

“HE HAS GIVEN EXAMPLE FOR OUR FLIGHT”:
ANTONY’S CARTOGRAPHIC EXIT FROM *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*

by
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ABSTRACT

This project begins with the observation that mapping culture in Early Modern England underwent explosive changes that profoundly effected the spatial perspectives of individuals. In order to understand the extent of such effects, this thesis examines the resonance between maps and theater in Early Modern England using Shakespeare's Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra* as a model for how individuals may have responded to maps in Early Modern England. The subject of conflicting spatial desires, Antony and his very body become a site of tension and resistance both within the play and upon the stage. As such, this project argues that Antony's body in *Antony and Cleopatra* demonstrates not only an Early Modern English anxiety regarding mapped space, but also a method of resistance to mapped space for Early Modern audiences.

INTRODUCTION

For inheritors of modern geography, it is difficult to imagine a world in which “imagining the world” does not immediately conjure a picture of the seven continents stretched flat in two dimensions, overlaid by a grid of longitude and latitude lines. Yet such cartographic envisionings of the world were in many respects an exploding novelty to sixteenth century England. As John Gillies concisely puts it, “in the England of 1500, maps were little understood or used. By 1600 they were familiar objects of everyday life” (Gillies, *Playing the Globe* 19). Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger Kain enumerate these newly familiar uses of Early Modern maps in *English Maps: a History*, saying

they featured in portraits, on playing cards, in news-sheets and in books. They stood as symbols without need for further explanation. They decorated not only the walls of palaces, or the lodgings of university teachers and students, leading statesmen and prelates, but now also the relatively modest private residences of successful merchants and arrivistes amongst the landed gentry. In the new Protestant Bible from John Calvin’s Geneva, maps helped the reader understand the written Word. Woven into tapestries or painted onto leather screens, maps were an element of domestic furniture. Maps and globes showed the inhabitants of these islands hitherto undreamt of new worlds and the distant achievements of English explorers and traders. [...] Printed maps were taking their place in the middle ranks of society alongside the manuscript maps of the specialist user and the traditional cartographical treasures of the rulers. (49)

Certainly the fickleness of fashion combined with an interest in scientific innovation might have something to do with a sudden and widespread interest in map home decorating, but whatever caprices were initially responsible for early modern English map trends, the effects of such an exploding map presence extended far beyond any individual map’s superficial purpose. David Woodward and Brian Harley have both

contributed much to what is known about Early Modern mapping, but this thesis focuses particularly on the relevance of map development to the human body, an element of mapping that is frequently overlooked, though bodies are the filter through which everyone experiences geography.

Bodies regularly appear among or alongside landmasses in sixteenth-century English maps, suggesting they are as much a component of space as the topography surrounding them. Early examples depict workers laboring in fields and monarchs standing astride their country, but as cartography develops, these centralized figures eventually move to map margins and instead frame the spaces they once occupied. Precisely what Early Modern viewers would make of this visual body-displacement can only be speculated, but some clues can be gleaned from other texts of the period.

Renaissance England's body-geography connection appears in three dimensions as well, the best example being in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* when Cleopatra describes Antony in terms that seem to conflate him with two well-known maps of the period, the Ditchley portrait and an anonymous Dutch engraving (5.2.82-92). Both maps depict the Queen of England synonymously with her country: the former shows her towering over it as if the island were her carpet, the latter depicts her body composed of, rather than standing over, countries (Figures 1 and 2). In keeping with these images, the language Cleopatra uses to describe Antony is meant to invoke the Colossus, a figure that stands over and above the earth like Ditchley's Elizabeth, but it does so by paralleling Antony's body parts to elements of the earth, more in keeping with the Dutch engraving. Antony may show "his back above the elements," but he does so through a "dolphin-

like,” oceanic image that verbally anchors his torso in the water while he simultaneously towers over it. Either way, Antony’s figuration here finds a parallel precedent in Early Modern maps. Antony’s own sentiment of his earth-boundedness, “our dungy earth alike/ Feeds beast as man” (1.1.37-8), and indeed, the entirety of the play, dramatizes tension between the body and its place on the “dungy earth,” a tension that plays out in Antony’s very person. That the play appears on the London stage in 1608—a time when spatial consciousness is undergoing massive evolution due to the previously mentioned map circulation explosion—is no coincidence; as such, reading the play against its geographical and cartographical background illuminates how Early Modern viewers may have understood the position of bodies in cartography.

Much has been written on Early Modern cartography/geography and theater, as well as on their juxtaposition, but the implications of maps and theater on the “geography closest in,” i.e. the human body, remains under-explored and is therefore the focus of this project. Certainly bodies find spatial enunciation in Early Modern English maps and plays, but what does such enunciation tell us about those bodies’ available routes? How does the mapped body relate to its contemporary mobile body? I argue that a close reading of Antony’s body in *Antony and Cleopatra*, followed by inspection of how Early Modern audiences might view that body on stage in light of Early Modern map and theater culture, reveals that even mobile bodies cannot be understood separately from the maps and mapping culture in which they are inscribed. Such extensive inscription may well have been the cause of some anxiety to Early Moderns Englanders, a people recently introduced to a new kind of cartography with all its accompanying powers and pressures.

In light of this map anxiety and its bearing on the human body, Shakespeare seems to have invented in Antony an example of escape from map-bombardment.

Though I pay special attention in this paper to the body in discussing the triad relationship between body, map, and theater in Renaissance England, and though I examine each triad component separately in order to ultimately discuss their interdependence, it's helpful to recall meanwhile that maps, theater, and bodies inform each other in Renaissance England partly because they are not altogether conceptually distinct from each other; the boundaries between them are blurred and their connections cannot be fully severed. With this in mind, then, I try to separate them for the purposes of analyzing their interdependence.

Chapter one traces the physical descriptions, treatment, and placement of Antony's physical body in *Antony and Cleopatra*, explaining how his body increasingly occupies an unstable, watery position and ultimately dissolves. It explains that understanding the play's treatment of Antony's body helps to illuminate Early Modern anxieties about the relationship of the body to the geographical world it occupies.

Chapter two examines Early Modern map culture in order to determine what Antony's body-dissolving means in an Early Modern context. It explains development in Early Modern cartography and how those developments affect the appearance of human bodies on maps. It argues that Antony's actions in *Antony and Cleopatra* can be read as Antony's attempt to escape the new regimentation of space, championed by Caesar, and uses Brian Harley to explain that Antony's attempted escape can further be read as a desire to occupy a "silence" in an increasingly mapped, and therefore controlled, world.

Chapter three explains how the Early Modern theater was itself conceived of as a kind of map. It supplements John Gillies' work by considering the effects on players' bodies in light of the notion that they occupy a map by occupying a stage. It examines the audience's position of power over the stage by means of their "consuming" or "colonizing" gaze and aligns this gaze with that of Caesar's in *Antony and Cleopatra*. This chapter explains how the human body, both from the audience perspective and within the context of the play, is conceived of as yet another microcosm or map of the world within the theater map, and uses illustrations of bodies in atlas frontispieces, stages, and works of anatomy to show the degree to which the human body was viewed with the same kind of regimentation as the new cartographic map imposed on space.

Chapter four uses de Certeau to explain the difference between map and story, and then how Antony seeks a "street-level" kind of space (story perspective) while both Caesar and the audience view him all-encompassingly, as from the top of the World Trade Center in de Certeau's "Walking the City" (map perspective). Caesar wants Antony in a particular and proper place in his Roman map, and the audience wants Antony to occupy a prescribed dramatic role. This chapter explains de Certeau's notion of place versus space, aligning the map with place and movement through a map with the production of unmappable space. It explains Antony's death as a defiance of Caesar's commanded place as well as a defiance of audience expectation that Antony fill a dramatic role. That Antony's story is already inscribed both by Shakespeare and Plutarch's history places the performed play in a kind of in-between map/story space. Shakespeare's version of Plutarch, however, deemphasizes Antony's death so completely, removing all heroic

drama from it, that Antony seems deliberately written as anti-hero, and as such, demonstrates (by not demonstrating) a new “way of escape” from the gridded map.

CHAPTER ONE

“THE BREAKING OF SO GREAT A THING SHOULD MAKE A GREATER CRACK”:

ANTONY’S DISSOLVING BODY

In *Geographies of Writing*, Nedra Reynolds notes a permeating anxiety of space in our constantly voiced cell-phone question, “where are you?” She says, “the often overheard ‘where are you?’ aptly defines this cultural moment and represents an ambivalence about being on the move or being separated from ‘home’” (Reynolds 21). Though Reynolds is correct to observe a current “ambivalence about being on the move,” she perhaps over-assumes the particular bearing it has on our present cultural moment. Though Early Modern Englanders did not have cell phones, their new and growing exposure to cartography propelled an anxiety of place similar to the one Reynolds notes in our cell-phone conversations. In the script of *Antony and Cleopatra*, questions of a character’s location are verbalized in a variety of forms no less than fourteen times throughout the course of the play. Antony wants to know where Fulvia dies (1.2.118), Cleopatra inquires similarly on a separate occasion (1.3.62), Antony requests the location of various troops, and, most notably, both Cleopatra and Caesar are obsessed with tracking Antony’s fickle whereabouts. By the end of act 1 alone, Cleopatra verbally agonizes over Antony’s location three times, two of which times he is still in Alexandria with her.

Much has been written about location in *Antony and Cleopatra* due to the obvious import of the Rome versus Egypt dichotomy, but less has been said about how place-

conflicts affect the more local bodily space. Himself the hero stuck between two conflicting locations and powers, Antony's very body becomes a site of supreme tension and anxiety. Understanding how Antony maneuvers bodily through that tension reveals details of potential spatial concerns held by Early Moderns, and also what affect those spatial concerns had on the private sphere of the body. Some critics have suggested that Antony's perception of space seems to shrink over the course of the play, but I maintain that his body experiences a far greater duress than that of shrinking space: Antony is under threat not only from the contraction of space around him, but from dissolving out of that space entirely. In other words, when Enobarbus declares the impossibility of a empty space when he says "th' air, which but for vacancy / Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,/ And made a gap in nature" (2.2.223-5), we might look to Antony as a producer of the vacuum that Cleopatra fails to create. Ultimately, I argue that Antony's dissolving can be read as political dissension rather than weakness, but the quality of his dissolving must be established in order to later explain how what seems like weakness can be inverted into triumph.

The famous opening lines of *Antony and Cleopatra* immediately set the play up as one concerned with spatial boundaries, particularly those jeopardized by the exorbitance of humans. Antony's interest in Cleopatra is said to "overflow the measure" appropriate for a warlord (1.1.2), and Antony shortly thereafter recognizes the excessive bounds of his love, saying that Cleopatra must "needs find out new heaven, new earth" (1.1.17) for it. Similar observations are made regarding the threat of Pompey's forces, of which "the sides of the world may danger" (1.2.191); Cleopatra declares the earth cannot fit her

despair at Antony's departure: "the sides of nature will not sustain it" (1.3.16-7); Caesar says if he could find a way to maintain a bond with Antony, "from edge to edge of the world I would pursue it" (2.2.120-1); and of the rift between Antony and Caesar, Octavia says, "wars twixt you twain would be/ as if the world should cleave, and that slain men/ should solder up the rift" (3.4.30-2). The vacillating edges of the world are precarious at best, and no one feels this vacillation more than Antony, whose own body is defined, and therefore disseminated, by the works of others' bodies.

Ventidius first notes this composite nature when he recommends that Sillius be careful not to outshine his captain; "Better," he says, "to leave undone than by our deed/ Acquire too high a fame when him we serve's away./ Caesar and Antony have ever won/ More in their officer than person" (3.1.14-7). The greatness of Antony, then, is not necessarily contained within Antony's body, but rather works have been attributed to him that have been performed by other's bodies. Cleopatra bemoans this trend when she says "we, the greatest, are misthought/ For things that others do; and when we fall,/ We answer others' merits in our name—/ Are therefore to be pitied" (5.2.176-9), and Antony voices a similar notion in his taunt to Caesar, saying, "His coin, ships, legions,/ May be a coward's, whose ministers would prevail/ Under the service of a child as soon/ As i'th' command of Caesar" (3.13.22-5). The greatness of Cleopatra, Caesar, and Antony alike defy the boundaries of their bodies, just as the boundaries of space are challenged by human passions within the play.

Judith Butler, in *Bodies That Matter*, suggests that the permeability of body boundaries is only to be expected; in her study of rhetorical material boundaries, she

observes that “not only did bodies tend to indicate a world beyond themselves, but this movement beyond their own boundaries, a movement of boundary itself, appeared to be quite central to what bodies “are” (Butler ix). It should come as no surprise, then, that Caesar once considers Antony “the arm of mine own body, and the heart where mine his thoughts did kindle” (5.1.45-6) and that Antony at another point wishes “I could be made so many men, and all of you clapped up together in an Antony” (4.2.17-8).

Unfortunately, in the case of Antony, the multiple bodies that seem to make up his singular one ultimately pull him apart. He is yanked between Rome and Egypt within his physical self, and like the world whose edges burst from internal pressure, so too Antony’s body cannot maintain its borders.

Late in the play, Cleopatra imagines Antony’s once living body as synonymous with the larger expanse of space, which we know is under threat. She says,

His legs bestrid the ocean;
 Crested the world; his voice was propertied
 As all the tuned spheres—and that to friends—
 But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
 He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,
 There was no winter in ’t—an autumn ’twas
 That grew the more by reaping. His delights
 Were dolphin-like; they showed his back above
 The element they lived in. In his livery
 Walked crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
 As plates dropped from his pocket.

(5.2.82-92)

Of course, these are Cleopatra words, and therefore they must be inflated according to her passionate valuing of Antony, yet they are not inconsistent with Caesar’s valuing of Antony. Caesar wonders that the whole of nature does not object more to Antony’s death,

recalling, anachronistically, nature's objection to Christ's death on the Cross when he says: "The breaking of so great a thing should make a greater crack" (5.1.14-5).

Cleopatra and Caesar both expect the boundaries of the world to mirror the boundaries of Antony's body.

Caesar's surprise at the quietness of Antony's passing is a prescient observation. Though *Antony and Cleopatra* is permeated with images of broken boundaries, and though these broken and pieced together boundaries closely parallel the images of Antony's body, the actual death of Antony does not result from a breaking apart of his body. In fact he barely manages to pierce his being in any physical way; rather his life leaks out through a bungled wound and a broken but—for all theatrical purposes, invisible—heart. Though images of brokenness abound in the play, Antony's ultimate "break" is visually and theatrically of a single piece. This wholeness cannot be attributed to reluctance on Shakespeare's part to portray gore on the stage, as the notoriously gory production of *Titus Andronicus* had already seen a successful run in his career, so the absence of physical disassembling is curious in light of the linguistic imagery of the play and can be explained by Antony's own eventual sense of lost body.

Amidst all of the play's rhetorical bursting at the seams, Antony is initially bent on remaining within his own personal boundaries. He does not, early in the play, note his composite nature. Though Caesar and Cleopatra have no luck keeping tabs on Antony, Antony still insists on his own spatial certainty. As if challenging fate, he dares, "Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch/ Of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space" (1.1.35-6). Antony thinks his location is safe from the larger political sphere. The irony

here is that Rome, as Antony knows it, does indeed fall. If Antony is one of the “triple pillars of the world” (1.1.12), as Philo calls him, then the world will soon lack its supporting architecture. Antony fails to define his personal, bodily space separately from his political world. If one crumbles, then so must the other. Thus, just as Antony challenges Rome to melt into Tiber, he foreshadows his own dissolving. Pompey likewise says that while Antony carouses in Egypt, his honor is stilled “even till a Lethe’d dullness” (2.1.27). This image, while making the obvious reference to Antony’s forgotten political role, also connects Antony’s mythic reputation and forgetful condition to the geographic space of a river—the Nile.

This water imagery is a precursor to the pivotal water scene of the play, where, though Antony’s strength and skill lies on land, he nevertheless challenges Caesar in battle at sea. If Antony’s locus was difficult to pin-point before this sea-battle, it becomes exponentially so afterwards, as Antony himself begins to recognize the fluidity, the insubstantiality, of his character. Having fled the battle, he moans, “Hark, the land bids me tread no more upon’t,/ It is ashamed to bear me” (3.11.1-2). Enobarbus also notes the apparent dilution of Antony at this point, saying, “thou art so leaky/ That we must leave thee to thy sinking, for/ Thy dearest quit thee” (3.13.63-5). Where previously Antony’s grandeur might have challenged the very edges of space, as the play progresses Antony and earth become antithetical to each other; Antony’s location has become too flimsy even for ground to hold. Perhaps this explains why his death is physically unremarkable: his body is not solid enough to be fractured, but instead his life leaks out of him like water, and the form of his death is consistent with his growing ethereality.

This breaking and breaking up of location holds complex ramifications for the stage; in a play whose hero is defined as tragic because of dislocation, performing the play on a stage which necessarily demands the specifics of spatial location becomes problematic. Despite the play's suggestion that the character Antony never was Antony in the first place, on stage, Antony must be embodied by an actor, and so he must appear solid to the audience, regardless of the language used to describe him.

The epitome of literal and theatrical physicality meet in the person of Actor Antony during the monument scene, when Antony's dying body is hauled aloft by servants so that he can live his last moment with the so-called serpent of the Nile. As Cleopatra anticipates the difficulty of hoisting Antony's disabled body up to her, she says, "Here's sport indeed! How heavy weights my lord!/ Our strength is all gone into heaviness—/ That makes the weight" (4.16.34-6). Her observation, coupled with onlookers' exclamations of "A heavy sight!" (4.16.42) seem to contradict previously established notions of Antony's evaporating physicality. Indeed, W. B. Worthen argues in his essay "The Weight of Antony" that "this subtle, stagey, even athletic sport seems to register the deep play of *Antony and Cleopatra*. As Antony's peerless 'space' withers, his 'visible shape' endures" (Worthen 296). However, I do not think this sudden rhetorical turn to heaviness equals a re-substantiating of Antony's body. On the contrary, Cleopatra herself recalls the shifting tides of the sea as Antony's dying body is born before her and she declares "darkling stand/ The varying shores o'th'world!" (4.16.11). If anything, Antony's body more than ever resembles the unstable, unmanageable weight of water as his body is awkwardly lifted up. Cleopatra's servants in the monument scene are not the

same as the horse from act 1 who must be happy “to bear the weight of Antony” (1.5.21). Rather, Antony’s weight before his death is like a foreboding, undulating tide, certainly a difficult load to lift overhead, and his liquification is complete at the moment of his death when Cleopatra finally mourns, “O, see, my women,/ the crown o’th’earth doth melt” (4.16.64-5).

The question remains, however: how does one stage a scene in which a body is increasingly supposed to take on the properties of water, especially when that same body is supposed to be an image of global, or in this case, theatrical space? Approaches to the body problem have ranged from highly stylized productions where Antony is figuratively raised up in sheets to potentially vaudevillian performances using a series of cords and pulleys to hoist the body, but though these show an attempt to resolve staging logistics, they fall short of drawing the connection between Antony’s dissolving body and the space around it. There are perhaps infinite options for visually representing a correspondence between water and Antony’s body at Antony’s death, and such imagery can be heightened by the Actor Antony’s body language—the actor might, for example, droop excessively rather than exhibit attributes of rigor mortis—but until theater finds a way to anatomically alter substance, Antony’s bodily dissolution must remain a symbolic one. Likewise, the world Antony’s body represents crumbles only metaphorically. The colossus Cleopatra describes cannot be contained in the space of a stage, so if the colossus must ultimately fall into the sea, audiences are left to imagine its destruction by a far smaller series of stage representations.

Disconnections between bodily expectations for Antony and his physical reality are of central import to *Antony and Cleopatra*, and as such, audiences potentially relate to Caesar's surprise at the quietness of Antony's death: while Caesar expects resurrection-style earthquakes at Antony's passing, we might expect an Antony-shaped water-balloon to sweat and finally burst. We are all disappointed, and thus, even (or especially) in death, Antony's body proves too liquid for description. Though he exists on stage before us we still cannot say with certainty *where he is*. Maybe somebody ought to give him a cell phone, but one can easily imagine a postmodern production of the play in which cell phones serve only to invigorate anxiety of place, a production in which Antony's GPS merely highlights his receding.

Such theatrical inventions are already playing out on another stage: whatever technological advancements in the field of archeology may have appeared in recent years, they have not guaranteed the real-life location of Antony's body. Archaeologist Zahi Hawass asserted in the spring of 2008 that Antony and Cleopatra's burial site has been located, but evidence supporting his claim currently remains speculative at best, heavily hinging on the appearance of coins and a burial mask that may or may not have initially been buried with the mummies where they were found (Tharoor). It seems that, in spite of the passage of time, our desire to locate Antony's body still outweighs his geographical certainty, though Antony's absence may antagonize archeology's students more so than Shakespeare's viewers. On stage, Antony's nullification appears to stem from character weakness, as tragedy demands. In the context of scientific discovery, however, the historical Antony's continued evasion perhaps takes on a defiant tone: how

dare he not disclose his location for the benefit and knowledge of humankind!

Shakespeareans might learn from frustrated archaeologists. Though Antony's growing absence on stage is ordinarily viewed as weakness, it can alternatively be read as the same defiance Antony spits at those in search of his historical person.

Michel de Certeau, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, uses the example of a North African living in Paris or Roubaix to summarize the gymnastics a person must perform in order to live between conflicting power structures. The North African, says de Certeau,

superimposes [the conflicting power systems] and, by that combination, creates for himself a space in which he can find ways of using the constraining order of the place or of the language. Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of plurality and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation. (de Certeau 30)

Antony is much like de Certeau's North African, torn between Rome and Egypt, the political and the personal, except that the contradictory demands placed on Antony are so inclusive that the only creative space left for him is to die. Even in death, however, certain theatrics are expected of Antony, and so his pitiful bungling of the fatal wound translates into his last assertion of individuality. The moment his audience laughs at his absurd failure is the moment Antony wins; he abstains from being anything expected of him and so, in his ridiculous dissolving, he finds a way to be only himself. This is not to argue a paradox—that in *not* being, Antony finally *is*—but to say that Antony is unknowable and so conquers conflicting power structures exactly by receiving them all and thereby disappearing. He is, in his death, what de Certeau calls the waste of the city

(94), and thus in his expulsion he finds (anti)terrain of his own construction, untouched by others' demands. To use de Certeau's words again, Antony is

an Other who is no longer God or the Muse, but anonymous. The straying of writing outside of its own place is traced by this ordinary man, the metaphor and drift of the doubt which haunts writing, the phantom of its "vanity," the enigmatic figure of the relation that writing entertains with all people, with the loss of its exemption, and with its death. (2)

Of course, to understand how the writing of Antony strays "outside of its own place" and how that place is "traced by this ordinary man" until it can be traced no longer, until he dies, his place must first be understood. The notion of place was undergoing revolutionary developments in the Early Modern period due to changes in map use and production, and so analysis of how maps and place affected one another helps to explain correspondingly how bodies can move through (and out of) those places.

CHAPTER TWO

“LET HIM BREATHE BETWEEN THE HEAVENS AND EARTH,/ A PRIVATE MAN”:
ANTONY’S OPPOSITION TO CARTOGRAPHIC “HIGH ORDER”

The degree to which Shakespeare was conscious of, or incorporated into his plays, the resonance between theater and map has been much debated, especially considering Shakespeare’s plays’ sometimes geographical inaccuracies. John Gillies is correct to point out in *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, however, that divergence from geographical correctness should not be equated with geographic ignorance. Such an equation, says Gillies, not only “proposes a false choice between one kind of map and another, but... it reduces a wonderfully subtle and ‘poetic’ interplay of cartographic and geographic ideas to a crude question of geographic (as distinct from cartographic) context” (56). The false choice referred to here is one between “right” and “wrong” geography, a choice that precludes the possibility of imagined poetic or symbolic space as geographically conscious. Thus Gillies argues that Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, which in one scene describes the coast of Africa as if, when writing, Marlowe’s finger traced a specific map, is as phenomenologically rooted in geography as Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*, though the latter was inspired by a mental map rather than a “real” one. Even if Shakespeare had not seen Ortelius’ depiction of the Roman Empire contained in his *Theatrum* (published within two years of *Antony and Cleopatra*’s appearing on stage), Gillies argues that “the epic geography of *Antony and Cleopatra* does in fact originate in and suggest the figurative tradition of the *orbis*

terrarum” (64). Gillies goes on to quote Maurice Charney, who says of the play, “the imagery of dimension and scope is most powerfully expressed in the world theme, whose cumulative force (forty-five examples) is especially significant” (64). Gillies effectively argues in conclusion that Shakespeare could not have written *Antony and Cleopatra* “unless he was somehow able to comprehend a classical geography and a Renaissance geography within a single (if highly flexible) poetic-geographic idiom” (69).

Maps aside for a moment though, Early Modern Language itself made it difficult at times to separate the body from its geography. In their introduction to *The Body in Parts*, David Hillman and Carla Mazzio observe that the word “topical” to an Early Modern would mean “‘of or applied to an isolated part of the body’; and it is suggestive that the first use of the word in this sense is recorded by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as dating to 1608,” the year *Antony and Cleopatra* was first staged. Hillman and Mazzio further note that

the earliest English meaning of [topical] (the one closest to the Greek root)—‘of or belonging to a particular location or place’ (1588, according to the *OED*)—may remind us that the spatially imagined body was perhaps the most common vehicle for the making of social and cosmic metaphors in early modern Europe (xiii)

These definitions of “topical” certainly do imply that Early Moderns could practice a dual vision when looking upon a body; because bodies and the land they occupy share synecdochal meaning, Caesar’s permanent location of Antony’s body suggests his simultaneous conquering of Egypt, especially at the site of Antony’s grave.

Social geographer J. B. Harley argues in “Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe” that there is no such thing as a

politically inert map. However aesthetically pleasing and “accurate” a map might seem, its construction necessitates a prioritizing of what is depicted over what is not. In other words, the maps that performed in the daily lives of Early Moderns did so not only as entertainment, décor, and educational tools, but also as “a form of political discourse concerned with the acquisition and maintenance of power” (Harley 85). Whether the map appears on a seat cushion or a wall tapestry, its image will always privilege one person’s perspective at the expense of another’s. Often the subjugated perspective only “appears” on the map through its absence, or what Harvey calls “silence”. Harley insists on the term “silence” rather than “blanks” because “blanks” strike him as too passive in connotation and “silence should be seen as ‘active human performance’” (86). He goes on to say that “silence can reveal as much as it conceals and, from acting as independent and intentional statements, silences on maps may sometimes become the determinate part of the cartographic message” (86). In other words, though power structures are always actively present in maps, they are most insidious where they render invisible, and invisibility is also an active component of all maps.

Early Modern observers were not oblivious or naïve to maps’ power factor. Land owners sought to enlist the power of maps for their own financial gain, inviting land surveyors to map terrain in their possession in order to best capitalize on it, which then led to objections that such land surveys could easily be manipulated on behalf of the land owner against its occupants. These objections gave rise to publications such as John Norden’s *Surveyors Dialogue* (1607), which, though written in defense of the surveyor’s occupation, points to an obvious public unrest regarding the uses of estate maps. In the

dialogue, a farmer accosts a surveyor, objecting when the surveyor calls his profession innocent,

Innocent? How can that be, when you pry into men's titles and estates, under the name (forsooth) of surveyors, whereby you bring men and matter in question oftentimes, that would (as long time they have) lie without any question. And oftentimes you are the cause that men lose their land: and sometimes they are abridged of such liberties as they have long used in manors: and customs are altered, broken, and sometimes perverted or taken away by your means. And above all, you look into the values of men's lands, whereby the lords of manors do rack their tenants to higher rent and rate than ever before: and therefore not only I, but many poor tenants else have good cause to speak against the profession. (Thompson 13)

Not only does this text display an awareness that maps are manipulated and prioritize a specific perspective, it vocalizes the concern that maps can unearth not only monetary stability, but cultural practices, for as the protesting subject says above "customs are altered, broken, and sometimes perverted or taken away by [the surveyor's] means." This overwriting of ways of life is exactly the kind of silencing that Harvey says is an active element of all maps, and such maps newly permeated every facet of Early Modern life. Norden's *Surveyors Dialogue* implies that subjects of estate maps were aware of their silencing, and there is no reason to think that such a subject awareness would not also extend to maps of a larger scope, that is, country and world maps.

Interestingly, these larger maps, which, being drawn to a smaller scale must include less local detail, often contradictorily incorporate images of human bodies. Consistent with Harley, these bodies operate as especially loaded political figures and play a dominant role in producing silences. In some cases, the body is more politically important than its geographic location: the well-known Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth I

standing atop England stridently prioritizes the Queen's body over the obscured country she rules (Figure 1), and an anonymous Dutch engraving of 1589 figures Elizabeth as all of Europe, her body parts standing for various countries (Figure 2). Though the Dutch engraving has Elizabeth composed of countries rather than presiding over them, it preserves her anatomy at the expense of what was even by then becoming cartographic habit: her head, as Spain, is located above and to the left of England, departing from standard map/compass orientation, which demands north be on top, in order to maintain Elizabeth's upright body posture.

The rhetoric of the queen's body in these maps is obviously intended to demonstrate the inseparability of being English and being subject to the crown, a common body politic image that appears, among other places, in several of Shakespeare's plays. However, as cartographic interests evolved, unintentional corresponding changes occurred in body politic imagery. Richard Helgerson traces this progression in "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England," outlining a growing tendency in sixteenth century English maps to marginalize royal symbols, in turn allowing for a conceptual separation between national loyalty and crown loyalty. In Saxton's National Atlas of 1579, for example, homage is given to the crown by means of an ornate frontispiece, but due to the atlas' interest in mapping English counties, the frontispiece and royal coat of arms are necessarily separate from, rather than obscuring, the land. The intention of identifying country with crown is still present in Saxton, but its illustrations allow for a new ideological reading: the atlas "strengthened the sense of both local and national identity at the expense of an identity based on dynastic loyalty"

(Helgerson 56). Though the Ditchley portrait appears over a decade later than the first publication of Saxon's atlas, Saxon's choice to marginalize royal tribute becomes the standard in cartographic practice as the sixteenth century progresses, and Helgerson concludes that "maps thus opened a conceptual gap between the land and its ruler, a gap that would eventually span battlefields" (56). Harley is indeed correct to connect maps with power structures, for according to Helgerson, maps have the ability to participate in the unearthing of monarchs. Of course, this suggests that maps, while giving the illusion of unified perspective, in fact wield a power not fully under centralized, singular, or even predictable control, a problem that could very well be anxiety-producing for other map-marginalized bodies.

In her essay entitled "Mapping the Global Body," Valerie Traub investigates the border positioning of lay-people figures in Early Modern English maps, arguing that "what seems [in maps] to be a superfluous aesthetic convention conveys a strategy of spatialization that brings significantly new ethnographic, racial, and gendered relations of knowledge into view" (45). Included in the new modes of spatialization are longitude and latitude lines, which, as Traub cites David Woodward's claim, "allowed the idea of a finite world over which systematic dominance was possible, and provided a powerful framework for political expansion and control" (49). In Woodward's conception of map printing development, as with Harley's, new methods of mapping could be understood as new tools of power, and these tools extended to inscribing human bodies more vulnerable to power structures than that of the monarch's.

Traub observes that as “the inauguration of new forms of subjectivity and the growth of national consciousness came new terms of intelligibility for the body”(46), one of the dominant new “terms” cast bodies in marital relationships. Early modern English audiences would be most familiar with this body-relationship tendency through John Speed’s *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, published in 1611. Traub draws special attention to Speed’s maps of England and Ireland, both of which feature married couples in the space around each country. Speed’s map of England brackets the island with couples in ascending order of class; on the top left appears an English Lady, on the top right a Nobleman; beneath them are a Gentleman and Gentlewoman, a Citizen Wife and Citizen, and so on (Figure 3). Corresponding to the mapping of space, then, is the mapping of appropriate male-female body relationships in a rigid hierarchy. Every person is paired with another of acceptable gender, station, and dress, and all of these details are readable alongside the map’s central depiction of England. Viewers are reminded that not only all places, but all people have a single appropriate position in relation to all others. Even the queen must acquiesce to them. Paradoxically, the inclusion of bodies in early modern maps operates to nullify unique human experience, or as Harley states, “space becomes more important than place: if places look alike they can be treated alike. Thus, with the progress of scientific mapping, space became all too easily a socially empty commodity, a geometrical landscape of cold, non-human facts”(99).

The inclusion and subjugation of even the most powerful bodies in country and world maps—maps that otherwise de-privatize and de-particularize space—goes a long way toward explaining why Antony might seek escape from the political grid since the

predetermination of individual bodies by their worldly context clearly causes problems for him in *Antony and Cleopatra*: Antony wants his space to be only that of the private body, for which reason he declares beside Cleopatra, “here is my space,” and in contrast, he dismisses the world map: “Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch/ Of the ranged empire fall!” (1.1.35-6). Unfortunately, Antony’s body, by virtue of its origins, is scripted in space: he is Roman. His body belongs to a specific location, just as the English Lady belongs on the map of Speed’s England. Thus Philo says of Antony within moments of the play’s opening, “when he is not Antony,/ He comes too short of that great property/ Which still should go with Antony” (1.1.59-60), punning on “property” to suggest that Antony’s personal character should match the quality of his native land. Cleopatra likewise says “a Roman thought hath struck him” to explain Antony’s first absence from her in the play (1.2.82), as if she is all that grounds him in Alexandria against the sobering gravitational pull of Rome.

Of course, Antony *is* pulled by Rome, and the axis of that force lives embodied in Octavius Caesar. From Caesar’s perspective, Antony is so “out of line” that in addition to transgressing his ordered national and relationship boundaries, Antony even defies the expectation of his gender. On his first stage appearance, Caesar rails that Antony “is not more manlike/ Than Cleopatra, nor the Queen of Ptolemy/ More womanly than he” (1.4.5-7). That Caesar goes on to say, “You shall find there/ a man who is the abstract of all faults/ That all men follow” (1.4.8-10), confirms Antony’s transgression as representative of everything opposed to Caesar’s own order.

For his part, Antony's first words assert above all a desire to escape the confines of measurement; he spends his opening episode trying to avoid Caesar's ordering voice, instead focusing on his love for Cleopatra as a space-transcending force: "there's beggary in the love that can be reckoned," he says (1.1.15). The prescribed and delimited relationships of Speed's maps absolutely cannot contain Antony's conception of love—even Cleopatra, with her well-practiced excess, cannot imagine the limits of Antony's love, so Antony tells her "thou must needs find out new heaven, new earth" (1.1.17). Antony's fellow Romans predictably deride him for his choices. As Andrew Hiscock puts it, Antony's "continual wish to have an antagonistic political environment re-mapped is unsurprisingly decoded by [his] Roman spectators in terms of subversion, inconsistency, and weakness" (189). Philo calls Antony "the triple pillar of the world transformed/ Into a strumpet's fool" (1.1.12-3) because he considers Antony's relationship to Cleopatra structurally unsound, like bad math that will cause the world's diagrammed architecture to collapse. As a couple, Antony and Cleopatra do not match according both to the play's Roman voices and the cultural expectations for couples as pictured in early modern English maps.

In light of these strictures placed on private spaces by means of mapped bodies, Antony's liquification acts as an attempt to locate and occupy what Harley considers the silence of maps. Though Harley conceives of silences in maps as a form of subjugation and equates them with class oppression—he notes that "the peasantry, the landless laborers, or the urban poor had no place in the social hierarchy and, equally, as a cartographically disenfranchised group, they had no right to representation on the map"

(101)—for Antony such a lack of representation, with its absent expectations, is of utmost desirability: “O, cleave, my sides!/ Heart, once be stronger than thy continent;/ Crack thy frail case!” he cries, begging finally to be free of his bodily identity (4.15.39-41). He discards even his soldierly role, stripping his body of armor so that in death he is void of any social position. In his last moment Antony can be defined only reflexively, saying his valour “hath triumphed on itself”(4.16.17), to which Cleopatra answers, “none but Antony/ Should conquer Antony”(4.16.18-9). Antony dies, then, not upholding his expected role as Lord of Rome with his appropriate Roman Lady, but as himself, for whom there is no map.

Antony’s final singular and unmapped identity notwithstanding, the last scene of *Antony and Cleopatra* depicts a curious compromise between Antony’s boundary-breaking desires and the demands of political power structures. Caesar agrees to bury Cleopatra alongside Antony, saying “no grave upon the earth shall clip in it/ a pair so famous” (5.2.357-8), which suggests that Antony has not only escaped the predeterminations of his geographic origins, but remade them: his body will permanently rest alongside Cleopatra, though such a unity was denied him in life. On the other hand, recalling Harley’s argument that there is always an element of political control infusing maps, Caesar’s final knowledge of Antony’s ultimate location must seem a bit menacing, however gracious and liberating Caesar’s funeral decisions may initially seem. This foreboding rise of Caesar’s control at the play’s close is emphasized by his last words: “see high order in this great solemnity” (5.2.364). Antony may have found a way to make

his own exception in mapped space, but Caesar maintains the right to pave over Antony's intrepidity with an ever-more-structured grid.

CHAPTER THREE

“PERFORM’T, OR ELSE WE DAMN THEE”:

EARLY MODERN AUDIENCE AND THE CAESARIAN GAZE

Caesar is not the only figure of *Antony and Cleopatra* whose primary concern is Antony’s location; the play’s audience too depends on Antony’s visibility. As far as theater is concerned, no *Antony and Cleopatra* can exist, indeed no Antony can exist, without Antony’s visible body. On stage, bodies become the readable texts through which audiences encounter and interpret stories, but as with all texts, a body’s readability depends on its context and on the literacy of its readers.

John Gillies implies that stage bodies would have been read in much the same way as bodies on maps in the Early Modern period when he argues in *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* that

all Elizabethan plays were ‘uttered’ within the physical context of what was effectively a world map in its own right. No less than the monumental medieval *mappaemundi* which were characteristically displayed over altars or in other monumental settings. (90)

Particular to Shakespeare’s stage, Gillies goes on, quoting Jeurgen Schultz, that,

the purpose of Shakespeare’s Globe Theater must have been ‘to exhibit in one synoptic image the firmly rooted and universally held idea that the events, features and phenomena of the created world are infinitely many and yet all one, for they are all emanations of one divine principle, links in one great chain of being.’ (Gillies 90)

It seems it should be no surprise that *Antony and Cleopatra* responds to Early Modern mapping practices, as Gillies and Schultz here argue that maps and theater were entirely conceptually entwined during the Early Modern period. Explicit examples of the

connection include Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, an atlas of the world initially published in 1570 and appearing in English in 1606. The Latin title, which translates as "Theater of the World," clearly suggests a conceptual overlap between maps and theaters. Likewise, the name of the notorious Globe Theater parallels stage space and mapped space (Figure 4).

Because of the globe-map connection, audiences in Early Modern England would view *Antony and Cleopatra* as a living map before them. When Caesar says of his relationship to Antony, "if I knew/ What hoop should hold us staunch, from edge to edge/ O'th' world I would pursue it" (2.2.119-21), viewers would know that the "hoop" refers both the world's edges and the edges of the stage. Likewise, Shakespeare opens *Henry V* with the following words to intentionally cement the audience's perceived link between world and stage:

But Pardon gentles all,
The flat unraised spirits that hath dared
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
So great an object. Can this cock-pit hold
The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?
O pardon

(*Henry V* 8-15)

As Gillies notes, "the rhetorical disclaimers bespeak...Shakespeare's absolute confidence in the power of the spoken word to conjure the 'great object,' the 'vasty fields' and the 'very casques' within the 'wooden O'"(95). Thus while self-consciously deferring to the larger world, the stage successfully miniaturizes within itself the larger world space "similar to the techniques of cartographic optimization." Gillies continues,

“both kinds of ‘theatre’ used codes of contraction, varieties of Shakespeare’s ‘crooked figure’ which ‘may/Attest in little place a million’ (lines 15-16)” (95). Ultimately, though, and here is the most important feature of theater, “in one obvious way, Shakespeare’s theatre was able to break free from the strait-jacket of the code, and to do so in a way that was actually beyond the ability of the Ortelian theatre to emulate. This was in the living representation of exotic peoples by actors ‘properly habited’ (to use a stage direction from *The Tempest*)”(96). Theaters may be maps, but they offer one distinction that maps never can: bodies on stage move, and this movement allows for a complexity of reading that static map-bodies can never attain.

Though Gillies’ analysis is interested in bodies on stage for the political element of difference they represent, his observation can extend effectively to *all* bodies on stage; exoticized or no, bodies on stage demonstrate a living way of moving through miniaturized, mapped, world space. In other words, bodies on stage operate as the site of segmented, particular space while simultaneously acting as another microcosm within the microcosm of the stage. Not only is the body read on stage, but on stage the body is as a performance unto itself.

Looking at several early modern images of the body and the stage helps to further illustrate the conceptual reverberations between body, stage, and globe. Johann Remmelin’s depiction of segmented human anatomy in *Catoptrum Microcosmicum*, though published in 1619, evidently has its imagery roots in earlier depictions of the stage-world (Figure 6). Remmelin’s image is composed of two primary figures situated opposite of each other on short pedestals, with a torso fore-grounded between them in a

composition that strongly recalls Ortelius' original frontispiece to the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, published forty-nine years prior. The history of Early Modern anatomy is also speckled with images that center human operations in rooms built for theatrical observation. Likewise, Rimmelin situates his bodies in a cosmic hierarchy that echoes the frontispiece of J. J. Boissard's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, published in 1596 (Figure 5). Boissard's graphic depicts a circus-style theater, over which presides a heavenly mandala; at the mandala's center appears a tetragramaton—the Hebrew lettering for “Yahweh”—an image and textual detail that Rimmelin includes at the top center of his body image. That both images are presided over by the tetragramaton suggests that the bodily and theatrical spheres share the same status in their cosmic import; Jehovah shines down on both alike.

The structural, thematic, and detail commonalities between these images from Ortelius, Boissard, and Rimmelin point to a resonance between conceptions of the stage-map and body-map, but perhaps the best demonstration of this resonance is Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*, a poetic travelogue that envisions the body as a “purple island” about which the poet travels. The poet's descriptions of “scenery” are therefore at once geographic, cartographic, and anatomic. Though *The Purple Island* was published approximately twenty-five years after the advent of *Antony and Cleopatra*, its mere existence points to an undeniable synonymy between cultural conceptions of bodies and their geographies, and certainly audiences of the play would surely be aware of this if for no other reason than that the language of the play suggests the same resonance.

Though Antony's bodily location is a site of contention in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cleopatra imagines that his *form*, wherever it is, likewise equals the form of the cosmos. Antony is quite literally, at least for a few moments, Cleopatra's entire world, and her words in describing his body figure him as the world at the same time as they place that world, his body, on the map of the stage: "His face was as the heavens, and therein stuck/ A sun and moon which kept their course and lighted/ The little O, the earth" (5.2.78-80). Here, of course, "the little O, the earth" is both the world and the Globe theater, and Cleopatra goes on to delimit, herself from the stage, Antony's world-body:

His legs bestrid the ocean; his reared arm
Crested the world; his voice was propertyed
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,
There was no winter in't; an autumn it was
That grew the more by reaping. His delights
Were dolphin-like: they showed his back above
The elements they lived in. In his livery
Walked crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
As plates dropped from his pocket

(5.2.82-92)

Cleopatra's words here parse Antony out in sections, much like Rimmelin partitions bodies in *Catoptrum Microcosmicum*. Both Cleopatra and Rimmelin are interested in the piecemeal qualities of legs and arms; even Antony's emotions are figured in terms of their worldly manifestations—his anger "shakes the orb" like "rattling thunder," an elemental physicality that coincides nicely with Rimmelin's disembodied sketches of organs, supposedly the sites of human emotion. Though *Catoptrum* was published eleven years after the first staging of *Antony and Cleopatra*, nevertheless, both are born from a common cultural expectation that the body can be mapped as the world. That Cleopatra

speaks in a moment of inflated memory, in response to which Dolabella insists there never was such a man (5.2.92-4), rather than negating the body's potentiality to exist as a world, instead inflates the expectation that bodies and worlds *should* be whole; audiences should be able to see Antony's grandeur. Dolabella's prophetic "gentle madam, no," instead of de-legitimizing Cleopatra (5.2.94), anticipates the disillusion the audience will feel when they are denied the ultimate proof of Antony's grandeur, the "crack" that fails to come from the "breaking of so great a thing."

Of course, every audience reads bodies on stage, whether figured as a world or not, via eyes. It would be foolish, when considering audience perception, to overlook (no pun intended) the Early Modern conception of this most relevant organ and its function. As that part of the body which is most concerned with reading, it plays the largest role in how the body is read. Forebodingly enough, both Early Modern anatomy and the language of *Antony and Cleopatra* depict eyesight as a colonizer of things seen, which means that Antony's body suffers constriction not only from Caesar's demands, but from the constriction of the audience's colonizing gaze as well.

Early Moderns understood eyesight to work like the light of a candle projecting from a lantern. As such, previous to the widely disseminated observations of Kepler in the early-17th century, eyes were understood to be the active illuminators of the world rather than the passive receivers of information. Though the evidence of passive sight, propagated by Kepler's 1604 *Paralipomena to Witelo*, was widely understood by the time Antony and Cleopatra took stage, the poetic impression of projecting sight was still much in the public mind as late as 1633—Phineas Fletcher's previously mentioned *The Purple*

Island, then published, describes the eyes as objects *out of* “Whence hate and love skirmish with equall powers;/ Whence smiling gladnesse shines, and sullen sorrow showers” (Langley 349). If readers of poetry in 1633 still conceived of sight as partly a projection from their eyes, audiences of plays too would likely interpret events on a stage in part as a result of their eyes’ own illumination. The vestiges of pre-Kepler anatomy took time to fade from remembrance. The Early Modern conception of projected eyesight is important here because while reading the actions of a play suggests a kind of ownership and authoritative position even if eyes watching are passive, their authoritative gaze is made even more powerful if it maintains the ability to actively enlighten the stage and literally connect audience to actor by means of eye-beams.

This power of stage observation is voiced in *Antony and Cleopatra* by a servant attendant at Caesar and Antony’s reunion feast, who says “to be called into a huge sphere and not to be seen to move in’t, are the holes where eyes should be, which pitiful disaster the cheeks” (2.7.14-6). In other words, being called into a performative position—“sphere” suggests both a political/global position and a theatrical one—and yet to remain invisible or immobile would be as horrible as having ugly holes in place of eyes. The power of sight here parallels the power of state. If Antony does not perform, he might as well be blind. If Antony cannot be seen, he may as well not exist—in fact, he does not exist if the audience cannot see him. The power of audience’s gaze operates just like Caesar’s demands on Antony—demands, as described in the previous chapter, which also threaten to disenfranchise Antony if he does not live up to performative expectations. Thus even if while an audience is unsympathetic to Caesar, the audience and Caesar alike

can be heard in Cleopatra's mockery of Caesar: "do this, or this;/ Take in that kingdom and enfranchise that./ Perform't, or else we damn thee" (1.1.23-5). It must be rough work to be the actor Antony indeed; within the context of the play and story, Antony's body is never free of locational demands.

That Philo, a Roman, figures even Antony's interest in Cleopatra as a colonizing gaze further illustrates the dangerous inscription latent in eyesight. Where once Antony's eyes dominated battle-fields, in Alexandria they turn their work to the body of Cleopatra:

Those his goodly eyes,
That o'er the files and musters of the war
Have glowed like plated Mars, now bend, now turn
The office and devotion of their view
Upon a tawny front

(1.1.2-6)

Philo here implies that Antony "conquers" Cleopatra just as he once conquered land, and this merely by shifting his eyes. As the object of hundreds of eyes while on stage, Antony is many times over dominated by his audience, a domination that Caesar finally seems to share by the play's end.

CHAPTER FOUR

“A PLACE IN THE STORY,” A SPACE ON THE STAGE:

ANTONY’S BODILY LIBERATION BY *THE PRACTICE OF EVERYDAY LIFE*

Though Antony seems to be thoroughly dominated, both by Caesar and his audience, Michel de Certeau’s *The Practice of Everyday Life* provides a language to explain Antony’s actions not as submission, but subversion. For de Certeau and Antony alike, the modern map, with its obsessive lines and regimentation, is a static, sterile systematization of space that allows no space for the organic, disorganized process of life; it “colonizes space; it eliminates little by little the pictural figurations of the practices that produce it” (de Certeau 121). A modern map may figure bodies at its margins, as with Speed’s map, but those bodies are allowed no movement. Bodily movement is the essence of life for de Certeau, and by excising it,

the map, *a totalizing stage* on which elements of diverse origin are brought together to form the tableau of a ‘state’ of geographical knowledge, pushes away into its prehistory or into its posterity, *as if into the wings*, the operations of which it is the result or the necessary condition. *It remains alone on the stage*. The tour describers have disappeared. (de Certeau 121, italics mine)

Note de Certeau’s performance-language, which conflates map and stage, and recall that Caesar does eventually “push” Antony “into the wings” because Roman order finds no space on the map-stage for Antony’s private desires. As shall be seen, applying de Certeau’s words to Antony’s disappearance illuminates it as triumph—Antony’s excision from the map equals his escape—but first his disappearance must be understood in the position of “story” and in opposition to the map.

Stories, as de Certeau discusses them, organize places by demonstrating ways of traversing those places. “In this respect,” says de Certeau, “narrative structures have the status of spatial syntaxes” (115); every story contains the building blocks of movement options. The word “metaphor,” a synonym de Certeau uses for story, itself stems from the Greek words “phora” (φορά) and “meta” (μετα), meaning “carry with or between” (*OED*), suggesting that all stories have a travel component to them; indeed, de Certeau says “every story is a travel story—a spatial practice” (115). Though maps and stories are concerned with spatial organization, then, the crucial difference between them is that “stories about space exhibit... the operations that allow it, within a constraining and non-“proper” place, to mingle its elements any way, as one apartment-dweller put it concerning the rooms in his flat: ‘one can mix them up’” (121). Whereas maps are an accumulation of knowledge, stories are always in the process of being told; they can never be reduced to resulting facts without thereby ceasing to be stories. Maps, alternatively, masquerade *only* as resulting facts, the “products of knowledge” (121). Another way to understand this difference between maps and stories is to think of the former as “place” and the latter as “space.” Place, according to de Certeau, is “an instantaneous configuration of positions,” whereas

space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a ‘proper.’ (117)

Space and story both depend on fluctuation, place and map on stasis.

For de Certeau, maps and stories correspond to two different ways of viewing, which in turn correspond to Antony's and Caesar's irreconcilable perspectives of their world. De Certeau likens map-perspective to the experience of a viewer observing New York City from the top of the World Trade Center, while story-perspective corresponds to that of a pedestrian walking the street—a perspective that demands movement of the individual, private body. Being on top of a tower looking down, like looking down on a map, puts the viewer “at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was ‘possessed’ into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god” (92). Rather than a private, particular body, there is on the tower top only the all-seeing gaze. The distinction between calculated totalization versus organic, unplanned movement is likewise apparent in de Certeau’s place/space terms, for he says that “the street *geometrically* defined by urban planning is transformed into a *space* by walkers” (117, italics mine). This encompassing from the tower and urban planner is the position Caesar occupies; he seeks to read the whole world, whereas Antony prefers to be “possessed” by it, on the level of the street.

At the street level, walkers create “text... without being able to read it” (93), they act out stories that cannot be subject to a totalizing gaze. For de Certeau, such stories are epitomized by immeasurable, unreadable intimacy, precisely the type of interactions Antony seeks in Alexandria. As discussed in chapter two, Antony wants to exist among those who “make use of spaces that cannot be seen,” those whose “knowledge of [space] is as blind as that of lovers in each other’s arms” (93). Everything else can fall out of his sight (“Let... the wide arch/ of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space!/. . . . The

nobleness of life/ is to do thus” (1.1.35-9)). Cleopatra and Alexandria together provide the geography of Antony’s own street-story, while Caesar incessantly tries to drag Antony back to a measurable space that does not “elude legibility” like the street (93).

This notion of Antony’s occupying street-level invisibility corresponds with his search for Harley’s silences in maps, of which Harley says,

what we see singled out on... maps are people privileged by the right to wear a crown or a mitre or to bear a coat of arms or a crozier. The peasantry, the landless laborers, or the urban poor had no place in the social hierarchy and, equally, as a cartographically disenfranchised group, they had no right to representation on the map” (101).

The position of the silenced, anonymous laborer here described by Harley is the same position from which story emanates according to de Certeau, who says “the approach to culture begins when the ordinary man becomes the narrator, when it is he who defines the (common) place of discourse and the (anonymous) space of its development”(5). This position of the “ordinary man,” of both the map-silence and the story, is the position Antony pursues.

Antony is no “ordinary man,” however, though he certainly seems desirous of such a station. Early in the play he suggests to Cleopatra that she and he “wander through the streets and note the qualities of people” (1.1.54-5), perhaps because, according to de Certeau, the street is where uncontrolled, free life happens, and as such, it is in opposition to Caesar:

[The pedestrian] story begins on ground level, with footsteps. They are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation. Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together. In that respect, pedestrian movements

form one of these ‘real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city.’ They are not localized; it is rather they that spatialize. They are no more inserted within a container [(Caesar’s map)] than those Chinese characters speakers sketch out on their hands with their fingertips. (97)

Caesar later scorns such street-level activities, derisively describing them as a desire to “keep the turn of tipling with a slave,/ to reel the streets at noon” (1.4.19-20), which is probably to be expected; as discussed in chapter two, Caesar wants everything on the map and Antony’s carousing in the streets in a manner beneath his station certainly does not adhere to mapped expectations. As de Certeau says,

authority is indissociable with ‘abuse of knowledge’—and in this fact we ought perhaps to recognize the effect of the social law that divests the individual of his competence in order to establish (or re-establish) the capital of a collective competence, that is, of a common verisimilitude. (8)

Caesar expects Antony’s behavior to comply with his own ordering, and when it does not, his language “divests” Antony of “competence” so that his own competence is sustained and therefore multiplied, repeated in “verisimilitude,” as the standard. Caesar is like the administration which, as de Certeau describes,

is combined with a process of elimination in this place organized by ‘speculative’ and classificatory operations [(ie. the regimentation of mapping)]. On the one hand, there is a differentiation and redistribution of the parts and functions of the city, as a result of inversions, displacements, accumulations, etc.; on the other there is a rejection of everything that is not capable of being dealt with in this way and so constitutes the ‘waste products’ of a functionalist administration (abnormality, deviance, illness, death, etc.). (94)

In other words, Caesar must either see everything in its place, or he must eliminate it. In opposition to Caesar, Antony wants to escape the inscribing of such standards; he first removes himself to Alexandria, and ultimately, when “walking the streets” fails and the

lover's embrace comes under the scrutiny of Caesar, Antony is left with only one out: he joins Caesar's "waste products," finding, in death, the freedom of being finally discarded.

Of course, Antony's actions are bound up in the play, itself a story built for repetition and conceived in Early Modern England as a type of map. Yet de Certeau says that such tales

are deployed, like games, in a space outside of and isolated from daily competition, that of the past, the marvelous, the original. In that space can thus be revealed, dressed as gods or heroes, the models of good or bad ruses that can be used every day. Moves, not truths, are recounted. (23)

De Certeau, it seems, would say that Antony's defiance of Caesar, though performed from a stage-map, operates as a demonstration of possible moves for the play's audience and not a sterile collection of facts. Because the play "maps" a process rather than a conclusion, it does not really work like de Certeau's conception of map at all. Rather, while a map might well be a "totalizing stage," the *play*, its action and story, transform stage place into living space.

Still, even admitting that the action of a play transcends the problems otherwise inherent in maps according to de Certeau, two major objections remain. The first is that the Romans seem to be telling their own story from the stage, for they circulate an abundance of gossip regarding Antony, and such gossip certainly seems an act of storytelling that poses Antony in a "bad move." If Antony's story-occupation redeems his faults, the concurrent story-occupation of those anti-Antonys would perhaps neutralize his redemption. But just as the walker on the street transforms planned "place" into "space," de Certeau explains that "an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place" (117). By reading the play on stage, the audience steps down from

its tower-position and participates in the new, individual, and unmappable production of space. The freedom of reading must make allowances for interpretations that privilege the Roman perspective. De Certeau does, however note an important distinction between stories and gossip of the Romans, saying that

stories differ from *rumors* in that the latter are always injunctions, initiators and results of a leveling of space, creators of common movements that reinforce an order by adding an activity of making people believe things to that of making people do things. Stories diversify, rumors totalize. (107)

Rumors, in de Certeau's conception, operate much more like maps than stories because of their enforcing reductions.

The second and larger problem with viewing a play as metamap is that even if it allows the audience to participate in new productions of space by their reading, and hence allows them to step down from the tower, still there exists in theater the confinement of audience expectation. Theater, the *embodiment* of storytelling, is inscribed by audience expectation, and thus the audience, though it produces new spaces by reading, is yet aligned with Caesar in its desire to put everything in its place at the story's end. Understanding audience expectation as a sort of mapping by the audience illuminates the final scene of *Antony and Cleopatra* and explains why Antony is transformed in to a de Certeau-ian hero exactly when he is least heroic. Aside from his botched suicide, Antony seems most pathetic in the play's final scene because he is, obviously, not there. For the play to end with a scene in which its hero is absent seems patently absurd, especially when the hero's own absurdity renders him absent. However,

Antony's absence in the final scene takes on admirable significance in contrast to Cleopatra's presence.

Cleopatra mocks her performance in anticipation of the play's close and her capturing by Caesar when she says "I shall see/ some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness/ I'th' posture of a whore" (5.2.219-21). By caricaturizing herself, Cleopatra expects to "fool [Roman] preparation and conquer/ their most absurd intents" (5.2.225-6). As has already been noted, the Romans parallel the audience's gaze, so the Roman preparations for conquering Cleopatra also serve the viewers, and Cleopatra speaks to both when she says "we,/ Your scutcheons and your signs of conquest, shall/ Hang in what place you please" (5.2.134-6). Likewise, her preparation for the play's close and her final conquering parallels the activity of an actor pre-performance, as she demands of her attendants, "Fetch me, my women, like a queen. Go fetch/ My best attires" (5.2.327-8). That Cleopatra must be made "*like* a queen" points to a certain performative dishonesty in her intentional dressing, and thereby a self-consciousness resides in the play's own "excellent dissembling." The Queen performs *like* the play performs, she for Caesar, the latter for its audience. Antony's absence from this final manipulating scene, though anticlimactic, triumphs *by means* of its anticlimactic-ness: he is freed from Caesar's map and the audience's expectations in the same move. He need no longer dress a part. Even in his final moments on stage, Antony is denied his chance at speech-acting by Cleopatra when she says "no, let me speak" (4.16.45). His passive succumbing to silence, Cleopatra's overwriting, is not only another instance of Antony's release from heroism, but it allows him to inhabit the Harveyan silence of the map produced by the audience's

observation. De Certeau says that enunciation “establishes a present relative to a time and place; and it posits a contract with the other (the interlocutor) in a network of places and relations” (xiii). Likewise Gillies says of Early Modern theater that “voice in the Elizabethan theaters mediates a special quality of geographic vision—a fascination with imagined scenes and places for their own sakes—which has no real equivalent in the ancient drama” (94). According to both Gillies and de Certeau, the speaking from an Early Modern stage builds a web of geography both within itself as story and between stage and audience as a readable text. By falling into silence both verbally and then visually, Antony severs his place in the web; he is finally, in every respect, “off the map.”

Or is he? This paper reads Antony’s anti-heroism as heroism, turning it into a resolution, so is Antony really successful in escaping expectation? Perhaps all that can ultimately be said is that “by an art of being in between, he [Antony, in this case] draws unexpected results from his situation” (de Certeau 30). More likely, this paper’s resolution-production is irrelevant to understanding Antony’s triumph on the Early Modern stage because the resolution here presented is of a type foreign to what Early Modern audiences would consider an ending. Certainly Early Modern audiences would produce new space by reading the play, but it would not necessarily be the same space that present audiences produce in their reading. In his consideration of what it means “to read” in a modern context, de Certeau says:

From TV to newspapers, from advertising to all sorts of mercantile epiphanies, our society is characterized by a cancerous growth of vision, measuring everything by its ability to show or be shown and transmuting communication into a visual journey. It is a sort of epic of the eye and of the impulse to read (de Certeau xxi).

While it may or may not be true that an identical perception of rushed progress and visual bombardment was part of the Early Modern English experience, at the very least, it is true for a modern reading of the Early Modern English experience. The present age cannot escape its own insistence upon reading, and so it must keep in mind that any analysis of previous eras is first and foremost the product of a present obsession. From the present view, Antony's body never left the stage (nor did his first audience), but it may well have left for Early Modern audiences. The story of Antony and Cleopatra would not have been new for Renaissance English playgoers, for Shakespeare himself gleaned his information from the widely circulated Plutarch's *Lives*. Plutarch's description of Antony's death and the events thereafter, however, display a marked difference in tone; rather than fumbling ridiculously with his sword, idiotically calling out "How? Not dead? Not dead?" (4.15.103), Plutarch's Antony "ran himself into the belly, and laid himself upon the couch." Though Plutarch admits that "the wound... was not immediately mortal" (528), the impression he gives is not of a clumsy mistake, but rather of a painful but still well-born demise. Plutarch's dying Antony, rather than being silenced by Cleopatra, comforts and advises her: "stopping her lamentations as well as he could," he then

advised her to bring her own affairs, so far as might be honourably done, to safe conclusion, and that... she should not pity him in this last turn of fate, but rather rejoice for him in remembrance of his past happiness, who had been of all men the most illustrious and powerful, and in the end had not fallen ignobly, a Roman by a Roman overcome. (529)

Plutarch's Antony, even to his death, seems a Roman of whom Shakespeare's Caesar would be proud. Early Modern audiences of *Antony and Cleopatra*, in keeping with their

Caesarian expectations, would be most struck by Antony's failure to mimic Plutarch's character; whatever conclusion they read in the bungled death of Shakespeare's Antony, nobility and triumph was not likely it.

Additionally, even if Early Modern audiences did read some kind of grand conclusion in Antony's death and, in doing so, reinscribe him in their mapped expectation, any reading of him can only be partial unless that audience is literally sitting before a stage, watching Antony's substantive body cross it and finally leave. For as de Certeau says,

since he is incapable of stockpiling (unless he writes or records), the reader cannot protect himself against the erosion of time (while reading, he forgets himself and he forgets what he has read) unless he buys the object (book, image) which is no more than a substitute (the spoor or promise) of moments "lost" in reading. (xxi)

In this way, then, present viewers have everything essential in common with Early Modern audiences: all play-viewing will always pivot on ephemerality. Even if a DVD is purchased or repeat performances are attended, no derivative possession of a play replaces the moments "lost" in reading," or in this case, viewing. De Certeau's words apply to present and to Early Modern audiences equally, therefore; his interests are focused on transience. Antony wins, because audiences are still searching the play's geography for him, and he will never be found. He is continually located in the space of unlocatability, in the map's silences.

FIGURE INDEX



Figure 1: The Ditchley Portrait of Queen Elizabeth, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger [1592?]. National Portrait Gallery, London (Helgerson 57).



Figure 2: *Elizabeth as Europa*, an anonymous Dutch Engraving. Printed in *Playing the Globe* by permission of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University (Gillies 65).



Figure 3: From John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. London: Iohn Sudbury & George Humble, 1611.



Figure 4: Frontispiece to Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570.

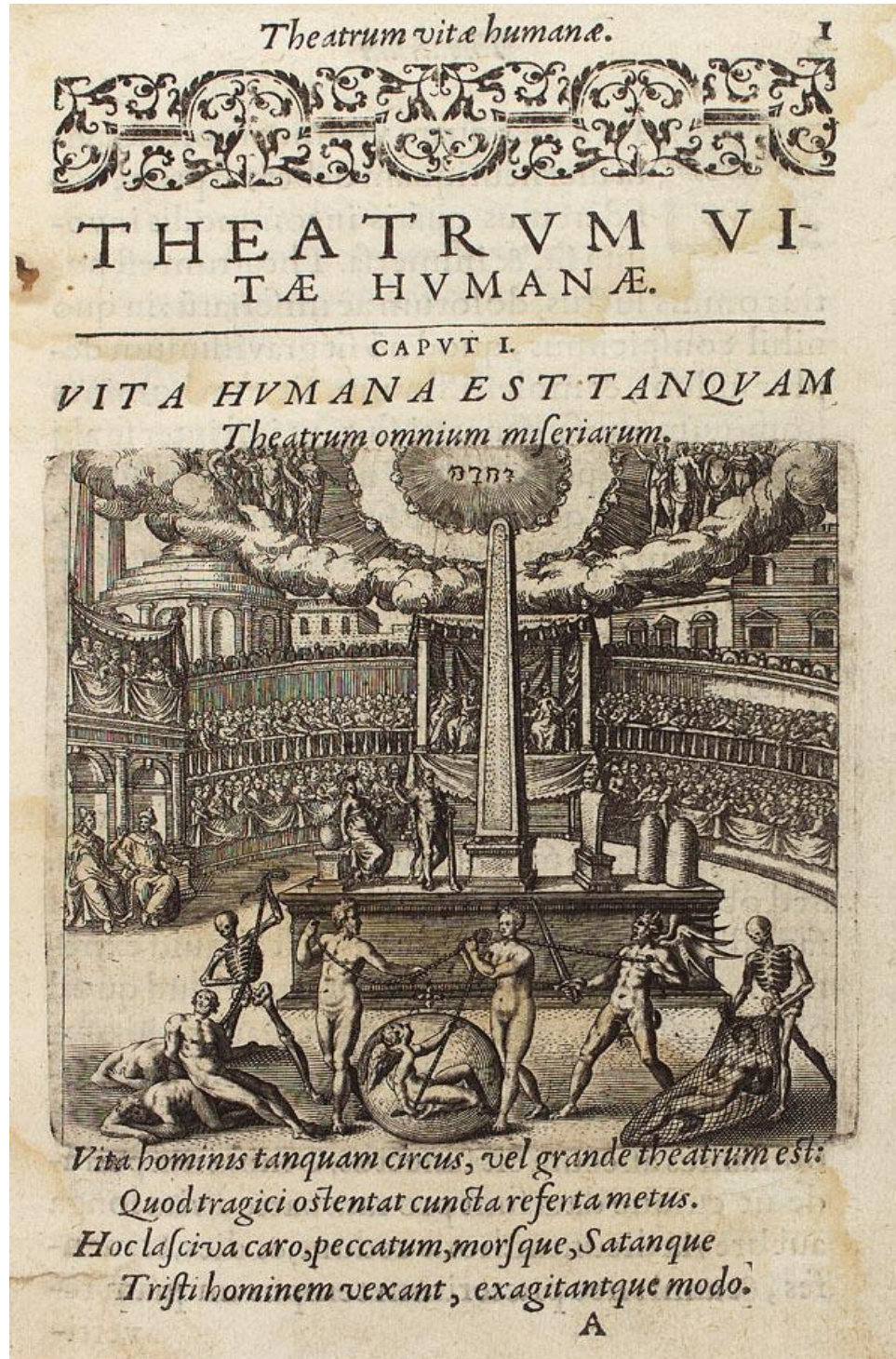


Figure 5: Frontispiece to J. J. Boissard's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, Metz, 1596.

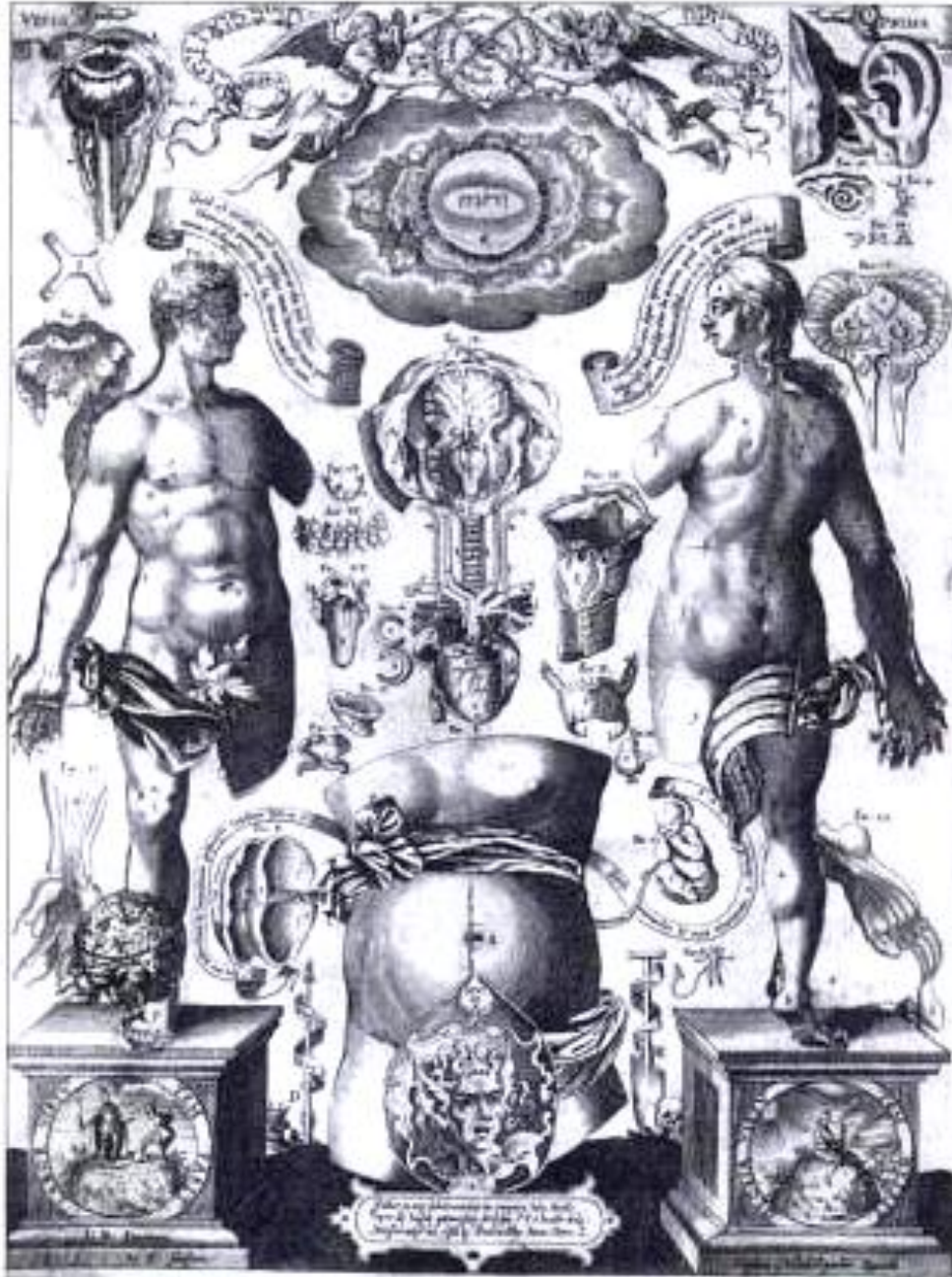


Figure 6: From Johann Remmelin's *Catoprum Microcosmicum*, Augsburg, 1619 (Hillman x).

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