
> And say, 'These wounds I had on Crispian's day.' (*Henry V*, 4.3.40-48)

Using "brothers", Henry V creates a national memory in which people who fight with him will be remembered in spite of the forgetfulness of the age. Henry V's rhetoric itself is full of rhythm and repetition which strike the audience and impress it on their memory. As Rebecca Warren-Heys observes, 'Using the same sequence of initial words (anaphora) –"he", "will" and "and" – and the same final word in the clause (epistrophe) – "Crispian" – as in the previous triplet, Shakespeare here enables Henry to stack to his tower of anticipated reminiscences".[71] This tower is like a monument – a site of memory, which will tell stories about victory and the heroes involved. The repeated name "Crispian" becomes a cue to hook people's memory, and a monument recalling people's memory. We see from the play that Henry V claims he does not like ceremony, but he himself is a creator of ceremony – the ceremony of future memory. His creation of future memory is, on the one hand, essential to stimulate people to unite and fight and thus win the present war, and, on the other hand, a way to strengthen the unity of the nation in the future. As Pierre Nora emphasizes, "there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities

[71] Rebecca Warren-Heys, '"[R]emember, with advantages": Creating memory in Shakespeare's *Henry V*', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 2.1 (Spring 2010), 114.

no longer occur naturally".[72] Henry V makes full use of the art to create and frame a future communal memory to his advantage as well as the advantage of the nation.

Conclusion

The Tempest, *Henry V*, and *The Winter's Tale* are three plays in which memory exploitation is phenomenal in many ways. The protagonists Prospero, Henry V and Paulina all have the characteristic of possessing power to dominate and control others' memory. In *The Tempest* memory is associated with political authority, and memory imprinting, evocation and competition take place frequently in the island; in *Henry V* memory is considered and used by Henry in a calculating fashion, and his rich vocabulary of economics earns him profit, but at the same time his morality is defective. He casts aside his useless friends and his past as he has planned, he successfully becomes the king, and wins the battle and becomes a glorious figure. His ruthlessness in getting rid of his friends by wiping them off his past memory without concern for their feelings is, however, immoral. *The Winter's Tale*, in terms of memory, implies that different memories of the same thing can foretell different future behaviours. The morality of memory in this play is mainly related to religious belief.

Three metaphors of memory – book, cell and sea, which appear in *The Tempest*, are

[72] John Frow, *From Toute La Memoire Du Monde: Repetition and Forgetting*, from *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, edited by Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 149.

associated with natural memory and the art of memory, and they also embody fluidity and loci – senses of bondage and confinement as well as liberation and fluidity. The senses are not confined within this play, as they are also noticeable or even prominent in other plays, such as *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*[73]and Shakespeare's sonnets,[74] which are also worthy of exploration.

[73] On bond and bondage see my paper "'Purse' and 'Person' in *The Merchant of Venice*".

[74] In my paper "On 'Fair, Kind and True' and 'Love' in Shakespeare's Sonnets" which is forthcoming, I have explored fluidity and immeasurability of emotions.

Conclusion

The foci of this study are death and memory in Shakespeare's plays, and as they are also associated with other themes such as emotion and heart, they are all explored in many ways. As Shakespeare's plays were produced in a time when the plague, the Reformation, the printing press, the discovery of the microcosmic world as well as the macrocosmic world, and other political and economic changes all took place, and philosophy and literatures were revived as well, it is important to take into account of these changes. I argue that fluidity and loci are two features shared by both death and memory in Shakespeare's plays. Therefore, investigation of the social changes in early modern culture is conducted in terms that they contributed to framing fluidity and loci in early modern culture generally and in Shakespeare's plays specifically. Analysis of the texts also concentrates on fluidity and loci associated with death and memory. In this conclusion there are four points I would like to underline and extend.

First, whereas the brain-centred tradition was predominant in early modern England as in other European countries, there was also a heart-centred tradition, and as regards the relationship between the heart and emotion, there were also two divergent attitudes to emotion. Although the brain and reason still occupied pivotal positions in early modern England, the heart and emotion

were given substantial attention by Shakespeare among others.

In order to have a clearer understanding of Shakespeare's views on emotion, it is important to take into account the complex connotations and history of this term. Passion, affection and feeling are all synonyms of emotion, yet they have different colours in Shakespeare's plays. Feeling is associated with basic humanity and truth, which is similar to Chinese *qing* extolled by late imperial Chinese literati. Hamlet's inexpressible grief, Cordelia's unspoken love, Gloucester's "I see it feelingly" (*King Lear*, 4.6.152) and Macduff's "I must also feel it as a man" (*Macbeth*, 4.3.220) are all exclamations the association of feeling with humanity and truth. Passion and affection were often associated with involuntary movement and intensity[1] in early modern culture, and they were interchangeably used by some writers. However, Shakespeare sometimes distinguishes between them as two terms.[2] While passion as perturbations of mind still preserves its negative aspect, affectation is more positive. In terms of passion, if it moves characters to take positive actions, it is positive;[3] if it is too violent or if it goads people to commit sins,[4] it is negative

[1] As Pimpaneau and Santangelo and Middendorf observe, whereas emotions in early modern English culture were associated with intense passions, *qing* such as an ideal love in Chinese culture was constituted by its duration and preservation. See Pimpaneau, *Histoire de la Littérature Chinoise* and Santangelo and Middendore, *From Skin to Heart: Perceptions of Emotions and Bodily Sensations in Traditional Chinese Culture*, 191.

[2] See analysis on passion in previous chapters; see also Pimpaneau, *Histoire de la Littérature Chinoise* and Santangelo and Middendorf, *From Skin to Heart*, 191. The intensity of passion sometimes changes to violence. For example, in *Hamlet*, the player king says: "The passion ending, doth the purpose lose./ The violence of either grief or joy/ Their own enactures with themselves destroy" (3.2.207-9).

[3] For example, in biblical texts Jesus's passion is positive.

[4] Or if it comes at the wrong time or wrong place.

and should be tempered.[5] Affection is more innate and natural, therefore, it is deeper and more enduring, and it is like a mild form of passion.[6] Rosalind speaks to her cousin: "thou didst know how many fathom deep I am in love! But it cannot be sounded; my affection hath an unknown bottom, like the Bay of Portugal" (*As You Like It*, 4.1.218-20). In *The Winter's Tale*, Florizel's affection to Perdita is even deeper as he says, "from my succession wipe me, father; I/ Am heir to my affection". (4.3.493-4) Whereas Rosalind claims her affection is as bottomless as the sea, Florizel swears the bottomless sea cannot change his affection.

While some people view the sea as violent and dangerous, Shakespeare also contemplates its depth. It is the unfathomability of the sea that attracts Shakespeare. In his plays, not only is affection bottomless, but also memory, melancholy,[7] sorrow and other passions.[8] The bottomlessness, infinity and unfathomability of the sea suggest that it is beyond measurement, confinement and manipulation, and accordingly, affection and memory among others metaphorised as sea are also beyond measurement, confinement and manipulation. Claiming unfathomability to resist measurement by reason is what Troilus does:

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[5] For example, King Lear tries to control his passion when he says: "O! how this mother swells up toward my heart;/ *Hysterica passio*! Down, thou climbing sorrow!/ Thy element's below."

[6] "for affection, / Mistress of passion, sways it to the mood / Of what it likes or loathes" (*Merchant of Venice,* 4.1.50-52).

[7] "O melancholy!/ Who ever yet could sound thy bottom? Find/ The ooze, to show what coast thy sluggish crare/ Might easiliest harbour in?" (*Cymbeline*, 4.2.203-206)

[8] "Is not my sorrow deep, having no bottom?/ Then be my passions bottomless with them" (*Titus Andronicus*, 3.2. 216-7).

> Fie, fie, my brother!
> Weigh you the worth and honour of a king
> So great as our dread father in a scale
> Of common ounces? will you with counters sum
> The past proportion of his infinite?
> And buckle in a waist most fathomless
> With spans and inches so diminutive
> As fears and reasons? fie, for godly shame! (*Troilus and Cressida*, 2.2.25-32)

Subjective value extolled by Troilus cannot be measured by objective value.[9] Before he claims the unfathomability and immeasurability of honour by physical objects, he also tells Pandarus of his unfathomable love for Cressida: "When I do tell thee, there my hopes lie drown'd,/ Reply not in how many fathoms deep/ They lie indrench'd" (*Troilus and Cressida*, 1.1. 51-3). This is similar to Hamlet's claim of his inward grief beyond show and Cordelia's love beyond measurement and speech.

Second, Shakespeare is interested in natural memory, and he also adopts some principles used in the art of memory as long as they follow nature. Shakespeare's attitude to nature and art, I propose, is suggested in Polixenes's words:

> Yet nature is made better by no mean
> But nature makes that mean: so, over that art,
> Which you say adds to nature, is an art
> That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry

[9] For economic analysis of the conversation between Troilus and Hector, see the introduction of Grav's *Shakespeare and the Economic Imperative*, 24-7.

A gentler scion to the silest stock,
And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of nobler race: this is an art
Which does mend nature, change it rather, but
The art itself is nature. (*The Winter's Tale*, 4.3.89-97)

The art of memory is an invention following the nature of memory and cultivating it. It is natural to remember things by images, in order and in a specific locus. The combination of image, order and loci is the traditional art of memory invented by Simonides. Shakespeare's art of memory features repetition, association and various sensory memories. In *Macbeth* visual, aural, as well as olfactory sense are all used to create memory and remembrance environment. In *The Tempest*, Prospero and Caliban both tend to repeat their memories and, thereby, to imprint them in other people's minds. Ganzalo's memory is a dilation of images associated with each other, and it is a combination of the dynamics and fluidity in natural memory and the cues and hooks[10] used in the art of memory.

Chapter Three and Chapter Five investigate metaphors of memory used by Shakespeare including "book", "cell" and "sea". These are also sites where nature and art battle. Hamlet's memory is a battle site of the art of memory's assertion of authority and disciplinary power and natural memory's resistance. Locative memory supported by faculty psychology and the art of memory, locates memory in the brain, and it makes razing memory seem like razing an object, whereas fluid memory supported by the aforementioned heart-centred tradition and

[10] In the art of memory, if the texts to be remembered and recollected are associated with images, then images provide associational hooks for them. Simple words as cues can also evoke the whole passage attached to them.

psychophysiological humoral theory, makes memory hard to be controlled. Natural memory's fluidity and dynamics make eradication of memory impossible. Locative memory and fluid memory both can cause anxiety. In the theory of locative memory, Hamlet's table of memory and the memory "within the book and volume" of his brain should be able to be emptied and replaced with new memory. However, although it guarantee's new memory a place, it also foretells that the new memory will also have the destiny of being eradicated to make space for a newer memory. Anxiety of being eradicated and displaced causes the anxiety of memory. In the theory of fluid memory, memory's uncontrollability is also a cause of anxiety. Fluid memory implies that memory can be involuntary, weak or excessive.

Not only Hamlet's memory is a "distracted globe" and a book, but also Prospero's. Shakespeare's contemporary William Cornwallis wrote:

> the minde is the **Magazin of contentment**, It is the minde that can distill the whole world, all Ages, all acts, all humane knowledges within the little, little compasse of a braine, and yet with the force of that little treasure commaund, dispose, ce~sure, & determine States, Actions, kingdoms, warres, ouerthrowes, and all the Actes, and Actours busied vpon our **humane Theater**.[11] To this mind, to this cesterne of preciousnesse, let vs attribute al, & not suffer the weight of our affections to disorder this goodly frame, this clocke of Time and Reason.[12]

The brain is described both as a magazine and a humane theatre, page and stage. Like Shakespeare, Prospero is a director of his own "humane Theater" and the physical theatre. Imagination, reason

[11] Bold added.

[12] Cornwallis, *Essayes*, "Essay 2, *of Advise*".

and memory work in this theatre, and memory itself located in the hindermost of the brain is also a microcosmic theatre.[13] As a director of the stage and an imprinter of the page, Prospero tries to have authority of both. However, the pages are metaphorical rather than physical, and they are indeed people's brains and hearts. Caliban, who has his own natural memory of his past,[14] and Ariel, who is emotional[15] and also has his own memory, both suggest how hard it is for Prospero to manipulate their memories. Furthermore, no matter how great his art and his memory, he still suffers from forgetfulness: his forgetting of Caliban's "foul conspiracy" (4.1.139) troubles his brain[16] and ends the theatrical performance. This makes him sigh:

> These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits and
> Are melted into air, into thin air
> …
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. (4.1.148-56)

The fact that his forgetting disturbs the theatrical show suggests the memory theatre within the brain

[13] For example, Camillo's memory theatre, Fludd's memory theatre and Matteo Ricci's memory palace. See Chapter Four.

[14] Caliban's recall and repetitive narration of his past and his behaviour make Prospero consider him as one "Which any print of goodness will not take" (*The Tempest*, 1.2.352).

[15] Prospero says to Ariel, "Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling/ Of their afflictions, and shall not myself,/ One of their kind, that relish all as sharply,/ Passion as they, be kindlier mov'd than thou art? " (5.1.21-4). Ariel's emotion contributes to Prospero's forgetting and forgiving of those he planned to punish.

[16] Prospero "I am vex'd: Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled" (4.1.158-9)

is also fragile. Indeed, the microcosmic world as well as the macrocosmic world will both decay and dissolve into nothing.

Third, Shakespeare's emphasis on natural emotion and natural memory show his emphasis on nature, humanity and morality. In a protean age when scientists were anatomising and disintegrating the microcosmic world and the macrocosmic world, merchants were trying to measure everything with money and the Church was losing its authority, the claim that emotion's naturalness and depth resist being dissected, measured and sold was important and comforting. Hamlet's attempt to control his memory, Lady Macbeth's ambition to manipulate spirits and Macbeth's desire to control time, are all futile. Whereas following nature and cultivating nature is sometimes suggested by Shakespeare, he never gives an obvious solution or opinion, which is probably the reason why Shakespeare's world is so rich, nutritious and colourful for people of all ages and countries.

As emotion is associated with natural and basic humanity, expression of it is also natural. Those who repress emotion such as Lady Macbeth or become numb to emotion such as Macbeth are usually condemned or suffer a diseased mind. In comparison, those who can balance emotion and reason such as Horatio are admired. Those who ignore others' emotions such as Henry V are also criticised in a suggestive way. Henry V's morality associated with his exploitation of memory and emotion is investigated in Chapter Five. From the perspective of "Three Immortalities", I argue that

Henry V is immortal owing to his glorious work for the nation, and in terms of morality, which is the most important way to realise immortality, he is not qualified. He is immoral in that he has immorally used his friends and by rejecting the memory of his friends especially Falstaff, he kills his heart and therefore kills him.

Fourth, Shakespeare fancies the oozy bottom of the sea and this in many ways suggests the anxiety of death and memory in early modern English culture. At the bottom of the sea, as shown in *The Tempest*, *Richard III* and *Henry V*, are treasures and skeletons which are indistinguishable.

> And make your chronicle as rich with praise
> As is the owse and bottom of the sea
> With sunken wreck and sumless treasuries (*Henry V*, 1.2.163-5)

> Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
> Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels,
> All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea.
> Some lay in dead men's skulls; and in those holes
> Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept,
> As 'twere in scorn of eyes, reflecting gems,
> That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
> And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by. (*Richard III*, 1.4.26-33)

The intermingling of skulls and treasures at the bottom of the sea, on the one hand, suggests the disintegration and disorder of death. The once unvalued treasures are now scattered, valueless; those once glorious people now become disintegrated bones, useless and base. The eyes which used

to be attracted by reflecting gems are now displaced by them. However, the reflecting gems and treasures are useless to them. On the other hand, the sea full of treasures is like a memory palace full of striking images. Henry V's chronicle is indeed the record of the history and the memory of history.

Whereas the bottom of the sea is linked with anxiety of death regarding disintegration and disorder as well as memory, the unfathomability of it suggests that the dead bones and treasures are safe there. They would not be touched and manipulated as they were on the ground where Shakespeare had to write "curst be he that moves my bones" to stop his bones being disturbed and moved.[17] As I explored in Chapter Five, *The Tempest* is a play in which characters either choose to be buried at the bottom of the sea or bury other cherished things there. While Prospero plans to drown his book "deeper than did ever plummet sound" (5.1.56), Alonso wishes he could "deeper than e'er plummet sounded,/ And with him there lie mudded" (3.3.101-2).[18] Prospero's motivation to bury his book deep in the sea is questionable, as it can have conflicting reasons: either because he still cherishes the book and by drowning "deeper than did ever plummet sound" (5.1.56), no people can have access to it; or as it is inaccessible to anyone including himself, he is determined to break his stuff as he claims. In the latter sense, the bottom of the sea is associated with oblivion. Oblivion

[17] On Shakespeare's fascination with images of excavation and exhumation, and his unusual fear of exhumation, including his curse on his tomb, see Schwyzer's *Archaeologies of English Renaissance literature*.

[18] Alonso mentioned twice a muddy death. The other one is "I wish/ Myself were muddied in that oozy bed/ Where my son lies" (5.1.150-1).

is symbolised as the lake *Lethe* and it is described as a "foule muddy lake of most detested". The similarity between the bottom of the sea and the lake *Lethe* is their sliminess and muddiness. Another metaphor which is as muddy and slimy as the lake *Lethe* and also related to death and oblivion is that of a puddle, as shown in Ariosto's words: "He here flings all the names into a puddle, / Time there doth all in darke obliuion huddle".[19]

Puddle as a storage locus is not only associated with standing water, mud, slime, frog and toad, but also with a stinking smell, pollution, poisonous air and death.[20] In Shakespeare's plays such as *Othello* and *Henry VI*, puddle is also associated with pollution. As Thomas Nash wrote: "And euen as slime and durt in a standing puddle, engender toads and frogs, and many other vnsightly creatures, so this slimie melancholy humor still still thickning as it stands still, engendreth many mishapen obiects in our imaginations".[21] In *Othello*, Desdemona thinks that Othello's "clear spirits" may be "puddled" (3.4.142) by some unknown things or practice. In *Henry VI*, the captain claims, "Ay, kennel, puddle, sink; whose filth and dirt/ Troubles the silver spring where England drinks" (2 *Henry VI*, 4.1.71-2).[22]

Blaming sinful man's blindness, Breton points out that it is foolish to leave "the sweete

[19] Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, 290. The word "huddle" implies chaos and disorder.

[20] For example, "this stinking puddle and sinke of pollution" in Ammianus, *The Roman Historie*, 416; "venemous toads, and crawling wormes: and her drinke into a puddle of poyso ne liquor" in *The Famous & Renowned History*, Chapter 8; "The Puddle water or the stinking pond" in Ariosto, *Ariosto's Satyres*, 26.

[21] Nash, *The Terrors of the Night*.

[22] See also Rape of Lucrece: "If all these pretty ills shall change thy good,/ Thy sea within a puddle's womb is hearsed,/ And not the puddle in thy sea dispersed".

water of life for the puddle watter of death".[23] Contagious plague, which caused mass death on an unprecedented scale in early modern England, is a leveller. It is like a hidden enemy in a long battle and it can cause the sudden death of any one without difference.[24] The faces of corpses being heaped together indistinguishably in death pits and consumed by disgusting worms were described by most early modern literati, including John Donne.[25] All the social orders and "boundaries of humane definition and significance"[26] were blurred and abolished when human bodies were turned to indistinguishable dust,[27] which were "mingled with the dust of every high way, and of every dunghill, and swallowed in every puddle and pond".[28]

Puddle, together with slimy and muddy, are also words relating to oblivion, humour, emotion, heart, brain and faculties within it. Phrases like "muddy brain",[29] "slimy humours",[30] "muddy and earthly affections", "gross and muddy blood", "dirty pits of men's imaginations" and "slimie & blacke humour" are prevalent in early modern English texts. Although Shakespeare did

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[23] See Breton's *Divine Considerations of the Soule*.

[24] See Ariès, *Hour of Our Death*, 5-28, Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 319, and Neill, *Issues of Death*, 15; see also Dekker, *A Rod for Run-awayes* (1625) and *London Looke Backe* (1625), in *Plague Pamphlets*, 159-62, 181.

[25] See Moore's *A Mappe of Mans Mortalitie*, sig. D_2 and Strode' *Anatomy of Mortalitie* sig.E_{3r}. Cited in Engel's *Mapping Mortality*,189.

[26] Neill, *Issues of Death*, 12.

[27] For annihilation and undifferentiation caused by death see Girard's "The Plague in Literature and Myth" in *To Double Business Bound*, 137. Also see relevant works mentioned in Chapter One.

[28] Donne, Death's Duell (London, 1632), 22.

[29] See Crook Helkiah, *Mikrokosmographia* (London, 1651), 506; Heywood, *The First and Second Partes of King Edward the Fourth*, (London, 1600).

[30] This appeared frequently in early modern texts. For example, see Gardiner, *The Triall of Tabacco*, 25.

not associate muddy and slimy with affection, as some of his contemporaries did, he linked puddle with humours. Animal spirits can affect humours and vice versa, and both of them can affect the function of different faculties, including memory. Hamlet's melancholy and excessive memory as well as Lady Macbeth's diseased mind in many ways owe to the quality, quantity and operation of their spirits and humours. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, the association of spirit with memory is well illustrated by Holofernes:

> This is a gift that I have, simple, simple;
> a foolish extravagant **spirit**, full of forms, figures,
> shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions,
> revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of
> **memory**, nourished in the womb of pia mater,
> and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion.
> But the gift is good in those in whom it is acute,
> and I am thankful for it. (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 4.2.67-74)

Psychophysiological understanding of memory was prevalent in early modern England.

To sum up, death, memory and emotion are three themes of great importance in Shakespeare's plays. While death and memory have been explored by a number of critics, scholarship on emotion in Shakespeare's plays is still limited.[31] Compared with the predominantly

[31] Although the past is not rich, the current state of scholarship on Shakespeare and emotion is promising. At the 5th Biennial British Shakespeare Association Conference, apart from my paper, "'I see it feelingly': Seeing surfaces and feeling truth in *King Lear* and *Hamlet*", there were some stimulating papers on emotion worth mentioning, including Bob White's "Smiles That Reveal, Smiles That Conceal", Richard Meek's " '[T]he senseless brands will sympathize / The heavy accent of thy moving tongue': Shakespeare and the Imitation of Sympathy" and Ann Kaegi's "(S)wept from power: two versions of tyrannicide in *Richard III*'". The forthcoming conference "Shakespeare and Emotions", to be

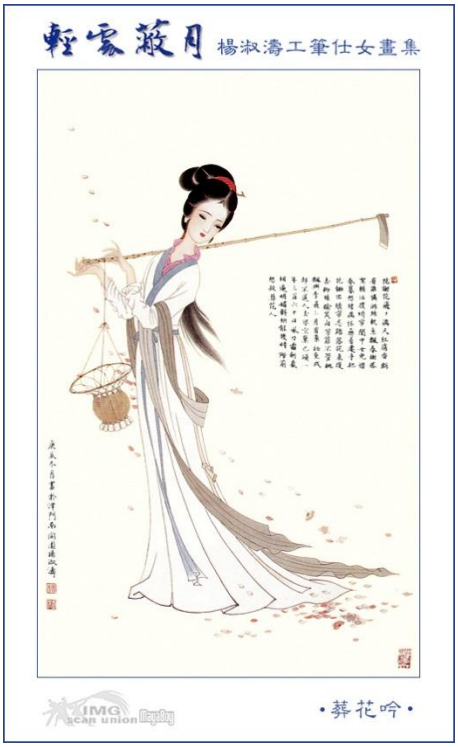
negative view on emotions in early modern English culture, Shakespeare's positive view on the expression of genuine emotions and feelings is noteworthy. The man of feeling so popular in the eighteenth century was probably the product of early modern English culture as represented by Shakespeare.[32] It is notable to see that when Shakespeare's characters were claiming "I see it feeling" (*King Lear*, 4.6.152), his Chinese contemporaries in the other half of the world, were also extolling emotion *qing*, which soon was developed into the cult of *qing*.

held in November 2012, the 11th Biennial International Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Shakespeare Association in collaboration with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, will also add treasures to the study of emotion in Shakespeare's plays.

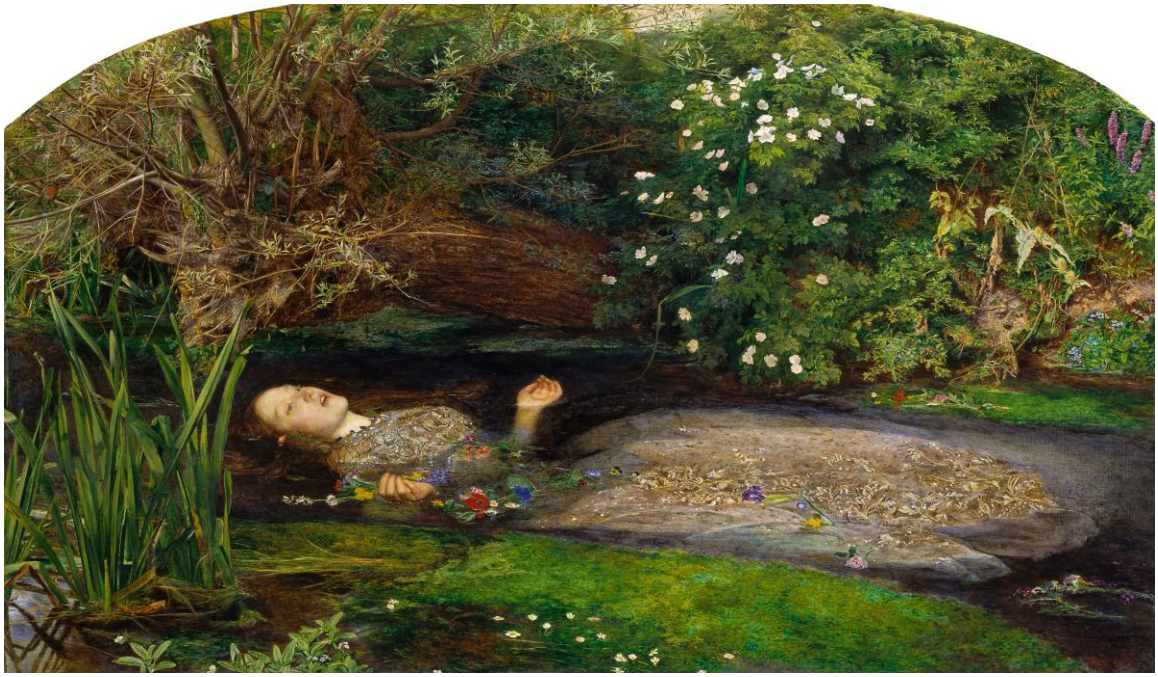
[32] Vaught also shares this opinion. See her *Masculinity and Emotion*, 23.

Appendices

Daiyu Lin in the scene of graveyard played by actress Xiaoxu Chen in TV Series adapted from *A Dream of Red Mansions* in 1987



Daiyu Lin in the scene of graveyard produced by Shutao Yang



John Everett Millais's Ophelia 1851-52. The Painting is currently held in the Tate Britain in London.

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