EARLY MODERN LITERARY STUDIES

‘You shall heare me speake’: The Architecture of Feigned Soliloquy in *Hamlet*’s Gallery

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In the first quarto of *Hamlet* (Q1) – popularly deemed the ‘bad quarto’ – we are told that Hamlet frequents a room at Elsinore Castle called the gallery. In fact, he meets Ofelia in the gallery twice: in the unstaged ‘ungartered’ scene and again in the ‘To be, or not to be’ scene. Both times their intimacy is betrayed. The first time, Ofelia tells all, and the second time, Claudius and Corambis (Q1’s Polonius) eavesdrop. In the second quarto (Q2) and the first folio (F), however, all references to the gallery are absent. It follows that Hamlet’s gallery has not garnered much critical attention. After all, it can easily be taken for a throwaway reference, swallowed up by the ever-looming dramaturgical convention of the ‘unlocalized stage’.[1] But what would happen if we were to take this gallery setting seriously? Attending to the architectural specificity found in playscripts like *Hamlet* Q1 can help illuminate the social resonances of the spaces these characters inhabit, revealing otherwise unspoken motivations and understandings. In turn, I contend that gallery settings, following their real-life correlatives in early modern great homes, inspired a new dramaturgical technique – the feigned soliloquy. Recovering the social resonances of the gallery can help us better understand a tension central to *Hamlet,* which is also a tension

[1] Bernard Beckerman, *Shakespeare at the Globe, 1599-1609* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 164. For an overview of the theory of the ‘unlocalized stage’, see Andrew Bozio, *Thinking Through Place on the Early Modern English Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 17. See also Alan Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 20; Paul Menzer, ‘Dislocating Shakespeare: Scene Locators and the Place of the Page’, *Shakespeare Bulletin* 24.2 (2006), 1-19 (p. 16); and Michelle Dowd, *The Dynamics of Inheritance on the Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 15.

central to early modernity: the struggle to outwardly represent one's inner self – 'that within which passeth show' – and the limits of accessing another person's mind.[2]

Galleries in Early Modern Homes

But first: what exactly was a gallery, and what does it have to do with feigned soliloquy? In short, galleries were long, narrow rooms made popular at the turn of the seventeenth century and, as Lena Cowen Orlin has shown, these rooms were closely associated with privacy and eavesdropping.[3] Throughout the sixteenth century, the term 'gallery' carried the connotation of a partially open space, like a colonnade or loggia, largely inspired by sixteenth century continental trends. In Italy, Andrea Palladio popularized open-air loggias, which Sebastiano Serlio then enclosed and exported to the more temperate French and Spanish climates.[4] The designs of Serlio and Palladio demonstrate the preference for long, narrow rooms that overlook gardens below (Fig. 1). These continental designs influenced one another over the following decades. Serlio connects the design of French *galleries* to the long open-air loggias and *salette* overlooks Italian Renaissance courtyards: 'the upper loggia, however, is to be made into a *saletta*, a room which is here called a *galerie*'.[5] It was not until 1541 that the term 'gallery' came to mean 'a long narrow apartment' in English.[6] This trend finally gained steam in England in the 1570s during the 'great rebuilding' period when galleries were added to English great houses in the form of long, narrow enclosed rooms that usually abutted gardens.

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[2] Quotations from Shakespeare's plays are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare.* ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York: Norton, 1997); quotations will be cited parenthetically. References to the first quarto (Q1) are taken from *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* (London: N.L and John Trundell, 1603). The following facsimile edition of the first folio has been consulted: *The First Folio. The Norton Facsimile*, ed. by Charlton Hinman. (New York: Norton, 1968).

[3] Lean Cowen Orlin, 'The Tudor Long Gallery in the History of Privacy', *InForm: The Journal of Architecture, Design, and Material Culture* (2001), 284-98 (p. 289).

[4] Sebastiano Serlio, *The Book of Architecture*, ed. A.E. Santaniello (New York: Arno Press, 1980). Rpt. of 1611 English translation by Robert Peake. Serlio's *Architettura* was first published in Italian 1537, in a bilingual Italian-French edition in 1545, and in Spanish in 1552.

[5] Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture Volume Two: Books VI and VII of 'Tutte L'Opere D'Architettura et Prospetiva', with 'Castrametation of the Romans' and 'The Extraordinary Book of Doors'*, ed. by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 10.

[6] 'gallery, n. 5a' *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Fig. 1. Logge del Palazzo della Ragione, designed by Andrea Palladio. Vicenza, Italy, 1549. Photo credit: Alain Rouiller, 2009. Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license.

Since the gallery originated as an enclosed extension of the gardens, early modern people could not decide how galleries should be classified. Galleries thus became contentious cultural sites: some saw them as interior domestic spaces, while others continued to see them as extensions of the outdoors. This differentiation influenced the emerging concept of privacy. Mary Crane has shown how early modern people would typically seek privacy outside since households were notoriously porous: 'real privacy, especially for illicit activities, was, until well into the seventeenth century, most often represented as readily

attainable only outdoors'.[7] Shakespeare illustrates this nicely in *Much Ado About Nothing*, in which an orchestrated eavesdropping scene transpires in the orchard. Capitalizing on the garden's association with private speech, Hero and Ursula feign a dialogue that Beatrice believes to be authentic. What Crane says about gardens can also apply to galleries, that they 'represent a space that blurs the distinction between concepts of inside and outside'.[8] By moving indoors, the English gallery complicated the mechanisms of domestic privacy.

While galleries came to England by way of continental architectural design, continental imports – especially Italian imports – were viewed with a mixture of suspicion and desire. As the wealthy rallied to incorporate these new Italian influences into their lives, others moralized against such changes. For instance, the English humanist and tutor to Queen Elizabeth I, Roger Ascham, warned against the influence of imported continental arts, calling them 'the enchantments of Circe's, brought out of Italy, to mar men's manners in England'.[9] Threatening the public with the consequences of vice, vanity, and manipulation, Ascham and others like him disavowed Italian artistic influences. Of course, the irony is thick: in order to make his argument against the dangers of continental art, Ascham appeals to a fictional myth from *The Odyssey*, itself a prime example of continental art.

As might be expected, wealthy English people began to add Italianate galleries to their homes without much concern for moralizing critics.[10] Although inspired by Italian design, these galleries were altered to better accommodate the English climate and 'originated as covered walks, sometimes roofed but open on one side, sometimes completely enclosed'.[11] These new English galleries were often integrated into pre-existing homes through a variety of remodeling strategies. Some, like at Knole House, were constructed by adding second stories in the rafters above the soaring great halls left over from medieval architecture; some, like at Chatsworth, were placed on the top floor, offering an

[7] Mary Thomas Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9.1 (2009), 4-22 (p. 5).

[8] Ibid, 8.

[9] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays* Vol. 1, ed. by G. Gregory Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Pres, 1904), p. 2.

[10] Orlin, 'Tudor Long Gallery', 289.

[11] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 100.

expansive view of the property below; and some, like at Hatfield, were built on top of open loggias or colonnades (fig. 2).[12]

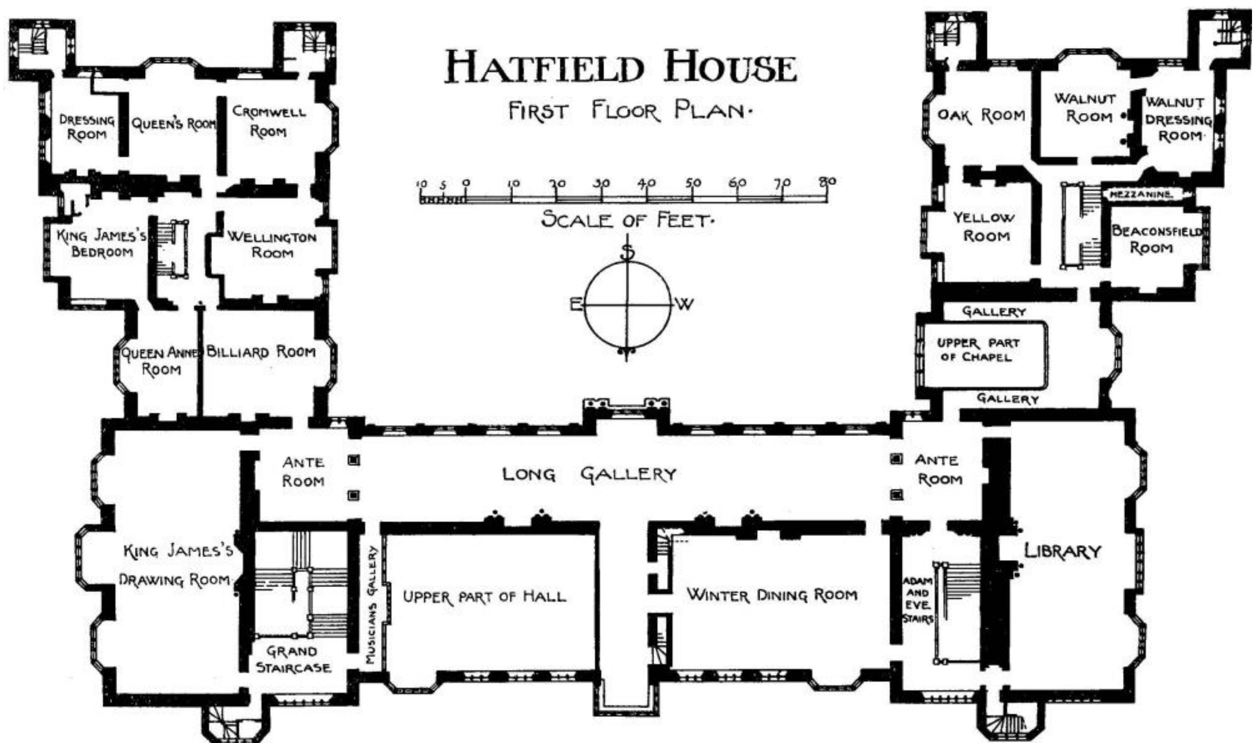

Fig 2. Plan of Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. 'Bishop's Hatfield', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), 52-62. *British History Online*, accessed 26 August 26 2022, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/herts/pp52-62.

In both new constructions and remodels, galleries were usually placed above the ground floor level. This brought guests upstairs where the owners' bedchambers and personal closets were also located. In this unique architectural position, galleries helped to change the material experience of the great house. The ground floor, once the site of celebrated feasting halls and the essential community centers of the late medieval and early Tudor periods, became the realm of household labor. In fact, these very feasting halls were often sacrificed in order to build galleries in the rafters. One social model was exchanged for another.

Although galleries were located among the more intimate apartments, they were an important destination for hospitality. Galleries provided a more inviting setting than a

[12] Rosalys Coope, 'The "Long Gallery": Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History* 29 (1986), 43-84 (pp. 54-6).

receiving chamber for a business meeting or social entertainment.[13] All the while, hosts could impress their guests with vast views of their property and additional displays of wealth and influence through their portrait collections – consequently, this is where we get the modern concept of an art gallery.[14] As a point of reference, the 1590 inventory of John Lumley's Nonesuch, previously owned by Henry VIII, lists ninety-one 'Pictures in the Gallery'.[15]

Moreover, galleries like those at the Vyne, Apethorpe Hall, Theobalds or Hardwick Hall (Fig. 3) were terminal, meaning that one had to choose to enter on purpose. As early modern houses lacked hallways, one had to pass through a series of rooms to get from one to another. In contrast, the gallery was not as busy as other rooms, and therefore more amenable to private moments.

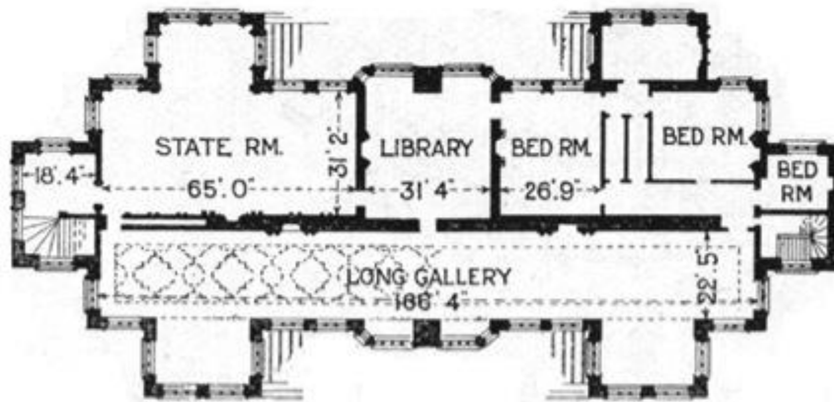

Fig 3. Blueprint for the outward-facing gallery and top floor at Hardwick Hall. Rpt. in Fletcher, Banister. History of Architecture (London: University of London, 1921), p. 700.

Architecturally, the gallery's distance from the rest of the interlocking rooms of the household, 'free of the horizontal map of interrelated household spaces', made it an ideal site for privacy.[16] Standing at the far end of a gallery in the cocoon of a bay window, it was easy to see who was approaching from a distance, but difficult to be heard. Orlin cites the 1602 Brounker investigation at Hardwick Hall as a prime example of the way the gallery could both enable and thwart private communication. This investigation took place just months before Queen Elizabeth's death and concerned a proposed marriage

[13] Girouard, p. 100.

[14] Emma Katherine Atwood, 'Arundel House', *The Map of Early Modern London*, ed. by Janelle Jenstad (2014). http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/ARUN1.htm.

[15] Mary F.S. Hervey, 'A Lumley Inventory of 1609', in *The Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society 1917-18* (Oxford: The Walpole Society by Frederick Hall at the University Press, 1918), p. 37.

[16] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 236.

between Lady Arbella Stuart and Edward Seymour, a union of two powerful families that threatened a claim to the throne. Orlin explains the encounter in terms of its architectural context:

> Hardwick had received the emissary of the Queen in the most impressive of her rooms. This was the 'long gallery', 162 feet long, as wide as 40 feet at some points, 26 feet high, and located at the top of the house… When Brounker arrived at Hardwick Hall, he was made to climb two long flights of stairs to find Hardwick, who was walking in the gallery with Stuart in a strained show of unconcern… With Stuart out of earshot, Brounker told Hardwick that it was Elizabeth's 'pleasure' that 'I might speak privately with the Lady Arbella'.
>
> 'So leaving her there', Brounker recounted, 'I led the Lady Arabella to the other end of the long gallery'…this as Hardwick watched helplessly, out of hearing range, from the opposite end of the gallery.[17]

By pulling Lady Arbella Stuart aside in the long gallery, Brounker was able to interrogate her about her supposed engagement to Edward Seymour. While Bess of Hardwick was still a physically present chaperone, she could not actually overhear this conversation. Orlin demonstrates the irony of this episode in that Bess was 'briefly frustrated during the Brounker investigation by the size and acoustics of the very room she had built as a fit setting for a royal aspirant'.[18] This tension inherent in the space – between hearing and not hearing, between public and private – is what made the gallery such a rich setting for early modern plays that sought to dramatize guarded speech, eavesdropping, or feigned soliloquy.

Staging the Gallery

By the 1590s, long galleries ceased to be the architecture of the elite and began to be adopted on a smaller scale in middle class homes.[19] As galleries became common enough to appear in middle class people's homes, they also began to appear in plays. Galleries are mentioned in approximately one hundred early modern plays; the stage is asked to physically represent a gallery in one third of these plays.[20] The first fully staged gallery scenes that I have found appear in the late 1580s and early 1590s, with Kyd's *The Spanish*

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[17] Orlin, 'Tudor Long Gallery', 85-6.

[18] Ibid., 86.

[19] Ibid., 90.

[20] See Table 1 of the Appendix.

Tragedy (1587) and Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1592).[21] When it comes to staging, the gallery was one of the simplest domestic spaces to represent. After all, the early modern gallery was sparsely furnished and spacious – sometimes over 200 feet long. The stage could easily replicate this without much effort. Walking was the most common physical practice in galleries, and this could easily be performed across a stage. In his treatise *On Architecture*, Serlio even uses the term 'ambulatory' interchangeably with the term 'galleria'.[22] Walking and movement became so entangled with the gallery that Orlin calls it 'a sort of mnemonic device, a conditioned response to the stimulus of the site'.[23] We see this physical behavior dramatized in galleries in many early modern plays; for instance, in *Hamlet* Q1, we hear that Ofelia has been walking in the gallery: 'Hee found mee walking in the gallery all alone' (D2v); that Hamlet often walks in the gallery: 'The Princes walke is here in the galery' (D4v); and that walking is a normal behavior for such a room: 'There let Ofelia, walke until hee comes' (D4v). In this way, walking – or more accurately, pacing – would have helped embody the gallery on the stage.

The stage and the gallery also shared similar building principles. The playing stage was longer than it was wide, designed for movement, relatively sparse and open, planked with wood and curtains like the popular wood paneling and tapestries used to decorate galleries, and its missing 'fourth wall' acted as a window looking out towards the audience in the 'yard' like a gallery might look out into the yard or garden below.[24] The terminal nature of the gallery also helped to heighten its dramatic potential. In early modern plays, the gallery is shown to be a room where private speech might occur, but also where the trust in private speech can be easily manipulated; of course, as soon as an audience is granted access to any private speech onstage, privacy is rendered obsolete.

In early modern drama, this kind of private speech is most often represented by soliloquy or aside. Importantly, James Hirsh suggests that 'interior monologues' that dramatize silent thought did not actually exist until the Restoration and that pre-Restoration soliloquies should be read as public speeches with varying degrees of publicity.[25] This challenges earlier soliloquy theorists, such as Lloyd Skiffington, who sees Shakespeare

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[21] See Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta* in *The Complete Plays*, ed. by Mark Thornton Burnett (London: J.M. Dent, 1999), and Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington (New York: Norton, 2002).

[22] Serlio, *Volume 2,* 212.

[23] Orlin, *Locating*, p. 237.

[24] Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 21-52.

[25] James Hirsh, *Shakespeare and the History of Soliloquies* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), pp. 19-21.

as the pioneer of the 'psychological soliloquy' used 'for revealing motivation or intention of his characters or for laying bare the war within a personality'.[26] Instead, Hirsh argues that there was a 'radical shift' from audience-addressed soliloquies, popular in the classical and medieval period, to self-addressed soliloquies, popular in the early modern period. However, he sees self-addressed soliloquies as a 'very private form of behavior' that is distinct from pure, unmediated interiority.[27] It is precisely this 'very private form of behavior' that the gallery leaves open.

The soliloquy itself appears in various permutations throughout Western drama, from Greek new comedy to Medieval morality plays. However, in the early modern period, soliloquy shifted away from public audience address to a more private form of self-address, whereby 'a Renaissance character gives voice to an idea with only himself as a listener, sometimes merely to hear what it sounds like, to toy with it and possibly reject it'.[28] In order to represent subjective interiority through the soliloquy, dramatists had to externalize interiority and place it on display. This irony was not lost on early modern playwrights, who relished the opportunity to tease their audiences with this contradiction; for instance, when Juliet speaks from her window (2.2.36-52), she speaks with the privilege and privacy of soliloquy, but Romeo eavesdrops and overhears her earnest self-address, interrupting convention and starting the domino effect that results in elopement, banishment, and death.

However, the ways in which early modern people experienced psychological interiority as we understand it today has been hotly debated. Erica Longfellow concedes that '*public* and *private* are very difficult to disconnect in the early modern period'.[29] As Patricia Fumerton puts it, 'the private could be sensed only through the public'.[30] If this is the case, all forms of private expression are by definition public, a concept that the theater makes expressly manifest in its aim to make private matters public fodder.[31] The early modern theater provided copious opportunities for dramatizing this tension, capitalizing on the audience's interest in other people's inner lives, exposing intimate domestic

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[26] Lloyd A. Skiffington, *The History of English Soliloquy: Aeschylus to Shakespeare* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1985), p. 71.

[27] Hirsh, p. 20

[28] Ibid.

[29] Erica Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies* 45.2 (2006), 313-34 (p. 313).

[30] Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 109.

[31] Katharine Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 2-3.

moments otherwise concealed from view (e.g., transporting us behind Othello and Desdemona's locked bedroom door), and putting characters' private thoughts on display (e.g., Richard III's direct address to the audience that opens his play). Accessing interiority was an obsession that early modern playwrights engaged with regular dexterity; as one character warns in Lording Barry's *The Family of Love,* 'outward appearance is no authentic instance of the inward desires' (1.2).[32] This conflicted sense of ironic interiority was most boldly captured by the dramaturgical device of soliloquy. Pairing soliloquy with gallery settings in early modern plays amplified this interest in private speech and capitalized on the tantalizing desire to access to another person's interiority – an outcome that the gallery space promised, but continually failed, to deliver.

Early modern soliloquies primarily follow two rather standard dramaturgical rules: a character may safely use soliloquy or aside so long as they are aware of the presence of the character(s) from whom they are hiding their speech, and inversely, a character's soliloquy or aside can be overheard by eavesdroppers so long as the eavesdroppers remain undetected by the speaker. Soliloquy and aside follow the same rules; ultimately, aside is a form of guarded soliloquy that occurs on a smaller scale.[33]

The particular mode of a character's soliloquy – directed to the audience, directed to the self, guarded, or unguarded – could shift mid-scene, but the ruling conventions would remain intact. Playwrights often pushed the limits of these conventions for comedic effect. For example, in Act 4 Scene 3 of *Love's Labours Lost,* a layered chain of soliloquies is created when each character that enters hides from the next. 'In faith, secrets!' (4.3.23) Biron exclaims from a protected aside, eavesdropping on his friend Ferdinand. 'Listen, ear' (4.3.42), Ferdinand says, eavesdropping on his friend Longaville. 'Company! Stay' (4.3.77), Longaville remarks, eavesdropping on his friend Dumain. An early modern audience would have been so familiar with the conventions of soliloquy that this scene would have been easy to follow, though quite comic in the way it pushed the convention to its breaking point. While such an arrangement seems overly complicated, in performance is it quite easy to understand – Kenneth Branagh's 2000 film adaptation makes this especially clear, with separate hiding places granted to each

[32] Lording Barry, *The Family of Love*, ed. by Sophie Tomlinson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022).

[33] Hirsh, p. 22. See also Harry Berger Jr., 'The Prince's Dog: Falstaff and the Perils of Speech-Prefixity', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 49.1 (1998), 40-73 (p. 50); and Alan Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 90.

eavesdropper and with camera angles clarifying for a modern audience precisely who can hear what and when.

Soliloquies were notoriously porous; if a character drops their guard, others onstage can suddenly overhear them.[34] Because of the holes in this convention, early modern characters frequently worry about their soliloquies being overheard, as Olivia in *Twelfth Night*: 'I speak too loud' (3.4.4). These characters are right to be vigilant; eavesdropping occurs in many different plays and many different spaces in early modern drama, from gardens to bedrooms to city streets, often providing turning points in plots. Eavesdropping scenes were simply 'a typical dramatic activity of the period' and characters' soliloquies could be overheard if they were not careful to guard them.[35]

Some playwrights began to use eavesdropping plots to highlight the gap between the sensory experiences of characters and the sensory experiences of the actors portraying them. An example from Ben Jonson's *Volpone* illustrates this. Volpone's servant Mosca promises the young man Bonario that he will be hidden 'into that gallery, at the upper end' (3.7.13) that will allow him to overhear his father disinheriting him: 'Sir, here concealed you may hear all' (3.6.1).[36] This would seem to be a typical eavesdropping plot, with typical eavesdropping conventions. However, Mosca actually intends to stash Bonario out of the way while Volpone manipulates his various sycophants. As Bonario moves into the gallery offstage, Mosca watches him exit: 'There, he is far enough; he can hear nothing' (3.7.17). Mosca lies about the auditory possibilities of the gallery, and the audience is left wondering which version of the space is correct. Knowing that the actor who plays Bonario can actually hear the action onstage further troubles this fictional auditory contract. In a later scene, Volpone, thinking himself unobserved, attempts to rape Celia. Yet Bonario was not really 'far enough', as Mosca believed. Bonario overhears and rushes into Volpone's room from the gallery to rescue Celia. The extent to which an audience remembers that Bonario is stashed away thus shapes the extent to which an audience experiences Celia's distress. In this instance, eavesdropping in the gallery saves the day.

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[34] Hirsh, p. 24.

[35] Bernard Beckerman, *Dynamics of Drama: Theory and Method of Analysis* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1970), pp. 25-6. Some plays that feature this convention include Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* ('Here's Lacy. Margaret, step aside awhile' (6.49)); Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* ('twas the Cardinal's voice. I heard him name / Bosola and my death' (5.4.36-7)); and Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* ('what's this I hear?' (5.1.24)). See play editions in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington (New York: Norton, 2002).

[36] Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington. (New York: Norton, 2002).

Feigned Soliloquy

These moments of overhearing can also be manipulated by the speaker, not just the eavesdropper. Some characters *want* to be overheard. In these situations, feigned soliloquy proves a useful tool for letting others know one's inner thoughts, especially in social situations where openly expressing these thoughts would be difficult. Of the thirty-two early modern plays I have found that stage a scene in a gallery, half feature soliloquy and one third feature eavesdropping.[37] Rarer still is feigned soliloquy, appearing in five early modern gallery scenes. In a feigned soliloquy, 'a character, aware of the presence of an eavesdropper, *pretends* to speak to himself in order to deceive the eavesdropper about his actual state of mind'.[38] While others have identified the development of the feigned soliloquy, they have not connected it to spatial organization. But place and setting matters; as Andrew Bozio suggests in his treatment of early modern drama, 'place materializes social norms, organizing the various strands of a particular ideology within a location and transforming those strands into a terrain that embodied subjects must navigate'.[39] Moreover, early modern architecture is intimately related to the development of poetry. As Roy Erisken posits in the Introduction to the special topics *Shakespeare* issue, 'The Architectures of Shakespeare':

> The fundamental importance of the building, the material expression of the art of architecture, as metaphor and model is crucial for the spatial composition of texts and the confrontation and communication of ideas. Poetry and architecture are connected, almost as twins, in the use of a model or plan, and the metaphor of the building is a powerful tool of persuasion and instruction in early modern art.[40]

So while the 'twin like' connection between architecture and poetic expression can be widely supported with various concrete examples, the gallery setting in particular allowed playwrights to expose the concomitant layers of private speech that bar access to unmediated interiority.

Sir Gyles Goosecappe, first performed in 1602 and published in 1606, is the first example I have found of this new dramaturgical technique. This play also contains the first coinage

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[37] See Table 1 of the Appendix.

[38] Hirsh, p. 162.

[39] Bozio, *Thinking Through Place*, p. 11.

[40] Roy Eriksen, 'Introduction: The Architectures of Shakespeare', *Shakespeare* 13.2 (2017), 107-13.

of the verb ‘eavesdrop’, a term that explicitly connects a deceptive social practice with an architectural development; the eaves on a house are external fixtures, so the concept of eavesdropping implies external access to a hidden interior.[41] In the play, the gallery is used as a diversion, allowing the ingénue Eugenia to ‘overhear’ her suitor’s true feelings for her. The plan is outlined with architectural precision:

> I’ll bring my niece with all the Lords and Ladies
> Within your hearing under fain’d pretext,
> To show the pictures that hang near thy chamber,
> Where when thou hearst my voice, know she is there.
> And therefore speak that which may stir her thoughts,
> And make her fly into thy opened arms. (H1v)[42]

After Clarence confesses his love for Eugenia, Momford acts as though the group has overheard too much and must be on their way: ‘Come Lords away, let’s not presume too much / Of a good nature’ (I1v-I2r). Previously, the two potential lovers had been separated, physically and socially; as Clarence states, ‘we doe very seldom meet, for her estate, and mine are so unequal’ (I1v), commenting on both her ‘estate’ in respect to her class and her physical house. However, this feigned soliloquy ruse ultimately brings them together as the characters deploy eavesdropping and architecture to achieve a happy ending.

Though the gallery speeches in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* are intended to be overheard, they are, like Juliet’s window soliloquy, sincere. Feigned soliloquy is more often used towards darker purposes. In a number of early modern plays, galleries play host to feigned soliloquies that are intended to deceive eavesdroppers. Eavesdroppers in the gallery are often tricked by the very convention they are attempting to manipulate. These feigned soliloquies provide an empty promise, guaranteeing unmediated access to a speaker’s true mind. But no speech can do this, no matter how private; as Hirsh puts it, ‘speech is a magnificent but nevertheless very imperfect medium for the representation of thought’.[43] In short, our ability to know one another – and even ourselves – hinges on mere ‘words,

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[41] ‘eavesdrop, v. 1’ *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2015. Web. 15 August 2015. The noun pre-dates the verb. The OED cites 1487 as the first coinage of this term as a noun.

[42] George Chapman, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe, Knight* (London: Printed by John Windet for Edward Blunt, 1606; EEBO. STC 2nd ed. 12050).

[43] Hirsh, *Shakespeare*, p. 44.

words, words', language being an 'imperfect medium' of expression; as the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein argues, there is no such thing as private language.[44]

We see this in *The Roaring Girl,* when Sir Alexander enters his gallery and stumbles upon his son Sebastian's authentic self-addressed soliloquy. Not to be outsmarted, the alert Sebastian shifts gears mid-speech, signaling this shift in an aside: 'yea are you / So near, then I must break with my heart's truth' (2.2.7-8).[45] Sebastian continues to speak, knowing that his father can hear him, and he 'confesses' his love for Moll, tricking his eavesdropping father as he imperceptibly switches from a self-addressed soliloquy to a feigned soliloquy.

We see a darker version of this manipulation in *The First Part of Ieronimo.* As a prequel to *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Ieronimo* attempts to top its popular predecessor's reliance on eavesdropping as a dramatic device.[46] In the play, Lorenzo and Alcario concoct a feigned dialogue in order to purposefully mislead the eavesdropping Bellimperia; unfortunately, the ruse comes to a bloody end. The gallery deception transpires in the following way: Lorenzo and Alcario, disguised as Don Andrea, wait for Bellimperia in the gallery: 'this is the gallery where she most frequents, / Within this walk have I beheld her daily' (C4r). When Bellimperia enters, Lorenzo cuts off Alcario's speech, 'Break off my Lord, see where she makes approach' (C4v). Having appeared before coming within earshot, Bellimperia suffers from 'slowsightedness'. According to Tim Fitzpatrick, 'slowsightedness' occurs when characters do not see one another onstage right away.[47] It parallels the experience of Bess of Hardwick, who could see but not hear the Brounker investigation in her gallery. In this way, the gallery is brought to life for an audience familiar with these lived experiences of space and sound. From here, the men begin a feigned dialogue, which they intend Bellimperia to overhear. The scene operates in keeping with the dramaturgical conventions of eavesdropping: if Bellimperia believes her entrance has gone unnoticed, she can assume that whatever she overhears will be

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[44] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations, Third Edition*, trans. by G.E.M. Anscombe (New York: Pearson, 1973), 243.

[45] Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker. *The Roaring Girl* in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington (New York: Norton, 2002).

[46] *The Spanish Tragedy* prominently features a number of eavesdropping plots: Pedringano is arrested by an eavesdropping officer; Bell-Imperia and Horatio are overheard in the castle and in the garden; and Don Andrea's ghost observes the entire play as a kind of master eavesdropper. Quotations from *Ieronimo* are taken from *The First Part of Ieronimo with the warres of Portugall, and the life and death of Don Andraea* (London: Thomas Pauyer, 1605. EEBO. STC 803:02).

[47] Tim Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space, and Place in Early Modern Performance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 123.

authentic. Alcario instructs Lorenzo to cover, ‘then fall into your former vaines of terms’ (C4v), and Lorenzo delivers his fake welcome speech to ‘Don Andrea’, really Alcario in disguise:

> Welcome my Lord, welcome brave *Don*
> *Andrea*, Spain’s best of spirit: what news,
> From Portugal tribute or war,
> But see my Sister *Bellimperia* comes,
> I will defer it till some other time,
> For company hinders louds [love’s] conference. (C4v)

Presumably, this falsified speech would be delivered in a comic presentational style, or, as Kyd’s first editor Frederick Boas called it, ‘frequently over-artificial dialogue’.[48] But the artificiality is the point; it can be connected stylistically to the demands of the gallery setting. When Lorenzo exits, Bellimperia and Alcario fall into a ‘whisper’ (C4v), making their conversation inaccessible and, in practice, meaningless; actors who whisper have no scripted content to relay. This whisper reproduces the effect of the gallery for the audience by thwarting the ability to overhear private conversations, mocking our desire to access to other people’s private moments.

This acoustic manipulation of the gallery produces fatal effects. Bellimperia and Alcario continue to whisper unaware as the new arrival Lazarotto delivers a soliloquy, explaining that he is looking for Don Andrea here because ‘this gallery leads to Bellimperia’s lodging’ (D1r). Although he stands in the same gallery as Bellimperia and Alcario, they remain ignorant of each other. When Lazarotto finally sees Alcario dressed as Don Andrea, he is fooled by the disguise and kills him. In this way, the gallery promises trust but invites danger. The characters in *Ieronimo* don’t just spy on one another, they use the gallery to thwart other characters’ access to reality and confound truth – from the failed Don Andrea disguise, to the feigned dialogue, to the obscured stage whisper that defies meaning.

***Hamlet* and Feigned Soliloquy**

As a prequel, *The First Part of Ieronimo* aimed to capitalize on the popularity of *The Spanish Tragedy*. *Hamlet* followed suit, echoing *The Spanish Tragedy* with familiar plot

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48 Frederick S. Boas (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Kyd: edited from the original texts with introduction, notes, and facsimilies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), p. xiiv.

elements such as a vengeful ghost, a play within a play, untrustworthy lackeys, and a bloody conclusion. Where there were garden soliloquies in *The Spanish Tragedy,* there are gallery soliloquies in *Ieronimo* and *Hamlet*. But what's a gallery to Hamlet, or he to a gallery? How does this architectural context change the way we interpret the play? In this final section, I aim to show the way the gallery setting in *Hamlet* recovers an obscured cultural context and engages with emerging early modern ideas about privacy, public speech, and psychological interiority through the device of feigned soliloquy.

Recently, Jennifer Ewing Pierce has examined the role of architecture in *Hamlet,* arguing that the play reveals a connection between 'the psychic experience of interiority, the architecture of secrecy, and now the textual experience of contained and hiding discourses'.[49] She posits that physical domestic hiding places, such as false chimneys and Catholic priest holes, influenced the cognitive experience of secrecy in *Hamlet*. While I agree with her conclusion and support this line of reasoning, Pierce does not consider the gallery's contribution to this effect. This has left the most famous speech in the play uninterrogated. Because critics have largely overlooked *Hamlet* architecturally, they have been misinterpreting Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be' soliloquy. Instead of reading *Hamlet* as exceptional, we should see the play as part of a larger canon that engages directly with new dramaturgical possibilities afforded by domestic architecture, especially in the way *Hamlet* toys with the limits of private speech.

The various spatial referents in *Hamlet* are at once amorphous and over-determined, colored by years of interpretative baggage, from Gertrude's ill-defined closet (is it a bedroom? a state chamber? a study?); to Ophelia's gallery (Q1), closet (Q2) or chamber (F); to Hamlet's conflicting spatial metaphors – that 'Denmark's a prison' (2.2.262) and that he 'could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself a king of infinite space' (2.2.273-4). While the second quarto (Q2) and the first folio (F) are silent on Hamlet's specific location for his 'To be, or not to be' speech, the first quarto (Q1) places him in a gallery. Perhaps Q1 is more aware of these spatial locations because of its more intimate association with performance; Paul Menzer convincingly establishes that Q1 is a hybrid text cobbled together from actors' parts, revised playbooks, and memorial reconstruction.[50] While Menzer claims that this ultimately makes Q1 'literary' in its construction, its roots in performance run deep. After all, if Q1 is indebted to a conflagration of actors and promptbooks, it must be closely aligned with theatrical

[49] Jennifer Ewing Pierce, 'That Within Which Passeth Show: Interiority, Religion, and the Cognitive Poetics of *Hamlet*' (PhD diss., University of Pittsburg, 2010), p. 230.

[50] Paul Menzer, *The Hamlets: Cues, Qs, and Remembered Texts* (Newark, DE: The University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 62.

practice even if it lacks authoritative weight. With this debt to performance history in mind, it stands to reason that Q1 would be more invested than its later variants in the experience of embodied space.

Q1's repeated references to galleries corroborate the play's preoccupation with eavesdropping and make it clear that 'To be, or not to be' is an example of feigned soliloquy, a reading that appears clearly in Q1 but that can be applied to other variants as well.[51] While inferior in some striking ways ('To Die, to sleepe, is that all?'), Q1's 'To be, or not to be' is actually a strong speech; Zachary Lesser argues that Q1's 'To be, or not to be' is more logical than Q2 or F: 'only in [Q1] does the entire speech hang together, despite the occasional syntactical difficulty'.[52] Following Lesser and other Q1 apologists, I'd like to suggest that Q1 can help us understand *Hamlet* in the context of early modern privacy. Notably, Hamlet's 'now I am alone' that begins a Q2/F soliloquy is entirely absent from Q1. In Q1, Hamlet never signals that he believes himself to be alone because Q1 Hamlet is deeply suspicious of any promise of privacy.

Critics have long argued that Hamlet's soliloquies offer a significant glimpse into the advent of early modern psychology, or as Marvin Hunt puts it, 'a palpable interiority'.[53] Stephen Greenblatt cites 'To be, or not to be' to demonstrate what he calls 'Shakespeare's growing interest in the hidden processes of interiority', Frances Barker finds Hamlet's preoccupation with interiority culturally significant but ultimately unfulfilling, and Harold Bloom argues that Shakespeare, and *Hamlet* in particular, invented the literary representation of psychological interiority: 'the internalization of the self is one of Shakespeare's greatest inventions'.[54] In psychologizing Hamlet's soliloquies, critics have largely taken 'To be, or not to be' at face value, operating from the assumption that this speech is an internal monologue, offering us unmediated access into Hamlet's private thoughts.

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[51] In 'The Textual Mystery of *Hamlet*', Paul Werstine argues that we should examine each variant through its own internal logic.

[52] Zachary Lesser, *Hamlet After Q1: An Uncanny History of the Shakespearean Text* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), p. 204.

[53] Marvin W. Hunt, *Looking for Hamlet* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007),- p. 7.

[54] Francis Barker, 'Hamlet's Unfulfilled Interiority', *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Richard Wilson and Richard Dutton (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 157-66 (p. 164); Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 2004), p. 300; Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1998), p. 389.

But this reading has been recently revised. Jeffrey R. Wilson suggests that Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be' soliloquy should be read as philosophical satire, and to this end, it can be read both dramatically and poetically. Wilson writes,

> Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be' speech has become so famous precisely because it has the potential to prompt and sustain two very different, even opposed interpretations from these two different audiences… Those who read 'To be, or not to be' as sincere philosophy see it as great literature because it captures something profound about the human experience and its relationship with all existence. Those who read 'To be, or not to be' ironically also see it as great literature, but for a completely different reason.[55]

Wilson's argument leaves room for divergent readings of the same speech, acknowledging that 'To be, or not to be' is simultaneously sincere and ironic. To understand its irony is also to acknowledge its sense of insincerity and its grasp of audience. And while 'To be, or not to be' has certainly enjoyed a healthy afterlife divorced from its original theatrical context, its spatial and dramaturgical context offers even more layers of meaning than a philosophical or phenomenological reading alone can provide.

At first glance, Q1's 'To be, or not to be' might appear to be a typical eavesdropping scene: two characters plot to hide before a third enters and proceeds unaware of the eavesdroppers' presence. However, it has more in common with other instances of feigned soliloquy in galleries. Hamlet's notorious walks are similar to Bellimperia's in *The First Part of Ieronimo*: 'this is the gallery where she most frequents, / Within this walke haue I beheld her dally' (C4r). Corambis/Polonius's eavesdropping plan is similar to Momford's insistence in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* – 'We will be bold to evesdroppe' – and is echoed in the eavesdropping scenes that occur behind curtains in galleries in Shirley's *The Maid's Revenge* and *The Example*: 'obscure me, hangings' (A3v). Ophelia's walking and reading – 'And here Ofelia, reade you on this booke, / And walke aloofe, the King shal be unseene' (D4v) – is echoed by the suggested activities in *Volpone*'s gallery: 'if you please to walk the while/Into that gallery, at the upper end, / There are some books to entertain the time' (3.7.12). These common qualities of a gallery scene help solidify Q1 in this same vein.

[55] Jeffrey R. Wilson, '"To be, or not to be": Shakespeare Against Philosophy', *Shakespeare* 14.4 (2017), 341-59 (p. 356).

A spin-off of 'To be, or not to be' helps confirm its association with feigned soliloquy. In *The Conspiracie and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron* (1608)[56], La Fin delivers a clearly planned feigned soliloquy, 'a feigned passion in his hearing now, / Which he thinks I perceive not' (3.1.1) inspired by Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be':

> The creation,
> Turnd into *Chaos*, and we then desire,
> For all our joy of life, the death of sleep;
> So when the glories of our lives, men's loves,
> Clear consciences, our fames, and loyalties,
> That did us worthy comfort, are eclipsd,
> Grief and disgrace invade us; and for all,
> Our night of life besides, our Misery craves,
> Dark earth would ope and hide us in our graves. (3.1.15-23)

La Fin pretends to be surprised by the eavesdropper, 'What? Did your highness hear?' (3.1.25) confirming the efficacy of the ruse. La Fin convinces an eavesdropper that he is gaining unmediated access to the speaker's inner thoughts, when it is really a performance. Though this scene has no clear architectural placement, the characters reference 'arras pictures', loosely connecting the space to a gallery. Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be' is far subtler than La Fin's awkward performance, but the dramatic conventions of feigned soliloquy and the cultural associations with the gallery confirm that it, too, is a feigned performance of private speech, fully intended to be overheard.

The theory that 'To be, or not to be' is a feigned soliloquy has been suggested over the years but has not gained popular traction. Hirsh goes so far as to say this reading is the *only* feasible interpretation: 'That the "to be, or not to be" speech is feigned soliloquy is not merely a clever "interpretation". It is the only explanation of what happens in the episode that makes sense'.[57] Margaret Maurer argues that this reading 'is within the grasp of any thoughtful reader of the play'.[58] Similarly, Bente Videbaek argues that this interpretation is additive rather than subtractive: 'this interpretation does not make less of "To be", which is, indeed, beautiful and thought-provoking, both in language and content; but it is even more inspired if seen also as a brilliant attempt at Machiavellian deception

[56] George Chapman, *The Conspiracie and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron, Marshall of France* (London: Printed by G. Eld for Thomas Thorppe, 1608; EEBO, STC 2nd ed. 4968).

[57] Hirsh, *Shakespeare,* p. 237.

[58] Margaret Maurer, 'Review of *Shakespeare and the History of Soliloquies* by James Hirsh', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.4 (2005), 504-7 (p. 505).

of the ears in the walls'.[59] In a paranoid play where the eponymous character must feign madness in order to escape scrutiny within a claustrophobic and surveillance-happy society, it is entirely appropriate that the theme of eavesdropping would be conscripted spatially into the settings. By taking Q1's attention to architectural space seriously, 'To be, or not to be' becomes a master performance of 'antic disposition', not a psychological glimpse into Hamlet's 'hart'.

In Q1, we first hear about the gallery from Ofelia; this is where Hamlet confronted Ofelia during their unstaged and 'ungartered' encounter:

> Hee found mee walking in the gallery all alone,
> There comes hee to mee, with a distracted looke,
> His garters lagging downe, his shooes untied,
> And fixe his eyes so steadfast on my face
> As if they had vow'd, this is their latest object.
> Small while he stood, but grips me by the wrist,
> And there he holds my pulse till with a sigh
> He doth unclasp his hold… (D2v)

Ofelia is careful to clarify that she was 'all alone' in the gallery until Hamlet's interruption, figuring this moment as intensely intimate but also, by virtue of her news, public. Ofelia is disturbed by Hamlet's behavior, but at this point, the audience cannot be sure if Hamlet is putting on a show or if he has truly gone mad. If this is feigned madness, it follows that it would take place in a gallery rather than Ophelia's private closet (Q2) or chamber (F) since any 'private' behavior in the gallery might well be observed and reported, and this is precisely what Ophelia does. Q1 Hamlet's encounter with Ophelia in the gallery is the first seed Hamlet plants that he is not clever enough to hide his inner self. But this is part of the ruse. In Q1, Ophelia is especially concerned that 'his wit's bereft him' (D2v). If the court believes Hamlet has lost his wits because of Ophelia's reports, he cannot be suspected of concocting elaborate feigned soliloquies later. Hamlet crafts this encounter in such a way that it appears his behavior is open for interpretation, but really these interpretations are being masterminded, like Iago's feigned aside, actually intended for Othello to overhear, 'I like not that' (3.3.35).

Ofelia plays into this device, opting to publicize this intimate moment to her father. In Q1, Ofelia's report of Hamlet's behavior is ten lines longer than in Q2/F, blending

[59] Bente Videbaek, '"To Be, or not to Be": The Soliloquy Redefined', *This Rough Magic* 1.1 (2010), 1-25 (p. 10).

elements erased from her truncated 'see what I see' speech later in the play. An emotionally wrenching soliloquy in Q2/F, the Q1 version is co-opted for court gossip. Corambis' Q1 greeting, 'how now, Ofelia, what's the news with you?', differs from Q2/F's 'what's the matter?' (D2v): in Q2/F, Ophelia is noticeably distraught and emotional, whereas in Q1, she offers a more measured, political perspective, providing news to the court.[60] In other words, the Q1 Ofelia is not as innocent as she seems. Placing Q1 Ofelia in the gallery – a public site of calculated spying – creates a very different impression of her than the Q2/F Ophelia who is surprised while innocently 'sowing in [her] Chamber'. By virtue of her architectural associations, the Q1 Ofelia is just as complicit as her father in eavesdropping at Elsinore.

This orchestrated encounter occurs in all three *Hamlets*, but in Q2/F, it takes several hundred lines to develop. First, Hamlet converses with Polonius for the 'fishmonger' scene, then he encounters Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and questions their motives, and then he meets with the traveling players to prepare for 'The Mousetrap'. The stage is completely cleared after Hamlet's 'rogue and peasant slave' speech, signaling a break in time, location, or both. Only then, in this amorphous space, does Polonius's plan come to fruition. There are other inconsistencies in Q2/F. Why does it take so long for Polonius's plan to play out? Wouldn't Hamlet be suspicious of Claudius's summons? Hamlet has just finished setting a trap for Claudius; he must suspect that this, too, is a trap. Why would Hamlet be so unguarded with his speech?

In Q1, many of these problems are solved because this eavesdropping scene is located elsewhere, both architecturally and textually. Instead of walking in a lobby, the Q1 Hamlet frequents a gallery. Instead of coming after 'The Mousetrap' plot, Q1 Hamlet delivers 'To be, or not to be' immediately after the eavesdropping plot is hatched. As Alex Newell notes, 'because Hamlet's speech is deeply reflective and philosophical, it has sometimes been accepted as a soliloquy… that is dramatically detached from the continuity of the play'.[61] However, the earlier dramaturgical placement of 'To be, or not to be' in Q1 and its explicit gallery setting shows how the soliloquy is actually integral to the unfolding action of the play.

Hamlet is not the only character who is deeply aware of the spatial aspects of privacy. In most modern editions and performances of *Hamlet*, we learn from Polonius that

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[60] Andrew Sofer, 'The Phenomenology of the Closet: *Hamlet's* Dark Matter', Harvard University Drama Colloquium, Kresge Room, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. 15 February 2014, lecture.

[61] Alex Newell, 'The Dramatic Context and Meaning of Hamlet's "To Be or Not to Be" Soliloquy', *PMLA* 80.1 (1965), 38-50 (p. 38).

'sometimes he [Hamlet] walks four hours together / Here in the Lobby' (2.2.159-60), not the gallery. While lobbies and galleries were sometimes differentiated in house plans (Fig. 4), these terms were more often used interchangeably.[62] For instance, these spaces are conflated in Jonson's *Epicoene* (1609): 'Doe you observe this gallerie? Or rather lobby, indeed?' (4.5.310).[63] In Q1, Corambis conspires against Hamlet with an acute sense of architectural detail:

> The Princes walke is here in the galery,
> There let Ofelia, walke until hee come
> Your selfe and I will stand close in the study,
> There shall you heare the effect of all his hart. (D4v)

Corambis wants Ofelia to walk in the gallery to simulate the typical behavior associated with the room, suggesting that nothing out of the ordinary should be suspected. Walking and reading are two behaviors that could suggest a gallery setting with physicality and props alone, thus Hamlet and Ofelia both walk and read. This also casts their actions into parallel alignment. In Q2/F, Ophelia's reading is clearly identified as a 'show': 'Reade on this booke, / That shew of such an exercise may colour / Your lonelinesse' (D4v). In Laurence Olivier's *Hamlet*, Ophelia reads her book upside down; when Hamlet notices this, he realizes he is being watched. If Ofelia's walking and reading is a ruse, it reasons that Hamlet's parallel behavior should also be seen as a ruse. Hamlet's book, clearly mentioned in Q1, signals that he is aware of the eavesdroppers because he is aware of the conventions and behaviors of the gallery.

As Corambis places Ofelia in the gallery, he places himself 'close in the study'. This locational specificity, more precise than the vague curtained 'arras' of Q2/F, is more practical and imaginative; while an 'arras' could describe the physical curtain on the stage, the study is a formal architectural structure in a house. The gallery-and-closet plan is similarly invoked in Jonson's *Epicoene*: 'Doe you observe this gallerie? Or rather lobby, indeed? Here are a couple of studies, at each end one' (4.5.310). In his chapter 'Nominating the Place', Tim Fitzpatrick uses this moment in *Epicoene* to demonstrate the way this kind of verbal nomination could transform the representative potential of the stage: 'the stage is a lobby or gallery, and the two stage doors are the doors to two offstage

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[62] In 1596, the term 'lobby' was coined to mean 'a passage or corridor connected with one or more apartments in a building, or attached to a large hall, theatre, or the like; often used as a waiting-place or ante-room'. 'lobby, n. 2a' *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[63] Ben Jonson, *Epicene*, in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington (New York: Norton, 2002).

studies'.[64] By retreating 'close in the study', Corambis conjures a fictional domestic space that will overlap with the physical space onstage, localizing his eavesdropping in a particular spatial context.

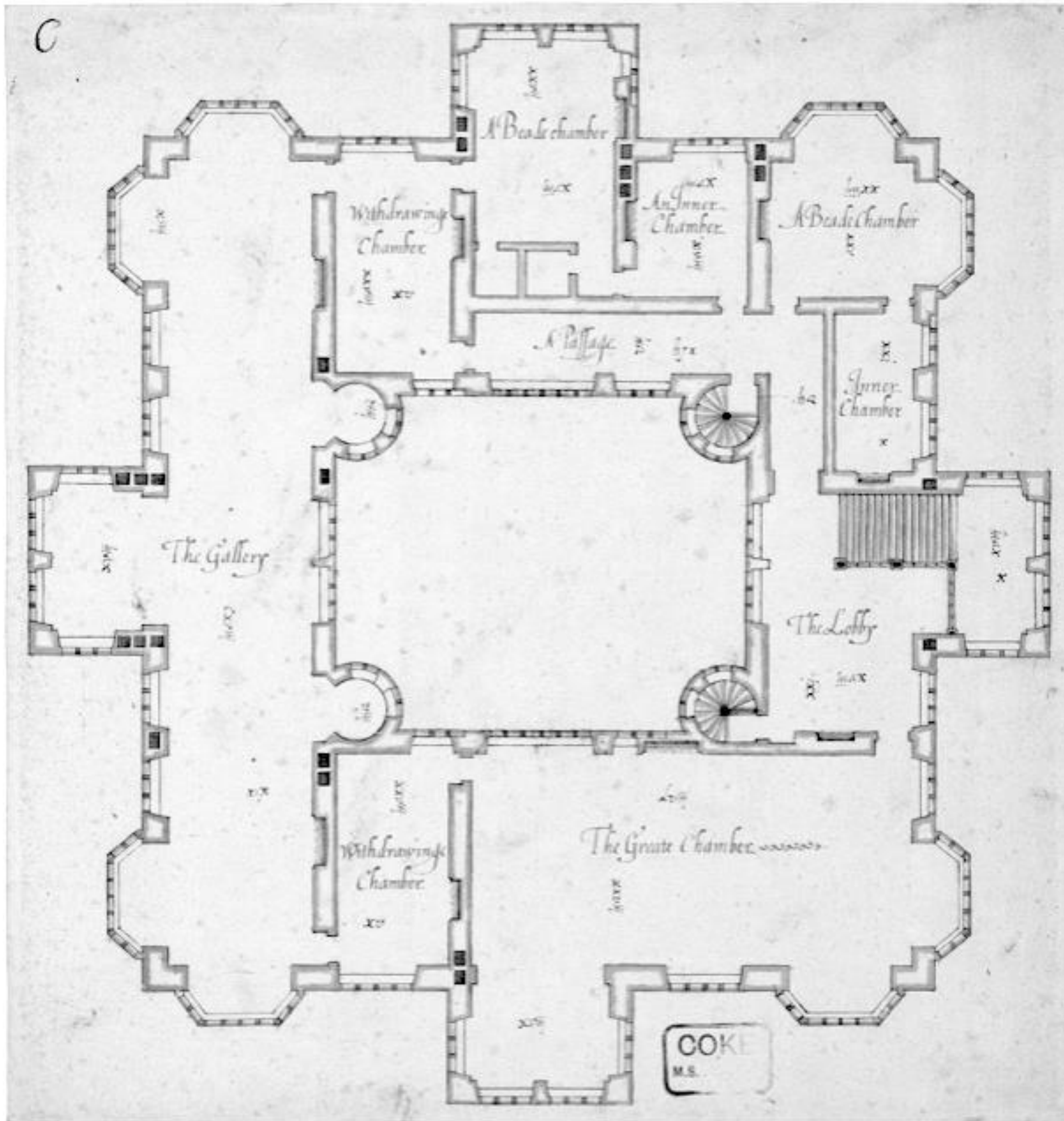

Fig. 4. Robert Smythson, Design for a house arranged around a central rectangular courtyard: second floor plan, incorporating bedchambers, a gallery and great chamber. SC219/SMY/II/2(3). *RIBA29143.*

[64] Tim Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space, and Place in Early Modern Performance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 87.

From this vantage point, not only will the eavesdroppers be able to hear what Hamlet and Ofelia say, but they also hope to hear 'the effect of all his hart'. This private speculation is not mentioned in Q2/F. However, Q2/F features Hamlet expressing a desire to 'unpack my heart with words' (2.2.13) which is absent from Q1. The relationship between the heart – a metonym for the authentic interior self – and words – imperfect vehicles that express this interiority to the world – is clearly in flux between these textual variants. Corambis believes this spatial arrangement will provide unfettered access to Hamlet's evasive inner self.

In F, the King also fantasizes about 'seeing unseen', which speaks to the stage convention of eavesdropping: so long as Polonius and Claudius remain undetected, they believe they can observe Hamlet's unguarded speech. However, in Q1, Hamlet's entrance overlaps by five lines with Gertrude's exit and Corambis's instructions to Ophelia. Hamlet is onstage when Corambis instructs Ofelia to read and 'walke aloofe' and when Corambis claims 'the King shal be unseene' (D4v). According to the conventions of soliloquy and aside, it is possible that Hamlet could overhear Corambis's plans. In their reading of early modern entrances and exits, Gurr and Ichikawa argue that Hamlet's entrance in 3.1 is intentionally ambiguous, though staging conventions could help clarify the degree of spatial overlap between Hamlet and Corambis and the King:

> If Hamlet enters by one door while the King and Polonius are exiting towards the other door or the central hangings, the overlapping of the exit of the King and Polonius and the entrance of Hamlet adds to the suspense. The audience must suspect that Hamlet may be aware of the King and Polonius, for Hamlet and the King have been trying to conceal their own real intentions and probe each other's heart.[65]

The danger that the audience is asked to feel thus parallels the danger the characters are feeling, heightening the dramatic tension. If Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be' were delivered as a genuine, heartfelt soliloquy, unaware of eavesdroppers, this tension would be eliminated and the dramatic power of the scene would be diminished. In contrast, the gallery setting suggests that all soliloquies are potentially feigned; Corambis's plans to discern Hamlet's 'hart' are foiled. This is, of course, a central tension in *Hamlet*: the inability to outwardly represent one's inner self, reflected in Hamlet's pointed remark, 'but I have that within which passeth show' (1.2.85).

[65] Gurr and Ichikawa, *Staging*, p. 91.

Corambis's desire to hear 'the effect of all his hart' is further thwarted by the content of Hamlet's speech, not just its architectural context:

> To be, or not to be, I there's the point,
> To Die, to sleep, is that all? Aye all:
> No, to sleep, to dream, aye marry there it goes,
> For in that dream of death, when we awake,
> And borne before an everlasting Judge,
> From whence no passenger ever returned,
> The undiscovered country, at whose sight
> The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd
> …
> Aye that, O this conscience makes cowards of us all,
> Lady in thy orizons, be all my sins remembered. (D4v)

In no version of 'To be, or not to be' does Hamlet divulge any of the pressing personal issues that are supposedly causing him to contemplate death. This curiosity has been noted by Harold Jenkins, who wonders why 'it says nothing at all about Hamlet's particular grievances. It makes no reference to his murdered father, nor to the revenge he has promised to take'.[66] This can be explained if we see the rather vague speech as part of Hamlet's deliberately feigned soliloquy; its lack of specificity comes from the fact that Hamlet does not want to divulge any actual details to the people he knows are listening. Thus 'To be, or not to be' is not Hamlet's introspective musings on suicide, on existential introspection, or on the 'undiscovered country' that reaches beyond the limits of dreams and philosophy. Instead, it is a pointedly direct speech intended for the listening ears of Corambis and the King. Q1 Hamlet's insistence that in death, one will be 'borne before an everlasting Judge… at whose sight / The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd' delivers a direct message to the eavesdropper Claudius, known for his smile ('that one may smile, and smile, and be a villayne' (D1r)). This sentiment is echoed in Hamlet's later refusal to kill Claudius while he prays, lest he send him to Heaven. Hamlet's exploration of the 'undiscovered country' of possible afterworlds is meant for Claudius's conscience, not his own. In arguing that 'no passenger ever retur'nd' from death, Hamlet is directly contradicting his own experience of the Ghost; he has, in fact, spoken with a passenger who returned. We cannot read this speech as a sincere glimpse into Hamlet's psyche because he is explicitly deceptive.

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[66] Harold Jenkins, '"To be, or not to be": Hamlet's Dilemma', *Hamlet Studies* 13.1-2 (1991), 8-24 (p. 11); Newell, 38.

At the end of his soliloquy, Hamlet claims to notice Ofelia with his line 'Lady in thy orizons, be all my sinnes remembred'. George Altman has concocted a way to stage Q1's 'to be or not to be' to keep Ofelia's presence a secret from Hamlet, placing Hamlet on the upper stage and Ofelia below on the inner stage.[67] This configuration – while clever – is not necessary. Because they are in a gallery, Hamlet is aware of Ofelia's presence throughout 'To be, or not to be'. In Altman's blocking, Ofelia does not appear to Hamlet until Hamlet's line, 'Lady in thy orizons, be all my sinnes remembred'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* glosses this instance of 'orizons' as 'prayers' in reference to Ofelia reading her prayer book, but 'orizons' could also mean 'horizons'.[68] If Hamlet's acknowledgement of Ophelia invokes visual sight lines, this moment explodes the conventions of soliloquy. 'Lady in thy [h]orizons' can be read as a feigned aside within a feigned soliloquy: Hamlet does not deliver this line directly to Ophelia but instead delivers it as if it were an aside, deepening the ruse. This makes Ophelia believe that she has gotten away with eavesdropping up until this point, when in reality Hamlet has been aware of her presence all along.

Hamlet's anger with Ophelia, though extreme in any interpretation, is also explained by the Q1 gallery setting. Since Hamlet is always aware that he is being observed, he is performing for Polonius, Claudius, and Ophelia and is rightfully furious that Ophelia has sided with her father and the King against him. When Hamlet asks, 'Wher's thy father?' and Ophelia outright lies, responding, 'At home my lord' (E1v), Ophelia plays into the self-fulfilling prophecy that she is dishonest. There is no way she can win. Either she gives up her father or she lies to Hamlet. Hers is the 'divided duty' that plagues early modern women, caught between the men they love and the men who raised them. Altman argues that Q1 offers a more rational explanation of Hamlet's irrational behavior: 'now we understand Hamlet's invectives, because now he has heard the spying of Polonius and the lying of his daughter'.[69] When Q1 Hamlet insists, 'For Gods sake let the doores be shut on him, / He may play the foole no where but in his / Owne house' (E1v), he knowingly references the literal doors onstage behind which Claudius and Polonius are hiding. Architecturally, Q1 Hamlet wishes for an enclosed, private space with Ophelia, but he knows the gallery can never give this to him. In fact, this is the only scene in which we see the two of them 'alone', an intimacy thwarted before it could begin. His frustration is directed as much toward the three spies as it is towards the architecture that promotes eavesdropping: 'let the doores be shut on him'. His repetitive insistence on the 'nunnery'

[67] George Altman, 'Good Advice from the "Bad" Hamlet Quarto', *Educational Theatre Journal* 2.4 (1950), 308-18 (p. 313).

[68] 'orizon, n. 1a' *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[69] Altman, 'Good Advice', 315.

that follows expresses an architectural fantasy for Ophelia, one of an enclosed space beyond the limits of prying eyes or ears.

There is the possibility of a third gallery association in *Hamlet*. In Q2/F, Hamlet is summoned to his mother's 'Closset': 'She desires to speake with you in her Closset, / ere you go to bed' (3.2.338-9). Staging tradition has placed this encounter in Gertrude's bedroom; this has been reinforced by myriad Freudian productions that insist on enacting an Oedipal desire. However, in Q1, this scene takes place in an unnamed location. We are simply told 'your mother craves to speake with you' (H4v) and 'the Queene would speake with you' (G1r). Orlin has convincingly suggested setting this scene in the gallery.[70] Such a choice would emphasize the pervasive eavesdropping at Elsinore. If Q1 Hamlet's offstage encounter with Ofelia in the gallery is enacted with the knowledge that it will not remain private, and if Q1 Hamlet's 'To be, or not to be' in the gallery is delivered as a feigned soliloquy, then Hamlet's encounter with his mother in a gallery might also be a similarly self-conscious performance.

A textual crux associated with this scene has puzzled dramaturgs. John Meagher asks, 'how can we explain why in Q1 Claudius, accompanied by Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, seems to be strolling into the Queen's closet, uninvited and unannounced?'[71] He recognizes that 'F seems to have Gertrude remain' while Q2 cues Gertrude to awkwardly exit and immediately reenter. While Meagher experiments with a number of possible staging possibilities, the simplest solution is that Gertrude's 'closet' is actually attached to a gallery. This would be similar to other early modern floorplans that feature closets abutting galleries, such as the one still evident today at Ham House (fig. 5). It would be no surprise, then, that Claudius might enter with his spies to discuss a private state matter because such conversations would be entirely appropriate to the gallery. We should not read 'Gertrude's closet' and Claudius' conversation with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern as separate scenes, but as a single unit of scenic continuity in or around the gallery, a space that has proved fruitful to eavesdroppers throughout the play.

[70] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Gertrude's Gallery', in *Shakespeare Up Close: Reading Early Modern Texts*, ed. by Russ McDonald, Nicholas D. Nace and Travis D. Williams (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012), p. 291.
[71] John C. Meagher, *Pursuing Shakespeare's Dramaturgy: Some Contexts, Resources, and Strategies in his Playmaking* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003), p. 106.

Fig. 5 The green closet at Ham House as seen from the long gallery. London. National Trust. Photo credit: Andreas von Einsiedel.

Closets themselves offered a fraught relationship to privacy in the early modern period. In early modern parlance, 'closet' was the catch-all term for small rooms that could provide a variety of functions from studying, praying, sleeping, and gathering with select confidantes to storing items like food, jewels, pharmaceuticals, or financial documents. Many of these functions could have been 'simultaneously possible' so for instance a room used to store jewels might also be used for prayer.[72] The unifying feature was that these rooms could close, or lock. Therefore, a closet should be the most secure of household rooms, but in Q2/F *Hamlet,* this meeting is publicized throughout the court. Rozencrantz and Guildenstern know about the meeting, and Polonius gossips about it with Claudius, telling him, 'My lord, he's going to his mother's closet' (3.3.27). Before we even glimpse

[72] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Gertrude's Closet', *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 134 (1998), 44-67 (p. 53).

Polonius behind the curtain, the closet's supposed 'enclosure' has already been violated. As Patricia Fumerton remarks, 'the very proliferation of architectural detachment implies that the desire for private consumption was never satisfied'.[73] In short, closets offered early modern people what Alan Stewart calls 'a very *public* gesture of withdrawal'.[74] The phrase *nunquam minus sola quam cum sola* ('never less alone than when alone'), painted above the emblem panels in Lady Anne Drury's early seventeenth century closet, captures the paradox of this architectural desire: the more one seeks solitude or privacy, the less one may achieve it. Try as they might, early modern people could not achieve the privacy they sought, if not in enclosed closets then certainly not in galleries.

The gallery context for Gertrude's 'closet' scene is further hiding in plain sight with the props that Hamlet references. In Q2/F, Hamlet instructs Gertrude, 'Looke heere upon this Picture, and on this, / The counterfeit presentment of two brothers' (3.4.53-4) but in Q1, the directions are even more explicit: 'Why this I meane, see here, behold this picture, / It is the portraiture, of your deceased husband' (G2r). By referring to these images as 'portraiture', Hamlet locates them in a gallery, a room traditionally full of family portraits and artwork, echoed in plays such as *Henry VI Part I*, *The Roaring Girl*, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part II*, and *The Winter's Tale*, and artistically captured in the 1811 painting *The Long Gallery, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire* by David Cox (Fig. 6). This spatial parallel resonates with previous gallery scenes, further emphasizing the associated eavesdropping and ultimately brings Hamlet to a breakpoint where he finds no other solution than to murder the eavesdropper.

[73] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 128.

[74] Alan Stewart, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', *Representations* 50 (1995), 76-100 (p. 81). Stewart's work on early modern sexuality and the closet has been revised in recent years. See Erika Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England' and Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Gertrude's Closet'.

Fig. 6 *The Long Gallery, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1811. Oil painting by David Cox.* (Wikimedia Commons.)

The interplay between sight and sound is especially complicated in this scene. In Q2, Polonius hides before Hamlet is heard. In F, Hamlet yells 'Mother, mother, mother' (3.4.5) from 'within', announcing his approach before he is visually present onstage. Q1 offers a blend of these approaches; Corambis hears Hamlet's unscripted approach and Corambis hides 'behinde the Arras' while Hamlet enters two lines later. Orlin suggests that the gallery setting would explain the confusion regarding this overhearing; 'what looks like a textual garble in the First Quarto, with Corambis "hear[ing] young Hamlet coming" even before Hamlet calls out to his mother (11.1-4), would in a gallery have had a material basis'.[75] If Corambis could hear Hamlet's approach, Hamlet could also hear him planning to hide. When he enters in Q1, Hamlet's foremost concern is to secure the room: 'but first weele make all safe' (G2r). No equivalent sentiment is expressed in Q2 or F. In Q1, Hamlet knows the room is not secure. He is actively trying to 'sniff out' the eavesdropper, but he has just left the King praying in an adjoining room so it is unlikely that Hamlet assumes the King is suddenly behind the curtain.

Hamlet is justifiably frustrated with the constant eavesdropping at Elsinore, but if this room is a gallery, he should not be surprised. In Q1, Hamlet taunts the eavesdropper with this awareness, saying, 'you shall heare me speake' (G2r). When Hamlet stabs Corambis behind the arras, he knew exactly what he was doing. Only in Q2/F does Hamlet express confusion, asking, 'Nay I know not, is it the King?' (3.4.26). In Q1, Hamlet's violent reaction is a personal attack on Corambis and an attack on the architecture that keeps him under constant surveillance. When Hamlet quips, 'I took thee for thy better' (G2r) he announces that Corambis will serve as a temporary placeholder, a warning to Claudius of

[75] Orlin, 'Gertrude's Gallery', 295.

what is to come. By killing Corambis, Hamlet seeks to end this culture of eavesdropping once and for all.

Hamlet may be the consummate ‘observed of all observers’, the greatest purveyor of the feigned soliloquy, but he is not the only character to use this new device. In exploiting the gallery’s association with complicated eavesdropping plots, Shakespeare and his contemporaries pushed the limits of psychological interiority. As early modern drama promised to shed light on otherwise inaccessible private thoughts, its very public medium thwarted this promise. The soliloquy, a device that offers the fantasy of unparalleled access to another person, was shown to be especially suspect. But contrary to critical tradition, Hamlet is not a cynic; he desperately wants to be wrong. When he takes Ofelia by the wrist and ‘holds [her] pulse’ (D2v) in Q1, he searches her body for evidence of interiority – he wants to feel her heartbeat, to read her authentic reaction beneath the painted surface, to somehow discern ‘that within which passeth show’. But he is prevented. He knows better than anyone that in a gallery, no speech can be trusted.

Appendix

Table 1: Early modern plays that feature at least one scene set in a domestic gallery

Play	Year	Playhouse	Playwright	Soliloquy?	What happens?
The Spanish Tragedy	1587	Rose	Kyd	No	Theatrical performance
The Jew of Malta	1592	Rose & Cockpit	Marlowe	No	Deception plot, tables are turned on the would-be murderer
Cynthia's Revels	1600	Blackfriars	Jonson	No	Theatrical competition
Sir Gyles Goosecappe	1602	Blackfriars	Chapman	Yes, feigned, eavesdropping	Romantic union plot
Sejanus His Fall	1603	Globe	Jonson	Yes	Plan to get information to ruin a woman
Hamlet (Q1)	1603	Globe	Shakespeare	Yes, feigned, eavesdropping	Misleading inner thoughts contemplating suicide
The Family of Love	1604	Unknown	Lording Barry	Yes, eavesdropping	Woman overheard at the gallery window, as in *Romeo and Juliet*
If You Know Not Me, Part II	1604	Red Bull	Heywood	No	Tour of a portrait gallery
Volpone	1605	Globe	Jonson	No	Presumably kept out of earshot but overhears an attempted rape
The First Part of Ieronimo	1605	Blackfriars	Unknown	Yes, feigned dialogue	Deception and disguise plot
The Puritan Widow	1606	Paul's	Middleton	No, eavesdropping	Ruse of selling a masque script to a gentleman
Pericles	1607	Globe	Shakespeare	No	Courtship and feasting
The Roaring Girl	1607	Fortune	Middleton & Dekker	Yes, feigned, eavesdropping	Feigned romantic interest, confessional

Epicoene, or The Silent Woman	1609	Whitefriars	Jonson	No	Faux fight plot, deception and disguise
The Winter's Tale	1610	Globe	Shakespeare	No	Discovery of a living statue
Henry VIII	1613	Globe	Shakespeare & Fletcher	Yes, aside	Attempted eavesdropping, political intrigue
The Duchess of Malfi	1614	Globe/Blackfriars	Webster	Yes	Pre-planned conference with the Duchess
The Bloody Brother	1616	Globe/Blackfriars	Fletcher	No, eavesdropping	Deception and poisoning plot, "with a cloud of cunning he hid his heart, nothing appearing outwards" (2.3 E1)
The Duke of Milan	1621	Globe/Blackfriars	Massinger	Yes, aside	Private conference and deception
The Bondman	1623	Cockpit	Massinger	No	Planned deception
The Maid's Revenge	1626	Cockpit	Shirley	Yes, eavesdropping	Hides behind curtains in order to eavesdrop
The English Traveler	1627	Cockpit	Heywood	No	House tour, followed by the Clown sneaking in
The Great Duke of Florence	1627	Cockpit	Massinger	Yes, eavesdropping	Overheard self-conscious courtship scene
The Cruel Brother	1627	Globe/Blackfriars	Davenant	No	Laying in wait, an escape
The Witty Fair One	1628	Cockpit	Shirley	Yes, aside	Secret letter exchange, courtship attempts
The Example	1634	Cockpit	Shirley	Yes, aside and eavesdropping	Hides behind curtains in order to eavesdrop, sexual intrigue
A Very Woman	1634	Globe/Blackfriars	Fletcher & Massinger	Yes, eavesdropping	Madness/sleepwalking scene

The Constant Maid	1636	Cockpit	Shirley	Yes	Confusion and practical jokes
The Bashful Lover	1636	Globe/Blackfriars	Massinger	Yes, feigned, eavesdropping	Lovers' feigned conference overheard by eavesdroppers
The Goblins	1637	Globe/Blackfriars	Suckling	Yes, aside	Lovers' secret meeting place
The Lady's Trial	1638	Cockpit	Ford	No, eavesdropping	Secretly hiding, "be not loud"
The Doubtful Heir	1638	Globe/Blackfriars	Shirley	No	Private conversations with the King and Queen
The Court Beggar	1639	Cockpit	Brome	No	Comedic scene, characters not knowing how to act in a nice house
The Gentleman of Venice	1639	Cockpit	Shirley	Yes	Imprisonment, picture gallery