A View of Melancholy in Shakespeare's Plays

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Introduction

In recent Shakespearian criticism, the symptom observed as 'melancholy' — which surprisingly many characters take on in Shakespeare's plays — has been generally treated as subject matter for psychoanalysis. Since A. C. Bradley called attention to the melancholy of Hamlet as the cause of his inaction,[1] critics have been inspired to propound various competitive theories to account for the nature of the symptom from psychological perspectives. In Elizabethan England, however, melancholy was hardly considered as a psychological phenomenon as it tends to be seen it is today, or merely as a state of humoral imbalance as Hippocratic medicine would have seen it. Melancholy was seen as a distinctive mark of humanity newly focused on by Elizabethans in the milieu of Renaissance humanism. Melancholy was rather a subject to be explored in art and literature than an object to be clarified in science. Regrettably, a few researchers, if any, have hitherto sought to outline the way in which Shakespeare adapted and explored the new motif for his dramatic design. This paper is an attempt to give an overview of Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy from an Elizabethan perspective.

The first section of this paper surveys the general pattern of Elizabethan discourse which deals with melancholy. The second section

outlines the contemporary pathological views of melancholy to which Shakespeare unarguably paid much attention. The third section will revisit a pioneering work of the assiduous researcher Lawrence Babb, who flourished before the rise of psychoanalysis. The fourth and final part will closely examine some of the melancholic characters in Shakespeare's plays that Babb overlooks or does not give sufficient consideration, to give a slight but necessary modification to his view of Shakespearian melancholy that has been taken too much for granted until today. My goal is to clarify the very grammar by which what is likely to be seen today as the psychological mystery was operating in Shakespeare's dramatic universe.

I. A Pattern of Renaissance Discourse on Melancholy

We need only to recall the following speech of Jaques in *As You Like It* in order to be freshly aware that the symptom of melancholy in Shakespeare is likely to take on the indeterminable rather than the clinically accountable conditions.

> I have neither the scholar's melancholy, which is emulation, nor the musician's, which is fantastical, nor the courtier's, which is proud, nor the soldier's, which is ambitious, nor the lawyer's, which is politic, nor the lady's, which is nice, nor the lovers, which is all these; but it is a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, and indeed the sundry contemplation of my travels, in which my often rumination wraps me in a most humorous sadness. (*As You Like It* 4. 4. 10–18)[2]

The melancholy affecting Jaques here is neither empirically specifiable nor clinically diagnosable. Structurally speaking, the discourse juxtaposes all the prospective signifieds of 'melancholy' and at once defies them, creating a void — a black hole, as it were — in the centre of the discourse where the audiences' curiosity is naturally directed. Shakespeare thus guides them into the depth of the matter, making his melancholy character seem — to use E. M. Forster's well-borrowed term — 'round' rather than 'flat'. Shakespeare employs the same strategy when he tries to impress the audiences as well as Claudius with Hamlet's grief:

> HAMLET 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 forced breath,
>   No, nor the fruitful river in the eye,
>   Nor the dejected haviour of the visage,
>   Together with all forms, moods, shows of grief
>   That can denote me truly. (*Hamlet* 1. 2. 76–83)

Any analysis of Hamlet's melancholy will fail to be fruitful unless we are aware of the pattern of Shakespeare's discourse regarding melancholy. Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* indulges in an uncanny grief that is often perceived to be unaccountable; Duke Vincentio in *Measure for Measure* seeks asylum in the monastery, a symbolic place of mourning, without clearly articulating his motives; and, Olivia in *Twelfth Night* mourns for her brother's death for an unreasonably long period without an intelligible reason. Such is the way that Shakespeare's discourse often works when it deals with melancholy.

Shakespearian melancholy seems to be predicated on the Elizabethan praxis. The often quoted *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1568) by Timothy Bright (1550–1615), a physician of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital, begins with such a passage:

> Before I enter to define the nature of melancholie, & what it is, for the cleare understanding of that wherein my purpose is to instruct you, it shall be necessarie to lay forth diverse manners of takinge the name of melancholie, and whereto the name being one, is applied diverslie.[3]

As with Shakespeare's discourse, Bright's passage invites readers to direct attention at the void created in the centre of the discourse: although it is part of the 'treatise' on melancholy, this passage avoids rendering the *ti esti*, the statement which defines the notion of melancholy. The same is true of the entire discourse of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) by Robert Burton (1577–1640). Compiling practically all preceding writings on melancholy, Burton's book swells into a volume of 1,382 pages, and yet his discourse never boils down to signify the *ti esti*. Rather, as its title indicates, Burton's book cuts into 'partitions', or the *anatomical* parts, his experience of melancholy in an attempt to discover its principle, but only in vain. Burton's speaker recounts for us the motive which drove him to set on his project as thus:

> When I first took this task in hand, ... this I aimed at ... to ease my mind by writing; for I had ... a kind of imposthume in my head, which I was very desirous to be unladen of, and could imagine no fitter evacuation than this.[4]

It is perceived by the readers that Burton's speaker intends to clarify what is unknowable about his own experience, while Burton as the writer uses melancholy as the praxis to explore the mystery without attempting to unfold it.

Melancholy was used as the praxis in other forms of art in the early modern Europe. We are typically reminded of Albrecht Dürer's (1471– 1528) engraving *Melancholia I* (1514). The woman in the engraving appears at first sight to be a patient suffering some clinical syndrome, but the picture immediately denies such an interpretation by luring our attention to the wreath on her head, which appears to symbolize her imaginative intelligence.
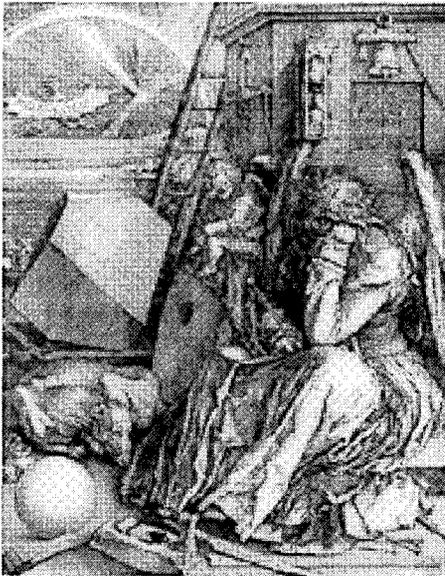
Melancholia I (1514) by Albrecht Dürer

Our attention is directed, as well, to the prominent wings on her back which seem to indicate her inhuman nature as demigod or devil. Her face

has a masculine composure, with sharp eyes fixed on the sky as though she were touched by some divine imagination. The whole area is scattered with what seem to be geometric or hydrographic tools, while the backdrop is depicted as an eternal space — paradisiacal or abysmal — against the mortal world of the foreground. What is shining brightly in the background could be a comet or Saturn, a cosmic body that carries ill influences to the world. Viewers will be allured and lost in Dürer's artistic contrivance in search of what is not given, the *ti esti*. Joseph Leo Koerner, a specialist of European paintings of the sixteenth century, comments on this engraving as such:

> Instead of mediating *a* meaning, *Melancholia* seems designed to generate multiple and contradictory readings, to clue its viewers to an endless exegetical labor, until, exhausted in the end, they discover their own portrait in Dürer's sleepless, inactive personification of melancholy.[5]

It is arguable that Dürer, too, uses the motif of melancholy as the praxis in order to make replete the visual frame where the mystery of humanity is projected.

Burton's speaker compares the woman in the engraving to 'Democritus' as 'esteemed by the Abderites':

> Albertus Durer paints Melancholy, like a sad woman leaning on her arm with fixed looks, neglected habit, *etc.*; held therefore by some proud, soft, sottish, or half-mad, as the Abderites esteemed of Democritus ...[6]

Democritus (c.460–c.370 b.c.) is the ancient Greek philosopher known for his 'atomic theory', which holds that all things in universe are divisible into atoms, or impartibly small elements. How he was esteemed by Abderites, or the people of Abdera of Thrace in Greece where he was born and bred, and through what habits of life he arrived at his philosophy remain mythical today. But Burton gives his own view that Democritus would choose to live a secluded life in 'a garden of a suburb' madly absorbed in his studies, and he would never leave the premise except on such occasions as 'he would go down to haven, and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw'.[7] In his garden, as Burton tells us, old Democritus would

> [Sit] on a stone with book on knee;
> About him hang there many features,
> Of cats, dogs, and such-like creatures,
> Of which he makes anatomy,
> The seat of black choler to see.
> Over his head appears the sky,
> And Saturn, Lord of melancholy.[8]

Democritus is represented as a 'half-mad' figure who makes himself seem foolish by being serious, or a personified image of the folly in human nature to be so easily influenced by 'Saturn, Lord of melancholy'. Burton surely projects such an image of Democritus on the engraved woman in the *Melancholia I*, and we have every reason to believe that melancholic figures in Elizabethan artwork were meant to give viewers such an impression.

　We are often misguided to think that the *Melancholia I* portrays the

picture of a creative type. Many critics think that the posture of the woman, with her head resting on one hand, is the typical bearing of a person engaged in thinking. Erwin Panofsky, a frequently quoted biographer of Dürer, recalls Marsilio Ficino's (1433–99) influence on European paintings of the period, arguing that the posture of the woman echoes the typical bearing of a melancholic philosopher of the Italian Renaissance. Ficino was the translator of Aristotle, who was of the opinion that melancholy was rather a mark of genius than anything negative as people would have thought in Medieval Europe. Saturn, originally being the god of earth in Greek mythology, was turned champion of such stratum of people in 'the chain of beings' as beggars, grave-diggers, criminals and so on, who were considered closer to earth than the people belonging to other strata. The anonymous woodcut titled 'Saturn and his Children' (c.1470) shows how melancholics were represented in paintings in the late fifteenth century. For Ficino, however, Saturn was the guardian of intelligent people such as scholars and philosophers.[9] Panofski contends that Dürer's melancholy is distinctively of the Ficino type, and postulates that the engraved woman is the image of Dürer himself engaged in the creative work of exploring the unknowable.[10]

In the wake of Panofsky, Soji Iwasaki, a Japanese Shakespearian iconographer, categorizes Elizabethan representations of melancholy (such as Burton's Democritus, Dürer's Melancholia and Hamlet) as the Ficino type. Iwasaki observes that Hamlet's melancholy is like Dürer's Melancholia equipped with 'wings which allows his thoughts to fly beyond the mundane'.[11] What he means is that Hamlet's melancholy marks the pivotal point of transition from the old tradition to the new, presenting at once the characteristics of the traditional 'children of Saturn' type and out-doing them by showing the aspects of the Ficino type.

'Saturn and his Children' (c.1470)

However, it was not the 'types' of melancholy that attracted
Renaissance artists but, as seen above, the image of humanity newly
brought to light with the doubling concept of melancholy, which is
crystallized in the image of Democritus represented by Robert Burton.
Nothing will be gained if we attempt to analyse Dürer's Melancholia —
and, for that matter, Hamlet — as long as our goal is to determine
whether the matter is black or white. Dürer only concentrated on
impressing viewers' minds with what he felt by his artistic intuition as he
pondered on the theme of melancholy. The woman may well be a thinking
type, but her thoughts accumulated in the world of her melancholic

imagination are only tantamount to grains of dust in value, because she is by nature far from divine being a child of Saturn, the earth's god. Her foolish emulation is all that gapes through the lining of her sharp masculine eyes. The same is true of the speaker in Robert Burton's book, who is frantically engaged in the anatomy of melancholy. Calling himself 'Democritus Junior', Burton's speaker is devoted in his frantic zeal, presenting him to readers as an example of folly like Democritus his senior. Burton as the writer contrives to allure readers into the world of the speaker's forensic enquiries, and leads them to the moment where they see their own image reflected in the madness of the speaker.

Elizabethan literary discourses on human nature seem to be predicated on the grammar underwriting *Moriae Encomium* (1512) by Desiderius Erasmus (c.1466–1536). We have the subject who calls herself Pallas, the Goddess of folly, whose 'divine influence makes gods and men rejoice' as she declares with no embarrassment.[12] We read the book because there is an imminent passion in us to discover the nature of the unknowable — in this case the nature of 'folly' — not daring to realize that we are none else than she. As we read on, all the particulars of human folly that she recounts for us are gradually brought home, and we go through the experience of being merged with the subject speaking to us, finally arriving at the fresh awareness that folly is imminent in us all. As we will see in the following sections, Shakespeare's audiences would have seen melancholy as a distinct mark of the foolish, or the 'dram of e'il', for which humanity would take corruption as Claudius in *Hamlet*.

Before plunging into the matter, we must first articulate the nature of melancholy in Elizabethan pathological terms, especially to demarcate its conceptual difference from what are seen nowadays as clinical symptoms of melancholy in psychoanalysis.

II.   Melancholy Seen as a Pathological Symptom

Widely known to us as a cliché the keynote of Elizabethan pathological views was that melancholy was caused by an excess of black bile in the body. This fundamental supposition had its base in the physiological theories propounded in ancient Greece by Hippocrates and his schools, and was passed on through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance by the writings of Galen (c.129–199). Based on the atomic theory, a human entity was thought to comprise the four natural elements — air, water, earth and fire — which Timothy Bright was to connect with 'blood' (sanguine), 'fleume' (phlegm), 'melancholie' (black bile), and 'choler' (yellow bile) of the four humours that were believed to temper the physiological condition of the human body. Of the 'melancholie', Bright wrote:

> The thirde is melancholie, of substance grosse and earthie, cold and drie in regard of the other, in quantity inferiour to fleume, fit nourishment for such partes as are of like temper.[13]

Bright is clearly articulating the Galenic view of the four humours. As black bile consists of earthily materials, it was believed to congeal the blood and also any part of the body where it accumulated. If black bile accumulates on a visible part of body, such as skin's surface, there would appear such a dermatic symptom as jaundice, elephantiasis, or dropsy; if it affects the internal parts, the body would suffer cachexia, spleen, or other ailments caused by liver dysfunction. If all blood congeals by receiving black bile in the vessels, the brain itself would be affected.[14]

This Galenic theory of the humours was to take on a religious tone in Renaissance Europe before it was adapted by the Elizabethans. Dutch physician Johann Weyer associates melancholic disposition with the neglect of spiritual devotion. In *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (1563), he argues that atheists, those religiously misguided, and women weak of self-restraint are more likely than others to be seized by a demonic energy. Referring readers to the fact that St. Jerome (Eusebius Hieronimus, c.347–420) once gave melancholy the name of 'the Devil's bath', Weyer continues thus:

> [N]ot all melancholics are driven by demons. On the other hand, it usually happens that all possessed persons are rendered melancholic because of their bitter torments and grievous afflictions.[15]

Timothy Bright expands upon this theory in the *Treatise*. Bright maintains that humanity is constituted by the soul, the spirit, and the body. The soul is the part which God created exclusively for human beings, and its function is to elevate the worth of their being and to locate them between angels and beasts in the order of the divine hierarchy. The spirit, the soul's frame, is the entity which emanated with the body out of the primordial chaos, and therefore is composed of the sundry elements of the universe, both good and evil. The spirit is not only subservient to the divine will, but happens at times to work against it, afflicting the soul enwombed in it. The body is made up of earth, the same element constituting beasts and animals.[16] Bright, therefore, takes melancholy as a symptom that occurs when the spirit is urged by the body to move in opposition to the divine will. The Elizabethan concept of melancholy was an agglomeration of Hippocratic (Galenic) theories and the contemporary

theological thinking.

Whether the general Elizabethan public believed in Ptolemaic geocentric theory or Copernican heliocentric theory of the universe, it was still commonly taken for granted that human bodies were under astrological influences. The influences were received by all things that existed under the moon, while the whole universe harbouring the earth and the planetary spheres was ordered by the divine power. Elizabethans saw human beings as 'microcosms' as opposed to the 'macrocosm', the whole universe, of which the microcosms were thought to be the epitomic representations on earth. The elements of human spirit were compared to the stars and planets in the macrocosm, which might at times deviate from their spheres and move *retrogradely* to the divine will. According to Bright, a doctor to be engaged in treating melancholics should not only be a good physician, but also a philosopher:

[A] physician ought to be a philosopher, the best philosopher maketh the best physician, neither ought any to be admitted to touch so holy thinges [as medicines], that hath passed the whole discipline of liberall sciences, and washed himselfe pure and cleane in the waters of wisedome, and understanding.[17]

The word 'philosopher' in the Elizabethan context meant a man of divine learning who knew all through 'the whole discipline of liberall sciences', and the causes and effects within the cosmos. When Lear, in madness, mistakes Edgar for a 'philosopher', he immediately asks him, 'What is the cause of thunder?' (*Lear* 3. 4. 142–43). Touchstone mockingly calls Corin, the old shepherd, 'a natural philosopher' when he hears him speak of his observations on the causes and effects in nature which have a touch of

truth in them (*As You Like It* 3. 2. 28). Philosophers do function as physicians in Shakespeare: Friar Laurence in *Romeo and Juliet* is introduced as a man of philosophy, and the only physic applicable to the despair of the violently affected lovers in the play lies exclusively in his divine knowledge. Apemantus in *Timon of Athens*, who appears to have the full knowledge of the cause and prognoses of Timon's melancholy, is introduced as a 'philosopher', although a churlish kind. In reality, too, such famed figures as John Dee (1527–1680), the Queen's astrologer, and Simon Forman (1552–1611), the London astrologer and sorcerer who left the often-quoted *Diary*, were also revered by citizens as philosophers; indeed, they *were* physicians by vocation. It was not a mere capricious joke in Shakespeare's time that the physician in *Macbeth*, after observing Lady Macbeth suffering the fatal somnambulism, comments, 'This disease is beyond my practice', and, therefore, 'More needs she the divine than the physician' (*Macbeth* 5. 1. 49, 64). As well, it was not a pure accident that Timothy Bright trained himself as a theologian while he was by vocation a renowned physician of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. 'The principal agent and procurer of [melancholy]' was, as Elizabethans believed, 'the devil', and,

> those whom God forsakes, the devil by his permission lays hold on. ... His [devil's] ordinary engine by which he produceth this effect, is the melancholy humour itself, which is *balneum diaboli*, the devil's bath.[18]

Melancholy was more a matter for the divine to deal with than for a mere doctor to diagnose.

Curiously enough, 'melancholy' was sometimes spelt 'mallicholie' in

Shakespeare. The best example can be found in the Quarto Text of *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598), where Berowne (or Biron) expresses his love affection for Rosaline arising against the strict regulation of the academe that he should not meet a woman before the term expires.

> By heauen I doe loue, and it hath taught me to rime, and to be *mallicholie*: and heere is part of my Rime, and heare by *mallicholie* ...[19]

Biron's affect is here perceived as a sacrilegious passion, just as Friar Laurence perceived Romeo and Juliet's emotion as 'violent delights' (*Romeo* 2. 5. 9). The word 'mallicholie' seems to undercut its etymological connection to the Hippocratic '$\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi o\lambda\iota\alpha$', or 'melancholia', which literally means 'black bile ($\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma + \chi o\lambda\iota\alpha$)', and instead seems to connote the Elizabethan nuance of 'melancholy' that has to do with the idea of '*male*' in Latin, or 'malice' in English. This reminds us of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*, literally a *malevolent* figure whose action is totally ruled by the sickness of self-love, who is depicted as a kind of melancholy type, and also of Hamlet, who expresses his fear that the devil may 'abuse' him because of his 'melancholy' (*Hamlet* 2. 2. 575–80). Spirituality was something essential to the pathological concept of melancholy in Shakespeare's works.

III.   Lawrence Babb's Account Revisited

It is here worth revisiting the epitomical account made by Lawrence Babb in *The Elizabethan Malady* (1951)[20] of how melancholy was represented in Elizabethan literary communication. Babb's survey shows that 'melancholy' first appeared in English literature towards the midle of

the Elizabethan period. His account goes as follows.

By the import of Italian Renaissance culture, the phenomenon of melancholy was becoming increasingly familiar to Elizabethan scholars and artists, but what more directly induced the upsurge of its popularity was the increase of travellers to and fro the cities in Italy. The population that became xenomaniac to the effloresced culture of continental Europe was growing to the extent that they formed a social stratum often referred to as 'malcontents'. The name derives from the air they were creating, as if to say that their talents and learning were not properly appreciated by the uncultured people who had not known the world abroad. They generally appeared discontented with the norms of society, and typically assumed the 'melancholy' style — crossed arms, resting head on hand(s), *etc.* — which was in vogue after Ficino's fashion in continental Europe. Melancholy characters were easily recognizable on stage because of their mock gesture rather than by what was represented in the rhetoric of their speeches. A stage direction in *The Wounds of Civil War* (1594) by Thomas Lodge (1558–1625) reads 'all in blacke and wonderfull *mellancoly*',[21] which indicates that melancholy was represented 'formally' rather than 'naturally' by the player's gestures and costumes.[22]

The melancholy malcontents were soon to become a popular motif in plebian literature. In *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), Thomas Nashe (1567–1601) enumerates the foolish acquisitions of English travellers to Spain, France, and Italy, which includes the habit 'to wear a velvet patch on their face, and walk melancholy with their arms folded'.[23] John Davies (1569–1626) sketches a 'melancholy Gentleman' who sits alone 'hoodwinck'd with his hat' indulging in 'what he thinkes' with 'his little wit' in his poem titled 'Meditations of a Gull' (c. 1602)[24]; Samuel Rowlands (c. 1573–1630) makes the narrator of *The Melancholy Knight* (1615) speak to

the readers:

> Like discontented *Tymon* in his Cell,
>
> My braines with *melancholy* humers swell,
>
> I crosse mine armes at crosses that arise,
>
> And scoffe blinde *Fortune*, with hat ore mine eyes:
>
> I bid the world take notice I abborre it,
>
> Hauing great *melancholy* reason for it.[25]

These literary figures were among the earliest examples of melancholics in English literature, according to Babb, and in all these examples the word 'melancholy' is synonymous with 'malcontent'.

The malcontents in literature achieved evolution into the newer types by the time of Shakespeare. They gradually added anti-social characteristics to their personalities. Babb observes that the Moor Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* (c.1592) and King John who induces one of his followers to assassinate Arthur in *King John*, (c.1596), were among the early examples of this type of malcontent. By the time Henry Chettle (d.1607) was writing *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (1602), melancholy was turned alimentative to the revengeful drive; Hoffman's revengeful scheme is permeated by 'Clouds of melancholy'.[26] *Microcosmus: A Moral Mask* (1637) by Thomas Nabbes (c. 1605–c. 45) assigns a speech to Melancholy (personified), which reads, 'I could hatch a conspiracy to sever them, should cause posterity attribute all Machiavellianisme to Melancholy'.[27] Babb argues that this evolution of melancholic figures led to the birth of such villains as Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600); the Cardinal Bosola in *The Duchess of Malfi* (1612) by John Webster (c. 1586–c. 1625), whose 'foul mellancholy' is said to 'poison all his goodness' and '[breed]

all black malecontents' (1. 1. 75–80);[28] and Malvole, or Duke Altofronto, in *The Malcontent* (1603) by John Marston (c. 1575–1634), who is to be hired to commit murder because of his melancholy. Elizabethans, Babb contends, 'learned, both from scientific literature and from the malcontent's reputation for seditious activity, to associate melancholy with criminal violence and intrigue'.[29]

This is a mere skeleton of Babb's extensive survey, but with all due respect paid to the other details of his study, Babb's account can be summarized as follows: There were three stages in the evolution of melancholy types in Elizabethan literature: the proto-stage, where they were depicted as malcontented travellers who tended to be profoundly narcissistic; the second stage, where malcontents became anti-social, and henceforth gradually associated with the current ideologies of the repressed minority such as Paganisms, Machiavellianism, Catholicism, *etc.*; and the third and final stage, where malcontents turned into villains.

Babb published the study amidst the rise of psychoanalysis in literature, and of necessity he was faced with arrows of attacks. One of the exhilarated psychoanalysts, W. I. D. Scott, could not withhold his views on Babb's account which tactfully makes no reference to the psychoanalysis. In his *Shakespeare's Melancholics* (1962),[30] Scott diagnoses several melancholic characters in Shakespeare in an attempt to controvert the classical methodology in the study of literary characters that Babb employs. The following is the list of characters which Scott takes up for his analysis, the terms juxtaposed with each name are the diagnoses which Scott provides:

· Antonio in *Merchant* — the endogenous depressive
· Don John in *Much Ado* — the psychopath

- Orsino in *Twelfth Night* — the immature
- Jacques in *As You Like It* — the involutional
- Hamlet in *Hamlet* — the manic-depressive
- Timon in *Timon* — the general paralytic
- Pericles in *Pericles* — the schizophrenic
- Leontes in *Winter's Tale* — the paranoid

These characters would arguably seem to allow the possibility of such diagnoses if they were seen from a psychoanalytic viewpoint. But the diagnoses could always be given otherwise, of course. For instance, it would seem rather too unrealistic to some analysts that Pericles recovers from the helpless state of schizophrenia which lasted more than a decade simply by the appearance of Marina, his daughter. Such analysts would surely take issue with Scott. Indeed, what was to ensue after such a book was published was the boisterous contestation to lead the scientific account of melancholy, as we have seen enough of in the recent history of Shakespearian criticism. It must be added with emphasis that the validity of medical diagnose of literary characters is purely contingent on the pendulum of time, on the mere fashion that is more transient than long lasting, as we are starting to realize. On the other hand, it is clear from the summary of his achievement above that Babb's account should deserve due attention and be given consideration by new generations of researchers.

The following chapter is an attempt of reviewing his achievement. I would like to contest that some characters that Babb passes without giving much attention provides a perspective to view the grammar of melancholy with more accuracy.

IV. Shakespeare's Melancholic Characters Reconsidered

Reading Shakespeare's works with a keen attention to the way in which all the melancholic characters are represented or referred to, one would come to a halt. The characters that neither W. I. D. Scott nor Lawrence Babb examines carefully serve as examples that would modify Babb's account. They give us conviction that some melancholics do not easily fall into the category of malcontents. Instead, they appear to inherit the vernacular tradition of the popular Vice figures that were much celebrated in morality plays. It also seems that Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy had much more to do with the religious milieu of Elizabethan society where melancholy was called 'the Devil's bath', as seen already, than it had to do with the topicality of the malcontents who were gradually appearing. The melancholic characters who stand to attention are Aaron, Falstaff, Sir Toby Belch, and Richard III.

A. The Character of Aaron

Let us begin with Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*. That Aaron is a melancholic figure is made known to us by one of the zany speeches peculiar to his character:

> Saturn is dominator over mine.
> What signifies my deadly-standing eye,
> My silence, and my cloudy melancholy,
> My fleece of wooly hair that now uncurls
> Even as an adder when she doth unroll
> To do some fatal execution? (*Titus* 2. 3. 31–36)

The information that 'Saturn is dominator' is sufficient to signal Aaron's physiological condition, as Lawrence Babb also observes.[31] And yet, if his character were taken to be the malcontent villain type, there would be a question remaining as to why Shakespeare added such a peculiar zaniness to the character of Aaron, which makes him seem amiable to the audience. Also, we are incited to question the expression 'my cloudy melancholy', which does not translate into a vocabulary of psychological terms. '[M]y cloudy melancholy' would be a needless tautology unless it pointed to something other than Aaron's nature of being as melancholy which he has just articulated by saying, 'Saturn is denominator'. By the fact that 'my cloudy melancholy' is juxtaposed with 'my deadly-standing eye' and '[m]y fleece of wooly hair that now uncurls', expressions referring to his unseemly appearance as 'a Moor', we are rather convinced that 'my cloudy melancholy' refers to his conspicuous blackness, a colour which bespeaks his nature as an outsider.

Aaron is an outsider in the socio-political realm of the Roman Empire where Shakespeare sets his world. Tamora, the Queen of Goths, whose nations surrendered to the army of Titus Andronicus, has been taken to Rome as a prisoner, but is shortly to take the helm of state by enchanting the recently elected Emperor, Saturninus. (The name of 'Saturninus' sharply signalls the state of the Empire as being ill-influenced by Saturn.) The whole play of *Titus Andronicus* can be seen as a process in which the sacred state is turned topsy-turvy by Saturn's influence until order is restored by Lucius, whose name is associated with the light of grace: the Emperor is corrupted by Tamora's sexual charms; the honoured Titus is incited by unruly passions to his soul's destruction; and Titus' chaste daughter Lavinia is deflowered and turned into a passionate agent of Revenge and Death. Tamora seems at one level to be the hand of

whimsical Fortuna who runs the tragic wheel, but as the audience is made to realize, she is more a puppet of Aaron, Saturn's hired hand. Aaron is the central figure that causes disturbance in the sacred order.

Aaron's role is highly reminiscent of the Vice figures. *The Castle of Perseverance* (1405–25), one primitive example of a morality play, introduces some personified Vices (Flesh, World, Belial, and Covetousness) which try to debauch *Humanum Genus* (or Mankind) against the sacred will. Mankind seeks asylum in 'the Castle of Perseverance', which symbolizes the inviolate Christian lifestyle, and Satan assails the castle with his followers. Virtue safeguards Mankind from the threat of Satan's trains, and eventually chases them away. *Titus Andronicus* is, in an intricate manner, predicated on the motif of morality plays; Rome is metaphorically the body of *Humanum Genus*, which incorporates the personified Vices: Tamora, Chiron, Demetrius, and, above all else, Aaron. The exorcizing of these Vices can only be attained by the remnant of Virtue in the Andronicus family. As the Vices in the tradition of morality plays are generally depicted as zany characters, the Goths and Aaron are often made the objects of laughter throughout the play.

Suppose for argument's sake that Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing* is 'psychopathic' on the assumption that his destructive desire happens without a motive, Aaron by contrast does have a specific motive of action: just as Caliban desires to endow the island with his issues by raping his master's daughter (*Tempest* 1. 2. 353–54), Aaron desires to beget his sacrilegious offspring by raping the sacred society of Rome in a symbolic sense. So, Aaron's motive is composed of the vices in human nature: emulation, pride, covetousness, greed, *etc*. Scott's diagnosis of Don John does not apply to the case of Aaron; it is not accurate, either, to
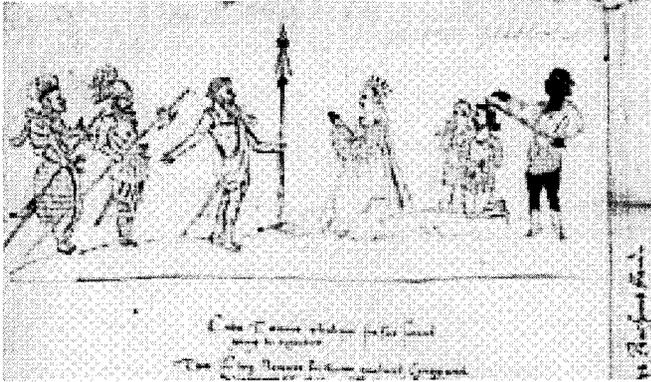
Henry Peacham's drawing of a scene in *Titus Andronicus* (1595)

dispose of Aaron with the 'motiveless devils', or 'villains' in a strict sense. Iago may fall into the category of such devils as Herod, Hecate, or Satan in the early tradition, but Aaron is a humanistic character wrought with vices in his spirituality; he is a Vice figure of the Elizabethan type. Henry Peacham's famous drawing of a contemporary performance vividly records how Aaron was represented on the Elizabethan stage.

The revealing skin of Aaron's body is painted coal black, the colour associated by the Elizabethans with fire and brimstones in hell. Calling Demetrius and Chiron 'whitelimed walls', Aaron refers to his coal black colour in the same zany tone unique to his character:

> Coal-black is better than another hue
> In that it scorns to bear another hue;
> For all the water in the ocean
> Can never turn the swan's black legs to white,
> Although she lave them hourly in the flood. (*Titus* 4. 2. 97–102)

The swan's body is likened to the Roman Empire, whose seemingly sacred state is tarnished at foot with the indelible blur made by Aaron's plot. By the swan metaphor, Aaron here speaks triumphantly of his success in blotting Rome by making Aaron Jr. heir to throne. Sullying the sacred body with the lime of 'the Devil's bath' is the dramatic imperative of this melancholic figure in *Titus Andronicus*.

B. The Character of Sir John Falstaff

What can we say about Sir John Falstaff? Modern readers of *1 Henry IV* would find it uncanny that this seemingly most carefree type of optimist should expressly call his own humoral temperament 'melancholy', and that Prince Harry (Hal) never denies it:

FALSTAFF ... I'll be a brave judge!

PRINCE HARRY Thou judgest false already. I mean thou shalt have the hanging of the thieves, and so become a rare hangman.

FALSTAFF Well, Hal, well; and in some sort *it jumps with my humour as well* as waiting in the court, I can tell you.

PRINCE HARRY For obtaining of suits?

FALSTAFF Yea, for obtaining of suits, whereof the hangman hath no lean wardrobe. 'Sblood, *I am as melancholy as a gib cat, or a lugged bear.*

PRINCE HARRY Or and old lion, or a lover's lute.

(*1 Henry IV* 1. 2. 56–66; emphasis added)

This strange passage resounds through our mind when we see Falstaff display his profound knowledge of Galenic medical theory, which even baffles Lord Chief Justice, the learned gentleman.

FALSTAFF   This apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy, an't
please your lordship, a kind of sleeping in the blood, a whoreson
tingling.

LOERD CHIEF JUSTICE   What tell you me of it? Be it as it is.

FALSTAFF   It hath it original from much grief, from study, and
perturbation of the brain. I have read the cause of his effects in
Galen. It is a kind of deafness. (*2 Henry IV* 1. 2. 101–06)

Reminding us of the type of syndrome that melancholic persons were
believed to contract, Falstaff reassures readers that this same syndrome is
what he is 'troubled withal', too (*2 Henry IV* 1. 2. 112). Why does
Shakespeare repeatedly pronounce that melancholy is an attribute of such
a character? The answer seems to lie again in the Vice role Falstaff plays
in the morality universe which Shakespeare portrays.

In *1 & 2 Henry IV*, Falstaff acts as the 'Lord of Misrule'. He is the
central figure to the moral corruption brought about by Bolingbroke's
Machiavellian politics that culminated in the deposition of the anointed
monarch (Richard II), which happened in *Richard II*. In *1 Henry IV*, the
seat of the monarch is wittily compared to 'a joint-stool', '[the] golden
sceptre' to 'a leaden dagger', and '[the] precious rich crown' to 'a pitiful
bald crown [of Falstaff]' (*1 Henry IV* 2. 5. 346–48). Further, 'honour' is
interpreted as a mere 'word' which is nothing other than 'air' (*Ibid* 5. 2.
133–34). Harry observes that the whole stratum of common society is all
but on 'playing holidays', and degeneracy is such that '[to] sport would be
as tedious as work' for the people (*Ibid* 1. 3. 182–83). The kingdom is
threatened by the emulation of the Machiavellian prince Hotspur (another
melancholic figure in *1 Henry IV*), while Bolingbroke (King Henry IV) is
turned sickly in his deep melancholy. Falstaff leads the misrule as the

champion of saturnine state of the sacred kingdom. While Harry says to the audience in his soliloquy that he will '[redeem] time when men think least [that he would]' (*Ibid* 1. 3. 195), Falstaff shows his colour as the tempter and corrupter of the sacred prince.

As with Aaron, what constitutes Falstaff is the attributes of the Vice figures, which he at various points displays. For instance, he says to Harry,

> A king's son! If I do not beat thee out of thy kingdom with *dagger of lath*, and drive all thy subjects afore thee like a flock of wild geese, I'll never *wear hair on my face* more. (*Ibid* 2. 5. 123–25; emphasis added)

As soon as Falstaff appears on stage, the audience would have marked the lath, his hairy face, and his phenomenally round habitus. They are, as we know, the physical characteristics of the traditional Vice figures. Shakespeare's audience would have recognized the characteristics before they heard him called 'reverend Vice' (*Ibid* 2. 5. 413).[32]

C. The Character of Sir Toby Beltch

Sir Toby Beltch in *Twelfth Night* (1599) is a similar figure to Falstaff in various ways. As the title indicates, the play at various levels allegorizes the specific season of the carnival where misrule was traditionally celebrated — the Twelfth Night. This is true of the plot where Sir Toby plays a dominant role. After the deaths of the Count and his son and heir, the order of the dominion has been turned topsy-turvy; the disorderly state is to prevail until Olivia recovers from her deep melancholy and marries a man of proper standing and virtues who inherits her father's title. (When the audiences learn from the Captain as early as in Act 1 Scene 2 that Prince Sebastian of Messaline had survived the tempest and

landed on Illyria, they would have assumed that Olivia would marry
Sebastian by providential will. The teleological future was thus made
known to the audience at this early stage, although criticism tends to
ignore this fact.) Sir Toby's role is to lead the carnivalesque misrule, as it
were, during the absence of the sacred order. Manipulating Sir Andrew
(the upstart parvenu) and Malvolio (the vain glorious egomania) and
making them dream of soaring above their degrees by marrying the
Count's daughter, Sir Toby plays on their folly and deeply indulges in the
orgy of drunken bashes. Thus, Sir Toby is easily identifiable as a
reincarnate Vice in the carnival misrule.

Sir Toby is also a melancholic figure. Unlike with Aaron and Falstaff,
Sir Toby's humoral condition is not stated in words, but it is conveyed to
the audience through passages which readers of the text may pass over
very quickly. The first passage is:

> SIR TOBY   Come thy ways, Signor Fabian
> FABIAN   Nay, I'll come. If I lose a scruple of this sport let me be
>   boiled to death with melancholy. (*Twelfth Night* 2. 5. 1–3)

This conversation takes place when Sir Toby, Fabian and Sir Andrew set
about to 'gull' Malvolio in requital of the affront they received from him
during their druken bash. What Fabian means by his response to Sir
Toby's speech here is that he has boiled with anger against the stubborn
Puritanical attitude of Malvolio and would lose temper unless he sees
Malvolio, baffled by their treachery. By using the word 'melancholy', he is
evidently pointing to the passions arising by the humoral conditions that
the three people here (Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, and Fabian himself) share
with one another, which leads them to the treacherous gulling of the

seemingly virtuous steward. These three bachelors endowed with the carnival spirits are reminiscent of Romeo, Benvolio, and Mercutio, who oscillate between the choices of following the lead of the 'vain fantasy' of the carnival night to 'the dew dropping south', or staying inviolate in 'the frozen bosom of the north' full of melancholic complaints at Act 1 Scene 4 of *Romeo and Juliet* (*Romeo* 1. 5. 96–103).

Another implicit reference to Sir Toby's melancholy is made as early as in Act 1 Scene 4, when Sir Toby himself speaks of his origin:

> SIR ANDREW   ... Shall we set about some revels?
> SIR TOBY   What shall we do else — Were we not born under Taurus?
> (*Twelfth Night* 1. 4. 114–16)

It is not necessary to read *Christian Astrology* (1647) by William Lilly (1602–1681), a widely read English astrologer and occultist in the seventeenth century, to be assured of the connection between Taurus (or Bull) and melancholy.[33] Shakespeare himself associates the animal, or its meat 'beef', with the cold and sullen humor. Melancholic Falstaff is called 'sweet beef' by Harry (*1 Henry IV* 3. 3. 163). In one of the induction scenes to *The Taming of the Shrew*, we not only learn that Sly's frenzy has been nourished by his 'melancholy' (*Shrew* Induction 2 128), but Sly is also introduced as man who favours 'conserves of beef' (*Ibid* Induction 2. 7), the food which, after Galen, was believed to cause melancholy.[34] The same play has a comical scene where Petruccio and his servants, who are literally trying to 'tame' the violently choleric shrew (Kate), plot to make her eat 'beef', which is apparently a meat she dislikes (*Shrew* 4. 3. 1–52ff). First, they starve Kate so she would 'care not what, so it be wholesome food'; then, the servant Grumio skillfully fathoms her appetite to decide

whether she would partake of the meat without the choleric savory of 'mustard', which she apparently likes. Petruccio and Hortensio (who must have been eavesdropping on their conversation) bring in a plate of 'meat' (which is with no doubt 'beef' by the context), and make Kate eat it. This medical treatment seems to work a quick effect to congeal her choleric blood, and justify the temperament of humours in her body.

This leads me to postulate that Shakespeare intended to present Sir Toby as a melancholic character when he made him a man of Taurus. That is to say, another Falstaffian Vice figure is also written by Shakespeare as a melancholic character.

D. The Character of Richard III

Richard of Gloucester, the most representative of the Vice figures in Shakespeare, is also melancholic. One function of the Duke of Clarence's celebrated dream speech told at Act 1 Scene 4 of *Richard III*, is to delineate Richard's nature within the fictitious universe. In the dream, according to Clarence, he embarked with Richard to cross the Straits of Dover to Burgundy, and, on their way, Richard 'tempted' him to walk upon the planks to talk about the Wars of Roses in which they were involved. As they walked Richard stumbled, and in falling struck Clarence, who immediately sought to save his life. They both crossed the line of death. Clarence continues about the dream thus:

> I passed, methought, the melancholy flood
> With that sour ferryman which poets writes of,
> Unto the kingdom of perpetual night. (*Richard III* 1. 4. 45–47)

The waters of the ocean where Richard's body was sinking was momentarily

seen as 'the melancholy flood' of the Styx over which Charon, the ferryman, guides the damned souls to Hell. This is the same vision which fascinated Dante Alighieri (1265–132), who extends his poetic imagination of it in the third canto of the *Inferno*. According to Theodore Spencer, the Styx in Elizabethan drama was not so much a tributary to the Lethe, or the River of oblivion, but metonymic for the world of evils as opposed to the world of sacred light.[35] Thus, the rhetoric of Clarence in a curious way connects the nature of Richard as Vice figure to the fact that he appeared to be soaked in 'the melancholy flood', which is 'the Devil's bath'.

Just before Shakespeare's debut as playwright, the theatre world in London was dominated by Richard Tarlton (d. 1588), a famed player who was particularly noted as a clownish Vice on stage. He contributed to the outstanding stature of the Queen Elizabeth's Men (1583–c.1589), which was dissimilated only by his death. Tarlton's tradition of acting was inherited by Edward Alleyne (1566–1626), the head player of the Admiral's Men (then still called Duke of Nottingham's Men), who was to appear on stage as Barabas in *The Jew of Malta* (1592), and as Faustus in *Doctor Faustus* (1594),[36] two characters of which Shakespeare was evidently highly conscious when he wrote his tragic figures. Barabas, the Jewish capitalist, is a Machiavellian nabob whose intent is to turn over the order of the Christian society, and is hence depicted as a villainous type. This comic Vice figure shows a glimpse of his melancholic nature when he learns that his fortune is confiscated: '... ever lasting pains / And extreme tortures of the fiery deep /... have dealt with me in distress!', grieves the Jew (*Jew of Malta* 1. 2. 167–68), 'Why pine not I, and die in distress?' (*Ibid* 1. 2. 174). It is clear that Barabas is Covetousness personified within the morality world of the Christian universe, and he is also depicted as an archetype of the melancholic character.

Faustus is a Wittenberg scholar, like Hamlet, and hence has been naturally represented as a melancholic alchemist since Wittenberg University was always associated with its founder Martin Luther (1483–1546), a sworn melancholic who confessed to have experienced the devil's temptation himself.[37] Seeing 'worthy Faustus' (*Faustus* 5. 2. 25) completely changed after a 'surfeit of deadly sin' (*Ibid* 5. 2. 37), one of his fellows at Wittenberg laments, 'Is all our pleasure [*i.e.*, Faustus] turned to melancholy?' (*Ibid* 5. 2. 32). Here, again, we see the archetype of the melancholic figure which Shakespeare took to develop his own versions of Vice figures.

When Richard Burbage (1568–1619) played Richard III, the Lord Chamberlain's Men counted on the talent of this young player to compete with Edward Alleyne of the rival company.[38] Richard III is a Shakespearian version of the popular stage character developed on the tradition of Tarlton's acting style. Richard is '[pre-]*determined* to prove a Villain' (*Richard III* 1. 1. 30) within the universe of the play because he is already made a Vice incarnate in the contemporary Tudor Myth, which apotheosizes the Earl of Richmond (or Henry VII of the Tudor), the opponent of Richard III in the Battle of Bosworth. The 'history' was naturally written as allegory of the universal history in which Vices fall in favour of Virtues by the power of the divine. What Richard Burbage enacted in the person of Richard III is not then the mere portraiture of a malcontent villain, but instead the fall of the Vices. Shakespeare saw the spirit of melancholy in the falling agent, and made it into his praxis of characterization:

> Now is the winter of our discontent
> Made glorious summer by this son of York; (*Richard III* 1. 1.1–2)

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So proclaims Richard as the prologue to the play. It sounds as if Shakespeare eulogizes the vices in mankind, prepared to apotheosize the folly of human nature. It also sounds as if Shakespeare declares his challenge against Christopher Marlowe in presenting a character who could gain the better of Alleyne's celebrated Vice figures.

Conclusion

It seems that we are faced with the necessity to change our idea on the basic grammar of Shakespeare's melancholy. The general tendency is that his melancholic figures are predicated on traditional Vice figures, and that some of their attributes can be traced back to the literary predecessors; the figures are often zany, lead misrules, and present affinity to the villains. As a keen observer of humanity, Shakespeare would have attributed Vices to the core of human spirituality while contending that they were to be exorcized in favour of Virtues. It was no longer in vogue in Shakespeare's time for a play to present Vices and Virtues as separate entities as in the traditional morality plays; they would instead coexist in a spiritual circumstance of a single being as we learn from the numerous cases of such occurrences in Shakespeare's plays. Melancholy would have given a pretext for the moment where the human mind was inclined to accumulate the 'mallicholie' spirituality, and the subject turns a metaphorical Vice figure.

Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* is not a singular man of all virtues. At the very beginning of the play, he is becoming an integral part of the money-driven social system where human affect is nurtured by the gain and loss of commodity. Although Antonio denies it in words, the audience is quick to believe the words of Salerio, who says in quick response to

Antonio, 'Antonio / Is sad to think upon his merchandise' (*Merchant of Venice* 1. 1. 39–40). Antonio's greed for capital gain, yet unperceived by himself, gradually presents itself as the weakness of his character which drives him to seal the bond with Shylock, the devil incarnate, who aims to destroy Antonio's goodness as a Christian man. The parallel figure to Antonio is Timon whose spirit is cankered with material greed and pride, as his luxurious belongings and his vain hospitality indicate. Timon can only do away with his melancholy by frantically giving away the remnants of all he has, and his life, too, in the name of the love for his country. The Duke going into the convent in the beginning of *Measure for Measure* has almost turned into a chunk of carnal lust (as Angelo later will be) being incited by the beauty of Isabella, who is about to make her oath to lead a vestal life in the monastery.[39] Even Jaques in *As you Like It* gives the audience a glimpse of his avarice in a dialogue with his master Duke Senior: 'What, for a counter, would I do but good?' (*As You Like It* 2. 7. 63).

On the other hand, Shakespeare's characters are recoverable from melancholy if they are to be led by the sacred will and become vice-free entities. Duke Orsino in *Twelfth Night* is cured from his lustful melancholy by the presence of Viola, whom he is providentially arranged to marry. Pericles' melancholy is apparently part of that which contaminates the whole region he passes after the ill-influence of the incestuous King Antiochus. It is to be purged by the virtuous influence of the Princess Marina, the agent of Diana. Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* is likewise led by the divine will, and recovers from melancholy after the years of devoted expiation practiced with his whole heart. The melancholics who do not recover tend to remain corrupt, and henceforth become subject to exorcism within the economy of poetic justice; Aaron, Richard III and Don John are the clear-cut examples.

What appears to be a psychological mystery can therefore be accountable from a grammatical standpoint without wielding the newly , propounded theories of human psychology that are not quite pertinent to the study of Shakespeare's characters and their motives. It can be contested that what was for Elizabethans a fascinating phenomenon, the symptom of melancholy, was skillfully utilized by the genius of Shakespeare to add depth to the human spirituality that had been only sketched as a plantar dichotomy of Vices and Virtues in the preceding tradition of English plays. Shakespeare was to create many of his 'round' human characters including his *chef-d'oeuvre*, Hamlet, on the Elizabethan grammar of melancholy.

Notes

1 See A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London: Macmillan, 1941, p. 108.

2 All quotations from Shakespeare in this paper are, unless otherwise stated, taken from Stephen Greenblatt *et al.*, eds. *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition,* New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997.

3 Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1586, p. 1.

4 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, New York: New York Review Books, 2001, 'Democritus to The Reader', p. 21.

5 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. 23. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Matthew Crawford, MA student at University of Victoria, for the information of this passage in Koerner's book and the general idea about the association between Burton's *Anatomy* and Dürer's *Melancholia I*. I had a privilege of sitting in a class meeting of English 521 at Uvic on July 7 2006 taught by Dr. Gary Kuchar, where Mr. Crawford made a stimulating presentation titled, 'Melancholy and Introjection in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, and *Melacholia I*'.

6 Burton, 'The First Partition', p. 392.

7 See Burton, 'Democritus to The Reader', p.16.

8 Burton, 'The Argument of the Frontispiece', p. 7.

9 For the essential part of Ficino's philosophy on melancholy, see Jennifer

Radden ed., *The Nature of Melancholy from Aristotle to Kristeva*, Oxford, *etc.*: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 87–93.

10 E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, the 4th edn. 1955. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 156–71ff.

11 Soji Iwasaki, '*Hamlet* and Melancholy; An Iconographical Approach', Yoshiko Ueno, ed. *Hamlet and Japan*, New York: AMS Press, 1995, pp. 37–55, p. 39.

12 *The Praise of Folly*, trans. Hoyt Hopewell Hudson, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941, p. 1.

13 Bright, p. 5.

14 *Galen on the Affected Parts: Translated from Greek Text with Explanatory Notes*, ed. Rudolph E. Siegel, Basel and elsewhere: S. Kargar, 1976. pp. 89–94.

15 Johann Weyer, *Witches, Devils and Doctors in the Renaissance*, ed. George Mora, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991, pp. 346–47.

16 Bright, pp. 39–49.

17 Bright, pp. 266–67

18 Burton, 'The Third Partition', p.395.

19 *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called, Loues Labors Lost*, London: By W[illiam] W[hite] for Cutbert Burby, 1598, sig. E3 verso; emphasis added.

20 Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642*, East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951.

21 Thomas Lodge, *The Wounds of Civil War*, 1594, Oxford: The Malone Society, 1910, sig. H4 verso.

22 Babb, pp. 120–121; See also Alfred Harbage, 'Elizabethan Acting', *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 685–708; and Robert H. Bowers, 'Gesticulation in Elizabethan Acting', *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XII (1948), 267–77.

23 Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. J. B. Steane, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972, p. 344.

24 *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. Clare Howard, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, p. 57.

25 *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands 1598–1628*, 1880, vol. 2. New York, London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966, p. 7.

26 Henry Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1631, Oxford: The Malone Society, 1961, sig. B1 recto.

27 Thomas Nabbes, *Microcosmus. A Moral Maske*, London: By Richard Oulton for Charles Greene, 1637, Sig. D1 recto.

28 John Webster, *The Duchess of Mulfi* (3rd edition), ed. Elizabeth M. Brennan, London: A & C Black, 1993.

29 Lawrence Babb, p. 84.

30 W. I. D. Scott, *Shakespeare's Melancholics*, London: Mills & Boon, 1962.

31 Lawrence Babb, p. 84.

32 Cf. Robert A. Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origin, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition*, London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975, pp. 8–10, pp. 16–20; Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1976, pp. 2–3, pp. 12–15; J. Dover Wilson, *Fortunes of Falstaff*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943, pp. 17–23, 31; and also Herbert and Judith Weil, eds., *The First Part of King Henry IV*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 10.

33 William Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, 1647, ed. David R. Roell, Bel Air: Astrology Center of America, 2004, p. 94. Lilly attributes 'Earthly, Cold, Dry, Melancholy, Feminine, Nocturnal, Fixed, Domestic or Bestal' qualities to the zodiacal influence of Taurus.

34 For Galen's idea of beef to be the cause of melancholy, see Galen, *On the Affected Parts*, trans., ed. Rudolph E. Siegel, Basel: S. Karger, 1976, p. 90; Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*, trans., Owen Powell, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002, p. 115. Robert Burton also introduces this view in *Anatomy*, Partition 1, p. 217.

35 Theodore Spencer, *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy*, 1936, New York: Pageant Books, 1960, pp. 118–120.

36 That Allen played Barabas is clear from Thomas Heywood's preface to the Quarto of 1633; and for the information that he played Faustus, see F. S. Boas, ed., *Doctor Faustus*, New York: Gordian Press, 1932, p. 47.

37 See Martin Luther, *Tichreden*, Book 1, 122, quoted by Julia Kristeva in *Black Sun*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, pp. 119–20.

38 For the similar view, see Peter Thomson, 'Rogues and Rhetoricians: Acting Styles in Early English Drama', *A New History of English Drama*, eds. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, pp. 321–35, pp. 334–35.

39 This explains why the Duke proposes to her at the final scene of the play where the strict and binding justice of the state which has been oppressing the natural drives of Eros is seasoned with the Christian mercy.

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