



NEW TRANSCULTURALISMS, 1400–1800

# Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Drama and Travel

## Uncanny Vibrations in the English Archive

JENNIFER LINHART WOOD



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# New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800

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Jennifer Linhart Wood

# Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Drama and Travel

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St. Mary's College of Maryland  
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New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800

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*For Marilyn Linhart Kinsey and Edwin Reese Kinsey,  
Elizabeth Linhart Mielke and Thomas Christopher Mielke,  
and Bryan Joshua Talenfeld*

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## Introduction: Soundings

A stranger shipwrecked on Pentapolis requests that a musical instrument be brought to him, so that he may bide the evening in greater comfort:

Only for instant solace pleasure me  
With some delightful instrument, with which,  
And with my former practice, I intend  
To pass away the tediousness of night ... (8a.2–5)<sup>1</sup>

The music he produces is remarkably hybrid: it couples the tones of a “delightful instrument” foreign to him (though somehow familiar enough that he is able to play upon it) with elements from his “former practice” of music that he learned in his homeland. His playing not only allows him to “pass away the tediousness of night” in “solace,” but the nocturne also

<sup>1</sup> References to *Pericles* are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, second edition, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, et al. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008). In this case, the editors have chosen to follow the episodic scene breaks; this scene corresponds to the conclusion of Act 2 in other editions. These lines are a reconstruction based on the correlative passage in George Wilkins’s *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles* (London, 1608, 513); in the following scene, Simonides thanks Pericles for his music. Because music was integral to theatrical performance, it would have been unlikely that Simonides mentions the “delightful pleasing harmony” without the audience hearing it in production, even though the scene is absent in the quarto; as Suzanne Gossett describes it in the Arden edition 3rd series (London: Methuen Drama, 2004), 1, *Pericles* “presents a uniquely damaged text and is the only one of the so-called ‘bad quartos’ that does not exist in another better version.”

resounds throughout the palace, its tones audible to the other inhabitants. In the morning, the King tells this “stranger knight,”

I am beholden to you  
For your sweet music this last night. My ears,  
I do protest, were never better fed  
With such delightful pleasing harmony. (9.14, 23–26)

The King’s experience of the “delightful pleasing harmony” created by this unusual “sweet music” blending the familiar and the foreign echoes the stranger’s desires and expectations of the music’s effects as engendering “pleasure.” Ultimately, these musical sounds generate “pleasure” and “delight” in both the performer and the hearer.

This “stranger knight” is Pericles, the eponymous hero of William Shakespeare’s and George Wilkins’s *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, one of the most popular plays of the early seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> This musical episode in *Pericles* is one among countless examples that demonstrate sound’s significance to cross-cultural encounters in early modern drama and travel writing. In contact zones of foreign lands and in the sonic laboratory of the early modern theater, sounds impact bodies present at sonic events, calibrating them to the same frequencies through vibration and forming networks of connection among them. Additionally, sounds incite reactions in individual listeners, as demonstrated by Pericles and King Simonides, and—whether described in painful or pleasurable terms—these sounds of

<sup>2</sup> Although Ben Jonson dismissed the play as a “mouldy tale” in his *Ode (To Himself)*, Gossett and Walter Cohen assert that *Pericles* “was one of the most popular plays of its time.” Walter Cohen, *Pericles*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, et al. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008), 2723; Gossett, *Pericles*, 2. Furthermore, while it is likely that this episode was staged in the early modern theater, its presence in *The Painfull Adventures*, though not in the *Pericles* quarto, indicates at the very least the importance of sound to cross-cultural encounters represented in the early modern cultural imagination. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 558, also suspect that Pericles’s musical performance is a lost scene, as a corresponding moment is present in *Pericles*’s sources (Wilkins’s *Painfull Adventures*, Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, and Lawrence Twine’s prose *Patterne of Painefull Adventures*). They also observe that the quarto “is void of sound effects, so its omission of the song itself is not surprising,” arguing that Simonides’ compliments to Pericles “are more plausibly interpreted as referring to an episode shown on stage.” Please refer also to William Lyons’s “Theatre Bands and Their Music in Shakespeare’s London” in *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, ed. Bill Barclay and David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 14–28, especially his discussion of the professional companies’ “actor-musicians” on 21–24.

other cultures experienced in travel and staged in the theater stimulated transformations in their audiences. Pericles's performance and its effects epitomize the various forms of "sounding otherness" that resonate throughout early modern drama and travel writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as I explore them in this monograph. One way that *Pericles* sounds otherness is through experimentation with foreign sounds in theatrical performance. Renaissance stage convention dictated that a string instrument was brought to Pericles for his musical enjoyment; while the Renaissance actor likely performed upon a lute, a correlative moment from John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (c.1386–1393)—one of the sources for *Pericles*—depicts the Pericles figure playing a harp. By playing the "delightful instrument," Pericles sounds an otherness that is initially foreign to his own ears; he produces musical sounds of Pentapolis on a "Pentapolitan" instrument.<sup>3</sup> Performance of the exotic through music in Renaissance stage entertainments was not uncommon. For example, the musical notation for Ben Jonson's "From the Famous Peak of Derby" featured in *Gypsies Metamorphosed* and attributed to Robert Johnson, records shifting metrical patterns, unexpected tonal leaps, and harmonic progressions that would have sounded unusual to Renaissance English ears; any or all of these sonic tactics employed to sound otherness could have also been performed during this scene in *Pericles*.<sup>4</sup>

Pericles's performance on the instrument indicates another valence of "sounding otherness": the vibratory power of sound created through voice and/or sounding objects. In plucking or strumming the strings, soundwaves course throughout the body of the instrument; these soundwaves also pass through Pericles's Tyrian body, which is in turn moved by Pentapolitan vibrations.<sup>5</sup> These vibrations have a broad impact, not

<sup>3</sup> Pentapolis and Tyre (as well as Tarsus) are all somewhat confused in this play, both spatially and temporally. Tyre is part of modern-day Lebanon, and while Pentapolis is part of Cyrenaica in the Eastern region of modern Libya, it is located in "our country of Greece" in the play (5.100). While these locations were all part of the Ottoman Empire during Shakespeare's day, they are presented in the play as quite culturally different, indicated by King Simonides addressing Pericles as a "stranger knight."

<sup>4</sup> The composition survives as "The Gypsies Song" in John Playford's *Musical Companion* (London, 1673), where it is attributed to Robert Johnson (88–89).

<sup>5</sup> While this is a dramatic performance, Penelope Gouk's observation in *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 268, about the influence of outside cultures upon English music is relevant here: "While the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century is seen as a Golden Age of *English* music, the role that foreign musicians and instrument-makers played in this development, as well as instruments and music books imported from overseas, should not be overlooked."

only surging through and reflecting off of Pericles's body, the walls of his room, and the air of Pentapolis, but also reaching King Simonides in his nearby chamber, where the music stirs his passions to the point that the King deems Pericles "music's master" (9.28). These vibrations also make contact with the theater audience as they are attuned to the same frequency when Pericles sounds otherness in the staged location of Pentapolis. As I argue, vibratory soundwaves form sonic networks and unleash what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari term "molecular becomings": the term "molecular" implies a multiplicity of generative connections through affinities, while "molar" identity, by contrast, Deleuze and Guattari define as a segmented and often invariant individuality.<sup>6</sup> Becomings are processes of change and movement that occur as elements—objects, human and animal bodies, environments—in an assemblage are drawn into contact with other elements and move together in the same direction. Such processes are epitomized by vibratory sound and its transformative effects. The sounds of otherness are experienced, sometimes even sensed or haptically perceived, as vibrations that calibrate the molecules of various actors into a network formed on and by the same frequency.

While the vibrations of the Pentapolitan instrument Pericles plays sound Pentapolitan otherness, the instrument and its music are also transformed in the process, for Pericles's performance upon it is culturally inflected. Pericles sounds the otherness of his native Tyre through the foreign tunes he plays upon an instrument endemic to Pentapolis. His fingers move the strings so that they experience Tyrian vibrations of his "former practice" of music. This blending of sounds that are both familiar and foreign creates what I call the "sonic uncanny." The sonic uncanny locates Sigmund Freud's concept of the uncanny—the odd experience that something is alien and yet strangely familiar—in the realm of sound instead of sight, and is another important aspect of "sounding otherness." The distinction between familiar and foreign becomes blurred as the soundwave vibrates throughout subjects and objects, internal and external, and what Freud describes in his essay "The Uncanny" as *heimlich* (homely) and *unheimlich* (un-homely). As I explain in further detail below, sounds continually access the uncanny within us through the vibratory energy that attunes us to the same wavelength.

<sup>6</sup>Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 233–309.



In addition to sounding the otherness of foreign spaces, demonstrating the vibratory power of sound, and performing the sonic uncanny, *Pericles* also engages the dual archives of theater and travel narratives I explore here. More than any other Shakespeare play, *Pericles* capitalizes on the relationship between travel literature and theatrical performance; although certainly a play, it is a play that desperately attempts to be a travel narrative, and the shipwrecked Pericles ventures through several distinct Mediterranean locales. Mary Louise Pratt's useful term "contact zone" is applicable to foreign spaces of cultural contact recounted in travel literature of the period, as well as to theatrical moments—like those in *Pericles*—where otherness is also performed and sounded.<sup>7</sup> Sound is a prominent feature of cross-cultural contact in both early modern drama and travel literature. In the narratives, sounds of other cultures variously frighten, disorient, and delight English and European visitors; even as the sounds of otherness are sometimes ethnographically inscribed, the writers' bodies are overtaken by and calibrated to these foreign sounds.

The resonant early modern theater functioned as a sonic laboratory that simulated experiences of sounding otherness described in the travel accounts.<sup>8</sup> This is not to say that the relationship between the theater and travel narratives was one in which the narratives were diligently consulted and replicated by theater practitioners; rather, the early modern stage functioned as a laboratory for testing assumptions about otherness and its plethora of sounds.<sup>9</sup> Theaters and travel narratives informed each other of sonic

<sup>7</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (New York: MLA, 1991), 33–40.

<sup>8</sup> The theatrical sonic laboratory, however, was not an entirely controlled, or controllable, space: London theaters had to contend with the repeated eruption of London's city noise. Sounds or other special effects could also malfunction.

<sup>9</sup> The precise workings of the sonic laboratory of the theater have been debated; Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 37, outlines a definite relationship between the public theater (compared with a private theater like Blackfriars) and the music performed there: "the older, more traditional, perhaps more conservative use of music which may have retained longer in the public theatres draws the musical performance into the dramatic illusion: that is, the play creates an illusory world on stage which is complete in itself." Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 242, contends with this point, arguing that "Sound in early modern theater is important not so much for what it *is* as for what it *signifies*. What audiences actually heard in the theater and what they *imagined* they hear may not have always been the same thing." The accuracy of the sounded representations of reality notwithstanding, the otherness that is sounded on stage through musical or sound effects is a deliberate attempt to enact difference, and sound was an immensely useful tool with which to create atmosphere.

practices in bi-directional ways, borrowing from each other's repertoires.<sup>10</sup> As I discuss, jingle bells rang on the English stage, across the English countryside, and throughout the New World; maracas were shaken at Whitehall Palace and in Brazil; the Dallam organ was heard at both King's College, London, and at the Sultan's palace in Istanbul; and the drum thundered in India and in the staging of temple spaces at the Rose Theatre.

The theater itself is a palimpsested and uncanny arena in which strange cultures are sounded; at the same time, it is also a domestic and familiar English space.<sup>11</sup> While a relatively safe location to sound otherness (especially compared to moments of sounding otherness in foreign lands that sometimes resulted in captivity or death), the theater nonetheless transforms bodies through soundwave contact. *Pericles* demonstrates how sounding otherness in the theater can approximate the sonic uncanny, inciting transformations and becomings. The eponymous role in *Pericles* was likely performed by an English actor who could have sounded his character's otherness by deliberately altering his musical performance. The instrument he played could have been unusual, or even a familiar instrument upon which he played a foreign-sounding tune, like Johnson's "From the Famous Peak of Derby," or that he played in a manner contrary to conventional performance. In this way, the actor sounds otherness by moving his body in new directions that could approximate sounds of foreign otherness; these sounds, in turn, calibrated the audience to this new frequency of experimental otherness.<sup>12</sup> Both stage productions and travel narratives consider sound a propagator of otherness that can be physically experienced as much in the theater as in a foreign land.

<sup>10</sup>Theater and travel narrative are the sites of what Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 7, calls an "uneasy marriage" between representation and reality; the reality of the theater experience is predicated on its ability to engage in various representations, and the representations are what we encounter in descriptions of the realities (real or imagined) presented by writers of travel narratives.

<sup>11</sup>As Gavin Hollis similarly observes in *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 22, "Yet even the most geographically specific of plays repeatedly reminds its audiences of its location in a London playhouse. Early modern drama oscillates between presence and absence, bringing onto the stage what is clearly *not there* by means of words, bodies, and things that *are there*."

<sup>12</sup>Consult *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama, 1558–1642*, ed. Jennifer A. Low and Nova Myhill (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Jeremy Lopez's *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

As I describe in further detail below, “sounding otherness” is a multi-valent phrase. It suggests an otherness that resounds in the body of the hearer; the attempt to interpret, gloss, and codify the alien; and the act of producing sounds of otherness. All three senses of “sounding otherness” are resonant in *Pericles* and throughout early modern travel and dramatic literatures. In this study, the soundwave will shake up and trouble the presumed clear-cut boundary divisions between familiar and foreign, self and other, travel narrative and theater. It even undoes a neat distinction between the senses; as Simonides synesthetically describes it, his ears “were never better *fed* / With such delightful pleasing harmony,” echoing Duke Orsino’s gastronomic appreciation of music as “the food of love” in *Twelfth Night* (1.1.1).<sup>13</sup> And, as I explain in my discussion of *The Tempest*, sound is linked also with the smell of loud and noisome squibs, and as already proposed, vibratory touch. Understanding the soundwave as producing multisensory effects in sonic networks affords sound a broader impact than has been conventionally acknowledged. As soundwaves vibrate, they generate transformations by and through sounding otherness.

\* \* \*

## SOUNDING AND OTHERNESS

A drummer applying for a position in the service of Queen Elizabeth announces his credentials: “I can sownde the english, allmaine, flemishe, frenche, Pyemount, highe Allmaine, Gascoigne, Spanishe” as well as the “emperor’s” march.<sup>14</sup> The drummer’s claim of mastery over a diverse repertoire of rudiments suggests that these specific rhythmic patterns are recognizable for their sonic representations of, or associations with, diverse places. Using his drumsticks and drum, the drummer performs cultural otherness; his ability to “sownde” implies both production and experience of noise. Not only can he represent other cultures through sound, the drummer colonizes noise with sense; as he suggests, the “sound” of each country he enumerates is distinct and recognizable from the others he represents.

<sup>13</sup> Unless otherwise noted, Shakespeare quotations are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, third edition, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2016).

<sup>14</sup> John M. Ward, “Points of Departure,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 2.4 (1991): 9–16.

My reading of the drummer's statement demonstrates how "sound" has different but interrelated meanings. The term "sounding" is itself polysemous and its multiple valences resonate throughout this project. As opposed to "sound," which is a named and knowable object often distinguished from a subject, "sounding" is a process.<sup>15</sup> It is a vibrational action that undoes the boundaries between a listening subject and a sound-producing object or other, between sensor and sensation.<sup>16</sup> "Sounding" as vibration indicates an otherness that sounds with uncanny force, for its vibrations are both foreign, or—in Freudian terms—*unheimlich*, to the body, at the same time they resonate deep within the body, and are conceptualized as familiar, or *heimlich*. *Sounding* functions like *becoming* does according to actor-network theory, especially as both are active, mobile processes that are continually renewable.<sup>17</sup> Sounding literally moves selves and others through vibratory soundwaves. As David Bissell observes, "Vibrations are *becomings* that undermine stable forms and identities."<sup>18</sup>

At the same time, "sounding" can refer also to the act of or attempt at sense-making. According to Wes Folkerth, this is the meaning Shakespeare most often utilizes: "when Shakespeare uses the word *sound*, it is almost always as a verb or an adjective, only rarely as a noun."<sup>19</sup> Shakespeare's

<sup>15</sup>Nina Sun Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound: Singing and Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 16, posits that we "see" sound "as bounded and knowable, with a distinct beginning and end."

<sup>16</sup>Julian Henriques, *Sonic Bodies: Reggae Sound Systems, Performance Techniques & Ways of Knowing* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 11, discusses the gerund "sounding": "the central idea is propagation, as with the periodic disturbances of sound waves through a medium. The longitudinal waves of sound, as with the transverse ones of light, need to be continually propagated.... The verb *sounding*, as distinct from the noun *sound*, emphasises such activity. Sounding always requires kinetic movement."

<sup>17</sup>Although technically predating actor-network theory, Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 232–309, describe the process of becoming. Bruno Latour's discussion of "performativity" in *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) echoes the concept of becoming.

<sup>18</sup>David Bissell, "Vibrating materialities: mobility-body-technology relations," *Area* 42 (2010): 479–486, 481.

<sup>19</sup>Wes Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2002), 25. In fact, the first definition of sound given in the *OED* denotes "health." Although the *OED* makes a firm distinction in etymology between "to sound" as to play a musical instrument and "to sound" as to fathom the depths, the punning relationship between the two words was extant by the sixteenth century in England (though not in German or other Romance languages). The *OED* traces the etymology of sound—as referring to auditory sensation—as deriving from the Anglo-Norman *soun*, Old French *son*, which comes from the Latin *sonum* ("sound," *n.3*);

Hamlet deploys this sense of sounding when he exclaims to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, “you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass” (3.2.339–340).<sup>20</sup> Hamlet’s usage is similar to the way that travelers like Christopher Columbus use “sounding,” as meaning to “fathom the depths” by tactilely “feeling out” the bottom of the seascape.<sup>21</sup> In *You Like It*, Rosalind likewise employs “sounding” in this way: “that thou didst know how many fathom deep I am in love! But it cannot be sounded: my affection hath an unknown bottom” (4.1.179–181). Sounding as an attempt to make sense is characterized in Shakespearean instances by spatial relationships, for Hamlet’s “compass” suggests both the navigational instrument and his musical range; Rosalind’s use of the word “fathom” in conjunction with “sounded” indicates the act of measuring that space. And yet, Rosalind’s “affection” is not measurable or quantifiable—as she states, it “*cannot* be sounded.” Sometimes noise cannot be colonized with sense, despite our efforts at making meaning; noise, after all, “is technically sound that does not have a regular wave pattern.”<sup>22</sup> “Sounding” (like Freud’s “*unheimlich*”) gestures toward a possibility that is almost opposite from the process of interpreting meaning, for “sounding” is also the vibrant acoustic activity that destabilizes or disrupts *logos*-insistent or meaning-making ventures. This latter mode of sounding—producing noise—is often recorded in the travel archive as vocal and instrumental noises that the travelers are not always able to colonize with meaning. “Sounding” is thus both a movement that renders subject/object relations indeterminate, *and* it is a project of sense-making.<sup>23</sup>

the derivation of “to sound” in the sense of “fathoming the depths” evolved from the Old French *sonder* (Spanish *sondar*, Portuguese *sondar*) (“sound,” v. 2.2.a).

<sup>20</sup> Patricia Parker, “Shakespeare’s Sound Government: Sound Defects, Polyglot Sounds, and Sounding Out,” *Oral Tradition* 24.2 (2009): 359–372, 360, outlines Shakespeare’s use of “sound” and its multiple valences, including the suggestion of “wholeness” or health, and also its homophonic counterpart “swoon’d.”

<sup>21</sup> J. M. Cohen, *Christopher Columbus: The Four Voyages* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 74.

<sup>22</sup> Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare’s Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 206.

<sup>23</sup> Sound studies is a rapidly growing interdisciplinary field of inquiry. Notable studies consulted include R. Murray Schafer’s *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (1977); Douglas Kahn’s *Noise, Water, Meat* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999); Michael Bull’s *Sounding Out the City* (New York: Berg Publishers, 2000); Mark M. Smith’s *Hearing History: A Reader* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004); Jean-Francois Augoyard and Henry Torgue’s *The Sonic Experience: A Guide to Everyday Sounds* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005); Michael Bull’s *Sound Moves* (New York:

The otherness that is sounded—in this book and throughout the early modern archives of dramatic and travel literatures—also resists a singular definition. “Otherness” is a capacious concept and its use here intentionally evokes several valences of “otherness” as it is defined by postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories. Both Edward Said’s and Homi Bhabha’s influential accounts of the “Other” resonate with the otherness that I identify in early modern writings—an otherness representative of peoples from different lands or cultures. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said considers the relationship between Europe and the Orient as predicated on “the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures.... In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand.”<sup>24</sup> While Said’s point is a valid one for postcolonial studies, I believe that sound undoes this binarism Said identifies in an important way: sound can collapse or confuse the boundaries between self and other, “us” and “them,” especially since soundwaves exchanged between cultures undo these clear distinctions. Homi Bhabha takes a different position regarding the workings between Self and Other, arguing “the place of the Other must not be imagined, as Fanon sometimes suggests, as a fixed phenomenological point opposed to the self, that represents a culturally alien consciousness. The Other must be seen as the necessary negation of a primordial identity—cultural or psychic—that introduces the system of differentiation which enables the cultural to be signified as a linguistic, symbolic, historic reality. If, as I have suggested, the subject of desire is never simply a Myself, then the Other is never simply an *It-self*, a front of

Routledge, 2007); Steve Goodman’s *Sonic Warfare* (2010); Anahid Kassabian’s *Ubiquitous Listening: Affect, Attention, and Distributed Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); and Kirsten Gibson and Ian Biddle’s collection *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918* (New York: Routledge, 2016). Collections include *Sound*, edited by Patricia Kruth and Henry Stobart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Michael Bull and Les Back’s *The Auditory Culture Reader* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003); Jonathan Sterne’s *The Sound Studies Reader* (Florence: Taylor & Francis, 2012); Veit Erlmann’s *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (2004); and Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld’s *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>24</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 7.

identity, truth or misrecognition.”<sup>25</sup> The English or European writing subject is *not* a sovereign self trenchantly opposed to alien “others”; rather, the position of other can and does shift, even in the space of a single text. Unpinning the fixity of positions in the process of identification is essential to creating “the system of differentiation,” which Bhabha argues can “be signified.” But “sounding” disrupts this type of signification, for while it dislocates the positioning of Self and Other, sounding otherness can also resist signification itself.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, while Said’s *Orientalism* has provided a crucial foundation for postcolonial studies, especially in theorizing the West’s relationship to “the Orient,” his framework requires qualification in the context of Renaissance/early modern scholarship. As Nabil Matar rightly observes, “England was not a colonial power” in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods<sup>27</sup>; Gerald MacLean likewise notes, “For Said, Orientalism situates the generalized European subject ‘in a position of strength,’ while the

<sup>25</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 74. Works in postcolonial theory that have also influenced my thinking include Leela Gandhi’s *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Graham Huggan’s edited collection, *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Ania Loomba’s *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2005); Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005); and Robert J. C. Young’s *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). Studies relating particularly to early modern postcolonialism include *The Postcolonial World*, edited by Jyotsna G. Singh and David D. Kim (New York: Routledge, 2017); Jyotsna Singh’s *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: ‘Discoveries’ of India in the Language of Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1996); *Travel Knowledge: European “Discoveries” in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001); David Beers Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620* (New York: Knopf, 1974); Albert Lindsay Rowland, *England and Turkey: The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1924); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton’s *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michaelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>26</sup> Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 24, also gestures toward this relationality that sound offers: “our potential for recognizing and accepting self and other rests on our ability and willingness to be changed by our encounters, rather than merely by the potentially desirable qualities (or their absence) in others.”

<sup>27</sup> Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 10.



English regarded the Ottomans from a position of relative weakness.”<sup>28</sup> Though applicable to the late eighteenth century, “orientalism” was not an accurate characterization of the relationship between European writers and the East in the early modern period, although I retain some of Said’s terminology to discuss the relationships among England, the Ottoman Empire, what is now known as the Republic of India, and the capacious “New World.”<sup>29</sup> While this monograph employs—and undoes—the binaries of “self” and “Other,” “East” and “West,” as well as the echoic resonances of those terms from Said’s *Orientalism*, I also follow Richmond Barbour in acknowledging, “To project his findings backward, to read precolonial ethnography as if its rhetoric bespoke European dominance of the world, or its defensive tropes necessarily foretold aggressive expansion is anachronistic,” especially given the fact that—as Said himself notes—many of the accounts of others which have been studied are not represented through the voices of the “Others” but by Orientalists.<sup>30</sup>

This book actively works to engage with the traces of the voices and sounds of “Others,” much like Jonathan Burton describes the project of his book as “listening for the Eastern voices drowned out by a more accessible and consequently more audible European archive.”<sup>31</sup> While still based in the English archive to consider the early modern English perception of sounds of otherness,<sup>32</sup> I present non-Anglo and non-European sources whenever possible, given my own linguistic and geographical limitations. For example, to determine whether kettledrums were actually used in Eastern warfare, rather than simply a product of the English cultural imaginary, I consulted images of battle portrayed in the *Akbarnama*; the image on the cover of this book is not a representation of East Indian

<sup>28</sup> Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 19; also ix, 9–11.

<sup>29</sup> Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain: 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 11, argues, “it is not surprising that in their early modern relations with the Muslims, English writers did not express either the authority of possessiveness or the security of domination which later gave rise to what Edward Said has termed ‘Orientalism.’”

<sup>30</sup> Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3–5, esp. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 14.

<sup>32</sup> Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 14, also notes, “Although scholars in this area have previously argued for the need to do ‘more to retrieve the voices of indigenous people’ and to understand the relations of Europeans and non-Europeans in terms of ‘transculturation,’ very few actually include non-European sources in their work.”



otherness mediated by European artists, but rather a product of the Mughal culture in which it was produced. I also read English translations of Ottoman documents to discover what happened to Dallam's organ in Istanbul. I consulted Mattapanay writings that were transmitted through oral culture to contextualize white accounts of Jamestown, traced dozens of archeological accounts of bells belonging to Native Americans, and attended Native American Indian cultural festivals to ask questions and experience the music of people whose ancestors have been singing these same songs in these same lands for centuries. In this mode, I echo Susan McClary: "In short, taking such traces seriously is my way of honoring the Other."<sup>33</sup>

In addition to the otherness of foreign lands and peoples, "sounding otherness" resonates also with the Lacanian psychoanalytic theorization of the Real. The Real—for Lacan, the "Other" with a capital O distinct from the imaginary "other" that, within the Symbolic order, secures identity and meaning—cannot be recuperated for sense.<sup>34</sup> Michel de Certeau identifies the Real as a force that irrupts in moments like the sixteenth-century French Calvinist traveler Jean de Léry's "ravishment" at hearing the music of the Brazilian Tupinamba Indians: it is an embodied Otherness that refuses meaning. Even enjoyment of music is described as a function of the other: "once we are engulfed in music, we must exert effort to resist its influence. It really is as if some 'other' has entered not just our bodies, but our intentions, taking us over" writes Robert Jourdain in characterizing his experience of music's uncanny ecstasy.<sup>35</sup> The sonic uncanny allows

<sup>33</sup>Susan McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 5. I also echo her interest in music that "does not work"—that is, music that is not tonal, Western music composed, conducted, and performed only by white males: "If a belief in eighteenth-century tonality and its masterworks grounds our discipline, implicitly dismissing all Others (early music, women's music, postmodernist music, world music, African-American music, pop music, etc.) as unworthy of serious consideration, then that belief itself begs to be dismantled" (vii).

<sup>34</sup>Different from Freud's use of "other," Lacan characterizes "other" as that which is really a reflection and projection of the Ego; this is also the image that is projected in the mirror, and located in the realm of the Imaginary. "Other" with a capital "O" designates an otherness that is a radical alterity with which one cannot identify—Lacan suggests that this Otherness is a feature of language and the law, and is inscribed in the Symbolic order. Lacan refers to the Real as "the impossible" in "Seminar XI" because of its difficulty to conceive and its resistance to the realm of the Symbolic; the Real is outside of language and refuses symbolization.

<sup>35</sup>Robert Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy: How Music Captures Our Imagination* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), 328.

us to consider these moments as both familiar and foreign at once, locating otherness both within and outside of the (material and conscious) body simultaneously. Therefore, sounds that are often described as “other” are really resonating within a listener and accessing the foreign that is already part of her/him. Especially as the majority of the sounds considered in this book are produced via material instruments, the otherness of objects and materiality is also resonant in the “otherness” explored here.

Like the force of sound overtaking bodies, Michel Serres’s disgust with language—expressed in *The Parasite* (1980), *Genesis* (1982), and with greatest vitriol in *The Five Senses* (1985)—intersects with the Lacanian Real inasmuch as it recognizes a generative otherness, otherwise relegated to the background of existence, which is apart from—yet also constitutive of—language or words.<sup>36</sup> Serres calls this otherness “noise,” a term that in French means not just incomprehensible sound, but also a disturbance or resistance. Likewise, Steve Goodman notes that “noise, from Russolo to Attali, is therefore understood as intrinsically radical, as that which lies outside music, that which threatens music from without, rejuvenating it, giving it the energy to do anything new. Following the futurists, noise, for Attali, is understood as a cultural weapon.”<sup>37</sup> Perhaps taking Serres’s assertion one step further, Jacques Attali writes that “noise had always been experienced as destruction, disorder, dirt, pollution, an aggression against the code-structuring messages. In all cultures, it has been associated with the idea of the weapon, blasphemy, plague.”<sup>38</sup> And especially as it relates to the contact zones explored in this project, Bruce R. Smith observes that “among educated listeners in early modern England there was a pronounced distrust of nonverbal sounds. The whoops and hollers of countryfolk and lower-class craftsmen might be amusing in a pageant or a masque, but such sounds marked the boundary between civility and barbarity”; the same was true for non-logocentric sounds encountered in the foreign lands described in travel narratives and performed on the early

<sup>36</sup> Serres notes his tinnitus, or sensory processing issue, in *The Parasite*, trans. Lawrence R. Schehr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 125, as well: “I am afraid of the grating noise, of the stridulation, of the shivaree. My very skin is horrified: it furrows up and bristles.”

<sup>37</sup> Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2010), 7.

<sup>38</sup> Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 27; also relevant is Julia Kristeva’s *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

modern stage to suggest otherness.<sup>39</sup> In these cases, “noise” is characterized as dangerous and subversive because of its perception as being uncontrollable and illegible. However, both Serres’s “noise” and Lacan’s Real are excluded from *logos*—a term suggestive of language, meaning, and reason—even as they subtend it.<sup>40</sup> Serres argues that otherness is a property of noise and sound itself, and he characterizes the relationship between noise and meaning thus: “whoever speaks is also singing beneath the words spoken, is beating out rhythm beneath the song, is diving into the background noise underneath the rhythm. Meaning trails this long comet tail behind” the vocalized sounds of spoken language.<sup>41</sup> The musical elements of “singing” and “beating out rhythm” that surge out of the “background noise” Serres describes is one way we might consider this sonic otherness apart from writing, music, or *logos*, as “non-sense” sounds of otherness heard in foreign lands and recreated on the early modern stage.<sup>42</sup>

While the word “parasite,” which Serres uses to describe sound’s relationality, has two meanings in the English language—connoting a biological, and a social dependent—in French, the polyvalent term has a third sense—that of static or noise. In characterizing *noise* as “the ultimate parasite,” Serres states that all relationships are founded upon this disorder, static, and interference. The same noisy parasite is also the foundation for and connective tissue of social structures including institutions of science, religion, literature, and history.<sup>43</sup> A condition of life, of creative force, even of *logos*, “noise” is uncannily present as the background to existence, at the same time it is an integral part of the human body.<sup>44</sup> As Serres asserts in *The Parasite*, “we move unfailingly toward noise, but we come from

<sup>39</sup> Bruce R. Smith, “Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder: The Challenges of Acoustic Ecology” in *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity*, ed. Veit Erlmann (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 21–41, 35.

<sup>40</sup> As Serres sardonically frames it in *Genesis*, trans. Geneviève James and James Nielson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 7, “no logos without noise.”

<sup>41</sup> Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*, trans. Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley (London: Continuum, 2008), 120. Consult also Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 158.

<sup>42</sup> Michel Serres in *The Parasite*, 13, asserts that noise itself preceded all else: “in the beginning was the noise.” Noise plagues Serres continually throughout his work, echoing the effects of noise he theorizes. In *Genesis*, 7, Serres cites *Macbeth* in that “noise” signals both “the sound and the fury,” a chaos of echoic multiplicity.

<sup>43</sup> Serres, *Parasite*, 4.

<sup>44</sup> Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 58, advances a similar point, that “the term ‘person’ is derived from the Latin *persona*, meaning literally ‘through sound’ (*per sona*).”

noise”; the network of noise is prior to our Cartesian individual identities.<sup>45</sup> Noise is the source of human existence, at the same time noise is also an inescapable condition of this existence.

In one sense, “sounding otherness” can be regarded as an attempt to colonize noise with logic and meaning, a project that depends on neat distinctions between subject and object, self and other, familiarity and difference. But ultimately, vibrant acoustic activity simultaneously destabilizes any such project, as well as these binary distinctions. The soundwave acts with uncanny force inasmuch as its vibrations are both foreign to the body and located deep within it. *Sounding Otherness* focuses on othernesses that might resist meaning-making projects even as they inspire them, as is the case with the French traveler Jean de Léry’s “ravishment” at hearing Tupinamba music, or even our modern ears attempting to tune in to early modern frequencies.<sup>46</sup> My project operates within the multi-temporal dimensions of listening, like that described by Bruce R. Smith in his definition of historical phenomenology, which I employ here: “On the one hand, it is patently clear that Shakespeare and his contemporaries shared with us the same physiological apparatus for speaking and hearing. On the other hand, it is just as patently clear that they spoke and listened according to different ideas about how a person hears sounds and responds to them.” Consequently, “A methodology that insists on the embodiedness of all knowledge and yet recognizes the cultural differences that shape that knowledge might be called ‘historical phenomenology.’”<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Serres, *Parasite*, 72.

<sup>46</sup> Every time we engage with Renaissance sounds, we are sounding otherness; in doing so, it is crucial to note our own sonic otherness from Renaissance music. It is tempting to forget that our modern Western ears are culturally attuned differently from ears in Renaissance England. Robert Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 102, reminds us that even our use of the method of “equal temperament” for tuning purposes, as opposed to the Pythagorean system used in the Renaissance, produces “a level of dissonance that Renaissance ears could not bear.” Bruce R. Smith, *Acoustic World*, 233, concurs that even the simple level of musical pitch is vastly different, noting that “determining the precise pitch-ranges both for singing voices and musical instruments is difficult, since there were no absolute standards of pitch in early modern performance. Pitch would be established according to the characteristics of the instruments being played, with the result that notated pitch might differ from actual pitch by as much as a fourth or a fifth.” Just as we bring networks of culturally acquired tastes, associations, and desires to bear on our experience of music or sounds, the music with which we engage has its own networks of associations that we have only just begun to sound.

<sup>47</sup> Bruce R. Smith, “Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder,” 37, 39. Other especially helpful studies that relate to the historical-phenomenological act of listening include Shai Burstyn’s “Pre-1600 Music Listening: A Methodological Approach,” *The Musical Quarterly* 82.3/4

“Sounding otherness” is a phenomenological experience of otherness-in-sound that disorients the listener even as she may attempt to convert sounds into sense. At the same time, it is interested in the ways that otherness is sounded, how others make sound, and what sound does to listeners unfamiliar with the otherness they hear. These acts of “sounding otherness” refer to the uncanny and vibratory motion of the other through sound. Although this otherness may not be knowable or discernible to the listener, its vibrations implicate the listener’s body in a network of otherness produced via soundwaves.

\* \* \*

### EMBODIED SOUNDS AND SPACES

In Renaissance England, sound was understood as having the most immediate access to a body’s interiority. Richard Braithwaite in his *Essaies upon the five Senses* writes, “as our *care* can best iudge of sounds, so hath it a distinct power to sound into the centre of the heart. It is open to receive, ministering matter sufficient for the minde to digest.”<sup>48</sup> Braithwaite suggests that the “matter” of sound entering the ear reaches the “centre of the heart” before it is filtered into and “digested” by the “minde”—that is, converted into meaning. Francis Bacon also concludes in his *Sylva Sylvarum* “so it is *Sound* alone, that doth immediately, and incorporeally, affect most.”<sup>49</sup> “Affect” indicates the way that sound was perceived both “incorporeal,” or embodied response, and as generative of affective responses, stirring the “passions” and providing a level of experience distinct from *logos*; this theorization resonates with Michel Serres’s assertion that our hearing “heeds” these “sounds other” than those of *logos*-insistent language.<sup>50</sup>

Sounding otherness involves a material interaction with sound, not just as soundwaves are converted by the ear’s mechanisms and the brain’s neurological circuitry into sense, but also as embodied states known as “passions.” The idea that bodies could be moved in the same direction, or

(1998): 455–465, and “In Quest of the Period Ear,” *Early Music* 25.4 (1997): 693–701, which focuses on “the listener’s role in making [music] meaningful,” even as Burstyn writes against the idea of a transhistorical listener or universal ear (693).

<sup>48</sup> Richard Braithwaite, *Essaies upon the five Senses* (London, 1620), 6.

<sup>49</sup> Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* (London, 1627), 177.

<sup>50</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 100.

experience the same passion, was well-known in the early modern period. While the actor-network and the rhizome provide theoretical models for this phenomenon, early moderns would have conceptualized it according to the framework of geohumoral theory.<sup>51</sup> Building on the works of Galen and Hippocrates, Marsilio Ficino's *De Vita Libri Tres* (1489) describes human and animal bodies as containing blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile; these fluxes correlated with the elements of air, water, earth, and fire; and with the qualities warm and moist, cold and moist, cold and dry, warm and dry, respectively. The humors were believed to be affected by forces both internal and external to the body. Thomas Wright explains that the "passions of our minde"—states similar to the modern notion of emotions or affects—were "not unlike the four humours of bodies" and act in concert with the humors.<sup>52</sup> Gail Kern Paster agrees that "the passions actually *were* liquid forces of nature, because, in this cosmology, the stuff of the outside world and the stuff of the body were composed of the same elemental materials," and sound functions in a similarly fluid manner.<sup>53</sup> McClary further describes the connection between music and affect in the period: "Over the course of the seventeenth century, music was frequently the focus of debates concerning the body and its proper deployment or about newly minted theories of affect."<sup>54</sup> Sounds—musical or otherwise—were, and are still, understood as affecting bodies.

Sound, simultaneously internal and external to a body, can create passionate reactions in listeners. Terms including "delight," "rapture," and "marvelous," as well as "horror" and "fear," resound throughout the travel narratives, often utilized by the travel writer to describe his own experience of sounding otherness.<sup>55</sup> They are on other occasions employed

<sup>51</sup> The actor-network or rhizome is a system in which various human and non-human actors engage at various times in webs of associations with each other; it is discussed, for example, in Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 73, and Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 3–25. Timothy Morton's concept of the "mesh," which he discusses in *The Ecological Thought* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010) is resonant with these theories of interconnectivity.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London, 1604), 168.

<sup>53</sup> Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 4.

<sup>54</sup> McClary, *Desire and Pleasure*, 12.

<sup>55</sup> "Delight" has been considered above in the context of *Pericles*, while "rapture" comes from Jean de Léry's *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 144. "Marvelous" is

by European writers to characterize the native experience of the novel European sonic presence. As suggested above, these terms can also arise in the sonic laboratory of the theater. Both theater and travel writing engage with the soundscape in order to sound otherness. “Soundscape,” a term advanced by R. Murray Schafer, includes sounds from the natural acoustic environment (noises of animals, weather, nature), as well as human-produced noises (speaking, singing, industrial sounds) in a given spatial environment.<sup>56</sup> The nomenclature of the term “soundscape” suggests a protean terrain that is inseparable from sound. It also proposes that sound can create its own type of space.<sup>57</sup> “Sounding otherness” explores how the soundscape of another culture—produced and experienced in the contact zone of the theater, or in a foreign land—becomes part of a body vibrated by sound, even as the sounds can be unstable and elusive.

That sound could enter a body and “affect” it incorporeally was incredibly unsettling to Puritan antitheatricalist writers. Philip Stubbes acknowledges that music can be a divine “gift,” and yet he is also disconcerted by its dangerous effects: “I grant Musicke is a good gift of God and that it delighteth both man and beast, reviveth the spiritys, comforteth the hart and make it apter to serve God ... and being used to that end, for mans private recreation, Musicke is very laudable ... But being used in publike

found in Christopher Columbus’s “Letter on the First Voyage” in J. M. Cohen’s translation, *Christopher Columbus*, 116. “Horror” is how John Smith characterizes the war cry of the Powhatan Native Americans in Volume I of *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), 69. And, “fear” is certainly expressed by both Stephano and Trinculo in *The Tempest*, immediately before Caliban’s counseling and expression of his own “delight” (3.2.121–136).

<sup>56</sup>R. Murray Schafer, *Our Sonic Environment and the Soundscape: The Tuning of the World* (Vermont: Destiny Books, 1994). Barry Truax, *Acoustic Communication*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: Ablex Publishing, 2001), xviii, argues (like Eidsheim) that the soundscape is not defined as the totality of perceptible sounds in a space, as I conceive and broaden the definition in my work, rather, “it refers to how the individual and society as a whole *understand* the acoustic environment through listening.” For a discussion of the varying deployments of the term “soundscape,” consult Ari Kelman, “Rethinking the Soundscape: A Critical Genealogy of a Key Term in Sound Studies,” *Senses & Society* 5.2 (2010): 212–224.

<sup>57</sup>“Soundscape” encompasses the double meanings of “sounding” as both indicating space and producing sound. Different from an attempt to “map” sound, a soundscape suggests a triple-dimensionality that is not fully served through the concept of a visual, logocentric, and two-dimensional map. Also, whereas “map” connotes a fixity of a point or points in space-time, soundscape suggests a diachronic flux or change, which is crucial to my readings and uses of space, sound, and time. Refer also to Truax, *Acoustic Communication*, 60–61. The definition of space via sounds in Truax’s “acoustic community” resonates with Bruno Latour’s understanding of the network as prior to individuality, discussed in *We Have Never Been Modern*.

assemblies, and privat conventicles, as a Directorie to filthy dauncing, through the sweet harmony and smooth melody thereof, it estrangeth the minde, stirreth up filthy lust, wommanisheth the mind, ravisheth the heart, inflameth concupiscence, and bringeth in uncleanness.”<sup>58</sup> The wrong kind of music, Stubbes argues, can “ravish” the heart, and turn a manly mind “womanish.” The “ravishment” of a listener’s heart was a matter of no small concern to the Puritans. “Doe not,” William Prynne asks in *Histrion-Mastix*, “the wanton gestures; the amorous kisses, complements, and salutes; the meretricious songs and speeches; the lascivious whorish Actions: the beautifull faces; the ravishinge Musicke, the flexanimous enticements, the witty obscenities, the rhetoricall passages, the adulterous representations, with al the other fomentations of uncleannesse in the Play-house ... even raise a tempest of unchaste affections; yea kindle a very hell of lusts within your soules?”<sup>59</sup> This book answers with a resounding “yes!” to his question, as sounding otherness often incites embodied reactions. In addition to the possibility of “senseless” ravishment (though arguably very much a sensory-laden experience) as a response to theater or music, these sounds were troublesome to the antitheatricalists due to the difficulty of categorizing or mapping them because of their resistance to *logos* and association with non-Christian others.

Besides creating effects like “ravishment,” the embodied sense of hearing was often equated with disorienting spaces, like a labyrinth or winding staircase. These two comparisons provide early modern writers with powerful spatial metaphors to describe the process of sound entering the ear. In *Microcosmographia*, for example, the early modern medical writer Helkiah Crooke describes that “sound is presently receiued of the inbred Ayre, which it carryeth through the windowes of the stony bone before described, into the winding burroughs and so into the Labyrinth, after into the Snail-shell, and lastly into the Auditory Nerue which conueyeth it thence vnto the common Sense as vnto his Censor and Iudge. And this is the true manner of hearing.”<sup>60</sup>

Thomas Dekker takes his readers on a slightly different metaphoric journey into the body through the ear in *The Guls-Hornbook*: “The eares are two Musique rooms into which as well good sounds as bad, descend

<sup>58</sup> Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583), 125–128.

<sup>59</sup> William Prynne, *Histrion-Mastix: The Players Scourge* (London, 1633), 166.

<sup>60</sup> Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London, 1615), 696.



downe two narrow paire of staires, that for all the world have crooked windings like those that lead to the top of Powles steeple: & because when the tunes are once gotten in, they should not too quickly flip out, all the walles of both places are plaistred with yellow wax round about them.”<sup>61</sup> Dekker collapses the spatial boundaries between inner and outer in describing how sound enters the two “Musique rooms,” descends down the winding stairs, and is kept inside by “yellow wax.”<sup>62</sup> Although Dekker’s description of sound might suggest a movement away from the total body as a vibrational conduit of soundwaves, the ears are at once labyrinths extending vibrational sound deep into the body as much as they are music rooms connected to Saint Paul’s via winding staircases. As Jacques Derrida eloquently summarizes, “The ear is uncanny.”<sup>63</sup>

Like Dekker describes the path of hearing as a “descent” into the body, Serres analogously embarks on a journey through the ear: “Unfold the cochlea, for instance, and you will see an inverted piano with tiers of high and low notes running from left to right. But a piano produces sound, it does not hear.... Sound is transmitted here in non-linear fashion.”<sup>64</sup> The cycle Serres describes, or the sphere of hearing Bruce R. Smith identifies in *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, resonates with the “non-linearity” of sound transmission, as sound reaches deep within. Serres ventures further into the maze of the ear: “To describe hearing, more global than local, through body, head and thorax, inner, outer and middle ear, fossa triangularis, auditory canal, cochlea, vestibule, all of them more or less well-embedded boxes, according to our abstract model, the topology of depth requires varieties in every dimension, hollows them out, folds them, creates edges, mountains and valleys, passes, chimneys, tubes and lobes; architecture, landscape.... We wear two question marks, one on each side of our head like placards, two [bass] clefs, with neither repercussions

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Dekker, *The Guls-Hornbook* (London, 1609), 15.

<sup>62</sup> This passageway into the ear and throughout the body, perhaps its own inbetween space between the body and its sonic environment, is also described by the Ghost of Hamlet’s father when he explains to Hamlet the cause of his death: Claudius “in the porches of mine ears did pour / The leprous distilment,” which “swift as quicksilver it courses through / The natural gates and alleys of the body” (1.5.63–64, 66–67).

<sup>63</sup> Jacques Derrida, *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation*, ed. Christie V. McDonald, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 33.

<sup>64</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 143.

nor answers.”<sup>65</sup> That the ears are like question marks that don’t necessarily receive answers reiterates Serres’s point and mine that sounds do not always provide logo-centric information.

These theories all characterize sound as dimensional, while also suggesting that sound can disorient the listener. The music rooms, winding staircases, and walls that Dekker describes are all acoustically enclosed spaces that serve as exceptional sounding rooms or echo chambers; the same can be said for the resonant “wooden O” of the early modern theater, in which sounds are constructed to take the theater audience on journeys.<sup>66</sup> Dekker’s and Serres’s descriptions of the ear and hearing as a maze suggest the strong link between sound and space—a space which, as the “maze” suggests, can’t be easily pinned down or “mapped.”<sup>67</sup> In other words, sounds can be both orienting and disorienting in terms of spatiality and temporality, even as they calibrate bodies with their environments and transform them in the process.

Sounds of otherness include various musical and nonmusical sounds that incite these transformations. These sounds are experienced as physiological tremors and becomings in the contact zone of the theater, as well as in what Shakespeare’s Jaques terms the “world’s ... stage” (*As You Like It* 2.7.139). In addition to observing the deeply embodied qualities of sound, Serres recognizes the encompassing ambit of sound phenomena in *The Five Senses*: “Local vision, global listening: more than just ichnography, geometral for both the subject and object, hearing practices ubiquity, the almost divine power of universal reach. Singular optics, total acoustics.”<sup>68</sup> The concept of “global listening” may be expanded to include not only a three-dimensional “globe” of phenomenological experience, which Bruce R. Smith equates with the spherical sense of sound represented by “[o:],” but also the project of attending to the sounds of *global* othernesses. In

<sup>65</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 144. I am almost certain that Serres or his translators meant “bass clef,”  $\text{F}$ , which, instead of the treble clef cited in the English translation,  $\text{G}$ , looks much more like an ear.

<sup>66</sup> *Henry V*, Prologue, line 14. Andrew Gurr also notes the vital importance of the ability to hear in the early modern theater in “Why Was the Globe Round?” in *Who Hears in Shakespeare?: Auditory Worlds on Stage and Screen*, ed. Laury Magnus and Walter W. Cannon (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012), 3–16.

<sup>67</sup> As Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 12, reminds us, the human sense of spatial orientation is a function of the ear, located in “a labyrinth of chambers and canals lined by membranes.”

<sup>68</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 47.

this revised form, “global listening” indicates that sounds may be transported, like commodities, sensory information, or disease, around the globe. Sounds even cycle back through theaters like the Globe and create networks that have the potential to transcend both space and time. Travel narratives record the various experiences of sounding otherness in foreign lands by describing soundscapes, and some writers even include soundbytes in their accounts, as Thomas Coryate does in his *Greetings from the Court of the Great Mogul*. In dramatic performances like *Pericles*, or Robert Greene’s *Alphonsus*, otherness is sounded through experimental performance, which could include unusual instruments and non-normative performance techniques on familiar instruments. Bodies are transformed by sounds in the theater and in foreign lands as soundwaves synthesize a body with its environment, other matter, and other bodies present at a sonic event.

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### SOUNDS BECOMING GOOD VIBRATIONS

“Sounding otherness” is particularly relevant to Renaissance England, because not only were sonic cross-cultural encounters enacted on the stage and recorded in the voluminous travel narrative collections, including those of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, but also theories that conceptualized sound phenomena as vibration were becoming widely circulated and accepted during this same period of time.<sup>69</sup> While recent studies in Renaissance scholarship have turned an eager ear toward sound, drawing attention to the importance of the sense of hearing, these studies deem the ear the privileged point of entry for soundwaves, as discussed

<sup>69</sup> Although Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 30, argues that “Early modern sense theory understood hearing as a physical penetration of the ear: sound was not a wave, but a substantial *species*” entering the body that “provides a metaphor of hearing as male-female penetration,” this represents only one of several ways that sound was theorized in the early modern period. While the *OED* records the earliest use of “soundwave” as 1846, theories of vibration were being developed much earlier: words like “echo,” “resound,” “resonate,” “resonant,” “reverb,” “reverberate,” “vibrate,” and “vibration” were all current by the mid-seventeenth century, and all terms acknowledge the movement of oscillation, conceptualized like a wave. Understanding sound as an energized, vibratory soundwave undoes simple binaries of male/female and self/other.

above.<sup>70</sup> While many regard the sense of hearing as exclusively linked to the ear, this book questions that construction of auditory sensory perception. I suggest sound's reach is broader, and argue instead that sound is actually a total-body experience of vibration that conjoins the body to a sonic environment through the frequency of that vibration. This idea was gaining currency in early modern England through the writings of multiple Italian theorists of sound, including Lodovico Fogliano, Giovanni Battista Benedetti, and Vincenzo Galilei; the French polymath Marin Mersenne; and by English writers, including Helkiah Crooke (1615), Henry Peacham (1622), and Francis Bacon (1627), discussed below.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Bruce R. Smith's *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* is a groundbreaking study of the historical phenomenology of sound, or "listening outward," in the literature and culture of the early modern period. Like Smith, Folkerth also encourages a more acute mode of listening as a critical practice in his *The Sound of Shakespeare*. Kenneth Gross considers the afterlives of spoken language in *Shakespeare's Noise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), especially "damaging language," which forms various networks. Gina Bloom's *Voice in Motion* also argues for the agency of the voice as a material form, and Joseph M. Ortiz's *Broken Harmony: Shakespeare and the Politics of Music* (Ithaca: New York, Cornell University Press, 2011) reads the relationship between music and language as ideologically and politically charged.

Outside of Renaissance England, a number of recent studies also engage with the importance of sound, listening, and music to cross-cultural encounter: Vanessa Agnew's *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Bruce Holsinger's *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Emma Dillon's *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Niall Atkinson's *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2016); and Bonnie Gordon's *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Other studies centering on Europe also discuss the importance of sounds and music to faith communities, including Alexander Fisher's *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) and his *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Katherine Steele Brokaw's *Staging Harmony: Music and Religious Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

<sup>71</sup> Of her own project, *Sensing Sound*, Eidsheim, 163, notes, "Considering sound as vibration is also, of course, unoriginal. Galileo Galilei's *Dialogues Concerning Two New Sciences* (1638) offered the first systematic study of vibrating strings, and his explanation of the origin of consonance and dissonances remains generally accepted today"; however, as I argue here, the study of vibratory sound was also taken up earlier in the seventeenth century by English writers, which is another reason why the study of vibration as it relates to Renaissance England and its travelers and playhouses is crucial. As Penelope Gouk in *Music, Science, and Natural Magic*, 158, notes, the French polymath Marin Mersenne was likely the first to express the mathematical laws of frequency of a vibrating string in the 1620s and 1630s. Huygens, Wallis, and Sauver also contributed to the theory of harmonic vibration in the early

Boethius was likely the prime conduit transmitting the idea that sound functioned as a vibratory wave, as his *De institutione musica*, “the standard university text for music,” was well-known in early modern England; in “On the Tones and Elements of Music” in his third chapter, Boethius describes the trembling of a string as necessary for the production of sound.<sup>72</sup> Shakespeare also conceptualizes sound as a wave around the year 1599: at the beginning of *Julius Caesar*, Murellus recalled that the Roman crowd who beheld Pompey, “made an universal shout, / That the Tiber trembled underneath her banks / To hear the replication of [their] sounds” (1.43–45).<sup>73</sup> Sound appeals not just to an aural sense; rather, soundwaves vibrate and impact listeners’ (and non-listeners’) entire bodies, in addition to all matter and environments touched by a sonic event, as Shakespeare suggests.<sup>74</sup> This ecology decenters the focus on the human

modern period. Please refer also to Claude V. Palisca’s *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006) and Sigalia Dostrovsky, “Early Vibration Theory: Physics and Music in the Seventeenth Century,” *Archive for the History of Exact Sciences* 14 (1974–1975): 169–218. Later in the seventeenth century, Robert Hooke would develop a theory of “incessantly vibrating matter” or universal vibration, according to Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic*, 218.

<sup>72</sup> *Ancius Manlius Severinus Boethius: Five Books on Music*, trans. James Garceau, et al., (privately published, 1985), 133–134. Gouk, *Music, Science, Magic*, 80–81 and Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 18–19. In the early fourteenth century, Pietro d’Abano—whose works were very popular and published in multiple editions—wrote about sound as a product of vibration: to produce sound, a medium must “vibrate violently and rapidly so that the air is stretched; because of this wee see that air, when a rod is suddenly and forcefully moved within it, it causes sound.” *Expositio problematum Aristotelis*, XI, Pr. 1, cited in Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 136.

<sup>73</sup> Sound was characterized as vibrating in several early modern literary works, including John Taylor, the “Water Poet’s,” “Heauens blessing, and earths ioy,” written for the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth (London, 1613): “such reuerberating Echoes of ioy to and fro” sound between the Christian galley and the “Turke” galley (A4r); this sentiment is echoed poetically at C4v. Also, William Percy’s *Mahomet and His Heaven*, ed. Matthew Dimmock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) describes how “two sucklins, that have lost their damme, / Run bleating,” and their noise makes “The Rocks rebound with shrilling of their suite” (4.10.58–59, 62).

<sup>74</sup> In *Senses of Vibration: A History of the Pleasure and Pain of Sound* (New York: Continuum, 2012), Shelley Trower advances a similar argument about the reach of sound, especially the collapse of material objects and human subjects through vibration; her book focuses on the Romantic period and beyond. Eidsheim also argues for “a reconception of sound as event through the practice of vibration” (3) in *Sensing Sound*. However, I theorize that vibration has an even more pronounced effect: where Eidsheim focuses her study on “music,” “singing,” and “listening,” the latter two terms indicating agency and participation, I think about performative sounds that are not always identifiable within the framework of Western music and how these sounds affect, not just “listeners” or human subjects, but all matter and energy present at a sonic event.

being or human agency: sounds, soundwaves, and sonic environments exist prior to the sovereign, sensing subject, and incorporate humans and other matter in their radiating waves of energy.<sup>75</sup>

To understand the process by which sound acts upon (human and non-human) bodies, it is crucial to consider the motion of the soundwave. Echoing Boethius, Helkiah Crooke provides a description of the physical properties of the soundwave:

The manner therefore of Hearing is thus. The externall Ayre being stricken by two hard and solid bodyes, and affected with the qualitie of sound doth alter that Ayre which adioyneth next unto it, and this Ayre mooueth the next to that, vntill by this continuation and successiue motion it ariue at the Eare. For euen as if you cast a stone into a pond there will circles bubble vp one ouertaking and moouing another: so it is in the percussio[n] of the Ayre, there are as it were certain circles generated, vntill by succession they attaine vnto the Organ of Hearing.<sup>76</sup>

Soundwaves are longitudinal waves, meaning they have the same direction of vibration as their direction of travel, just as Crooke describes the sonically “affected” air moving in successive motion like radiating waves in a pond. As Bruce R. Smith explains it, “A vibrating object sets the molecules into motion in waves of greater or lesser magnitude, at intervals of greater [or] lesser frequency”; while we know that “the medium of sound is finite,” it was once thought “that all the sounds that have ever occurred

<sup>75</sup> Steve Goodman’s point in *Sonic Warfare*, xviii, that the previous focus on “the phenomenology of sonic effects” should instead “be transformed into the less anthropocentric *environmentality* or *ecology of vibrational affects*,” is echoed here.

<sup>76</sup> Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London, 1615), 696. Boethius likewise wrote, “something is accustomed to occur in the matter of sounds in a way similar to what occurs when a stone thrown from a distance is plunged into a swamp or quiet water. For at first it forms a wave in the shape of a very small circle, then it scatters many circles of waves in larger circles, and thus continuously until the motion, exhausted, comes to rest and cease its production of waves” (*Boethius: Five Books on Music*, 139). Thomas Wright, in *Passions of the Minde in Generall*, 170, congruently observed “the very sound itselfe” functions as “nothing else but a certain artificiall shaking, crispling, or tickling of the ayre (like as we see in the water crispled, when it is calme, and a sweet gale of wind ruffleth it a little, or when we cast a stone into a calme water, we may perceiue diuers warbling naturall circles) which passeth thorow the eares.” Erin Minear, *Reverberating Song in Shakespeare and Milton: Language, Memory, and Musical Representation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 8, records that “from ancient times, sound had been described by this analogy of a stone dropped into water.” Minear notes another version of this analogy in Phineas Fletcher’s description of sound production in *The Purple Island* (Cambridge, 1633), 58; cited in Minear, *Reverberating Song*, 8. Consult also Dostrovsky, “Early Vibration Theory.”

still reverberate, however faintly, somewhere in the wild blue yonder.”<sup>77</sup> Vibration is caused by the oscillation of pressure, which can be transmitted through solids, liquids, and gases. Frequency is the number of complete cycles a soundwave can propagate in a given amount of time, and although not all frequencies of vibration are available to human hearing, they still engage the sense of touch.<sup>78</sup> As Charles Taylor explains, infrasound includes “frequencies below about 30 Hz,” which cannot be apprehended by the human ear-brain system; but, “sounds of frequency about 16 Hz can, however, be ‘felt’.” The 32 foot pipes on some cathedral organs produce notes in this region and the whole building seems to vibrate when they are sounded,” and manifest themselves as waves both audibly and viscerally perceptible.<sup>79</sup> Taylor’s description is particularly reminiscent of Alonso’s “deep and dreadful organ pipe” that did “bass [his] trespass” in *The Tempest* (3.3.99, 100).<sup>80</sup> Soundwaves assault the world—sounding, vibrating, echoing, reflecting, deflecting, reverberating, touching—even though they might not always be perceptible by human hearing.

Robert Jourdain provides a lyrical, comprehensive description of the function and interactions of the soundwave as it moves through space:

A sound wave does its best to set an object vibrating. But objects can be stiff and massive, causing them to repel sound. Nonetheless, for any object there are certain frequencies at which it gladly joins in the dance. These are the object’s *resonant frequencies*. Of the many frequencies that make up an approaching sound, resonant frequencies are sustained while all others tend to be damped. Resonances vary by an object’s size and shape, the material it is made of, and other factors. Massive objects resist rapid vibration, so they tend to resonate at low frequencies. Conversely, small objects favor high frequencies. The complex shape of a violin makes for many strong resonances; a kettledrum’s simple form creates fewer.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Bruce R. Smith, “Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder,” 21.

<sup>78</sup> Frequency is measured in “Hertz,” or Hz, as cycles-per-second and determines the sound’s pitch.

<sup>79</sup> Charles Taylor, “The Physics of Sound,” in *Sound*, ed. Patricia Kruth and Henry Stobart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 34–64, 38. Anti-sound (the phenomenon whereby two soundwaves are exactly out of step and thus cancel each other out) is another unheard soundwave phenomenon, although the waves still propagate and pass through matter.

<sup>80</sup> Consult Minear, *Reverberating Song*, 158. In *Jacobean Private Theater* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 83, Keith Sturges notes that “Alonso’s ‘dreadful organ-pipe’ may have been actually employed at the Blackfriars.”

<sup>81</sup> Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 35–36.

Small bells are simple resonators; their jingling decays quickly. Continuous sounds require both the element that generates sound (like a lute's strings) and a component that receives the soundwaves and resonates (the lute's wooden body). Regardless of how small, soft, or imperceptible a soundwave is to human ears, all vibrations incite transformations through their physical movements.

As Jourdain suggests, soundwaves pass into, through, and around all forms of matter, causing them to experience motion. The trajectory of the soundwaves causes matter to vibrate along the same frequency as sound energy is converted into mechanical energy. A similar phenomenon was known as "sympathetic vibration" in the Renaissance, which John Hollander argues was understood as "physical fact" at the time.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, Neoplatonists of the early modern period were fascinated by the effects of "sympathetic vibration" or "sympathetic resonance": Bacon writes "if a *Lute*, or *Viall*, bee layed upon the back with a small Straw upon one of the *Strings*; and another *Lute* or *Viall* bee laid by it; And if the other *Lute* or *Viall*, the *Unison* to that *String* bee stricken; it will make the *String* move; Which will appeare both to the Eye, and by the *Strawes* falling off"; this phenomenon is illustrated in Fig. 1, which features the visibly "vibrating" straw.<sup>83</sup> As Penelope Gouk notes, Henry Peacham had made a similar observation a few years earlier in his *Compleat Gentleman*, "which suggests that this experiment with sympathetic resonance was currently popular in courtly circles."<sup>84</sup> Ideas about sympathetic vibration may have even been resonating earlier: sympathetic vibration of strings tuned in unison was discussed by Girolamo Fracastoro in his *De sympathia et antipathia rerum* (1546). Fracastoro writes, "when two strings of equal length stretched to the same tension are tuned to the same pitch, and one is plucked, the other resounds because the compression caused in the air by the plucked string returns to its original position, the air is rarefied, and

<sup>82</sup> John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1961), 43. Hollander continues, "the phenomenon of sympathetic vibration in two perfectly attuned strings became a commonplace image for the resonances of spiritual sympathy" (43).

<sup>83</sup> Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 278.

<sup>84</sup> Gouk, *Music, Science, Magic*, 169. A version of this experiment also appears in Mersenne's *Harmonicorum libri* (Paris, 1635), lib. 4, prop. Xxvii, pp. 65–68, and in chapter 4 of Girolamo Fracastoro's *De Sympathi et antipathia rerum* (Venice, 1546). Gouk, 167, notes that, while the exact mathematical laws of vibrating strings were not yet widely known in England in the early seventeenth century, the effects of vibration as moving another string or entity were patently obvious.





**Fig. 1** Jacob Cats, “Quid non sentir amor XLII,” in *Proteus ofte Minne-beelden Verandert in Sinnebellden* (Rotterdam: Bij Pieter van Waesberge, 1627), 254. By kind permission of the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University

this allows the second string to return to its position.”<sup>85</sup> Deflection (where the soundwave bounces off a planar surface) and reflection (where the wave returns in the direction from which it started) are motions of the soundwave often neglected in sensory studies; however, Bruce R. Smith notes the multiplicity of vibratory waves as they bounce around the space of the theater, arguing “the result of these reflections from wood and

<sup>85</sup> Girolamo Fracastoro, *De sympathia et antipathia rerum* (1546) in *Opera omnia in unum proximae post illius mortem collecta* (Venice, 1574), 66–67, translated by Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 158.

plaster within the wooden O is a plentitude of what acoustical science calls ‘standing waves’—stationary patterns of vibration formed by many reflected sound waves, coming from many different surfaces, all superimposed on one another.”<sup>86</sup> For many, once the soundwave reaches the sovereign subject’s ear, its work is done; but, according to the laws of deflection and reflection, its greater movements may have only just begun. While the individual human subject has been the focus of many studies in musical performance and phenomenology, shifting attention to the movement and energy of the soundwave demonstrates the importance of networks of association that are generated via a sonic event.

All matter—human and non-human, subjects and objects—vibrates to sound. According to Wes Folkerth, Francis Bacon appreciates how matter is crucial to resonance, which Bacon describes in the 1627 edition of *Sylva Sylvarum*; Bacon characterizes all physical substances as having spirits that conduct sound.<sup>87</sup> Bacon writes, “the pneumatical part which is in all tangible bodies, and hath some affinity with the air, performeth, in some degree, the parts of the air ... the sound participateth also with the spirit in the wood through which it passeth.”<sup>88</sup> Matter participates in vibratory soundings as much as humans do; since soundwaves are both absorbed by and reverberate off of matter, they are excellent at forming networks because they calibrate all matter in their proximity to the same frequency. Serres echoes and amplifies Bacon’s understanding of sound: “So noise is not a matter of phenomenology, so it is a matter of being itself. It settles in subjects as well as in objects, in hearing as well as in space, in the observers as well as the observed, it moves through the means and the tools of observation, whether material or logical, hardware or software, constructed channels or languages.”<sup>89</sup> Goodman, too, recognizes the enmeshment caused by vibration: “A vibratory nexus exceeds and precedes the distinction between subject and object, constituting a mesh of relation in which discre[te] entitiesprehend each other’s vibrations” and “in which a body becomes

<sup>86</sup> Smith, *Acoustic World*, 209, citing Stephen Handel, *Listening: An Introduction to the Perception of Auditory Events* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 33.

<sup>87</sup> “Bacon believes that not only human beings but all physical objects have some sort of spirits in them that can serve to propagate sound, much as air does,” notes Folkerth, *Sound of Shakespeare*, 56. “Spirits” were considered to be the same substances belonging to both bodies and matter affected by geohumoral changes and fluctuations.

<sup>88</sup> Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 136. Eidsheim advances a similar point for the purposes of her *Sensing Sound*, 161, that the “object of study is not only the vibrations but also, for all practical purposes, the material that vibrates.”

<sup>89</sup> Serres, *Genesis*, 13–14.

merely another actual entity in a vibrational event, assuming not necessarily any more significance than the resonance between other entities within this nexus.”<sup>90</sup> The soundwave troubles the distinction between human and non-human matter, moving the same “spirits” or “humors” among them all through vibrations, even when those at the molecular level cannot be perceived by human senses.

The fleshly materials of the human body have a fascinating relationship with soundwaves. Jourdain writes that they “suck up two thirds of the sound striking them. In fact, the audience is one of the most important acoustic components of a hall.”<sup>91</sup> This resonates with Bruce R. Smith’s understanding of the acoustics of the Globe Theatre: “Clothed human bodies are also highly absorptive of sound, stopping up to 80 percent of the sound waves that strike them.... Human bodies, then, presented the greatest obstacle to the efficient propagation of sound.”<sup>92</sup> Bodies absorb the majority of the soundwaves that strike them. This absorption of sound is sometimes conceptualized as sensorially and metaphorically “touching” a listener. David Schwarz writes, “I have been fascinated for some time by the goose bumps I sometimes get while listening to music.... Why are goose bumps so powerfully at the *skin*—the boundary separating our bodies from the rest of the world?”<sup>93</sup> Similarly, Judith O. Becker notes recent work by psychologists and neuroscientists conclude that “deep

<sup>90</sup> Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, 82, 46. Furthermore, “This vibrational ontology begins with some simple premises. If we subtract human perception, everything moves. Anything static is so only at the level of perceptibility. At the molecular or quantum level, everything is in motion, is vibrating.” (83). Similarly, John Cage describes his desire to perceive the vibration of objects: “Look at this ashtray. It’s in a state of vibration. We’re sure of that, and the physicist can prove it to us. But we can’t hear those vibrations.... It would be extremely interesting to place it in a little anechoic chamber and listen to it through a suitable sound system. Object would become process; we would discover, thanks to a procedure borrowed from science, the meaning of nature through the music of objects.” John Cage and Daniel Charles, *For the Birds* (Boston: Marion Boyars, 1981), 220–221. Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 167, also observes, “human entities constitute only one of the many materialities through which energy is transmitted and transduced.”

<sup>91</sup> Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 49.

<sup>92</sup> Smith, *Acoustic World*, 210.

<sup>93</sup> David Schwarz, *Listening Subjects: Music, Psychoanalysis, Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1997), 1. From a Lacanian point-of-view, Schwarz understands this dermatological/affective sensation as evidence of an experience of the “sonorous envelop,” which he defines as “a fantasy of a thing,” as well as “a space in which thresholds are crossed and enunciated,” especially since the goosebumps mark the crossing of the sonorous threshold as he understands it (3).

listeners experience the physical symptoms of ANS [automatic nervous system] arousal such as changes in heart rate, skin conductance, respiration, and the phenomenon known as ‘chills.’”<sup>94</sup> And Veit Erlmann also suggests that “sound is imagined in the same two-sided way as skin: as both that which touches and that which is touched; as both a medium through which we feel and something that is itself subject to touching and assault,” again collapsing the conventional sensorial boundaries when sound is perceived as haptic, its waves both touching matter and being touched by that matter.<sup>95</sup>

The resonance between physiological or embodied states and sound phenomena is a strong one. Serres explains why: “By the ear, of course, I hear: temple, drum, pavilion, but also my entire body and the whole of my skin.”<sup>96</sup> He elaborates upon this point further in *The Five Senses*:

At the beginning, the whole body or organism raises up a sculpture or statue of tense skin, vibrating amid voluminous sound, open-closed like a box (or drum), capturing that by which it is captured. We hear by means of the skin and the feet. We hear with the cranial box, the abdomen and the thorax. We hear by means of the muscles, nerves and tendons. Our body-box, stretched with strings, veils itself within a global tympanum. We live amid sounds and cries, amid waves rather than spaces the organism moulds and indents itself.... I am a house of sound, hearing and voice at once, black box and sounding-board, hammer and anvil, a grotto of echoes, a musicassette, the ear’s pavilion, a question mark, wandering in the space of messages filled or stripped of sense.... I am the resonance and the tone, I am altogether the mingling of the tone and its resonance.<sup>97</sup>

Serres understands the body as defined by mingling cycles of sound, both producing and making noises, constantly engaged in the sonic. In the continuity of sounds, the skin itself becomes an organ of hearing. In describing the “cyclical return” of sound in the theater at Epidaurus, Serres posits that the otherness of sound is constantly in motion between bodies of selves and others. Sonic exchange occurs between bodies and their envi-

<sup>94</sup>Judith O. Becker, *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 11.

<sup>95</sup>Veit Erlmann, “But What of the Ethnographic Ear? Anthropology, Sound, and the Senses” in *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity*, edited by Veit Erlmann (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 1–20, 10.

<sup>96</sup>Serres, *Genesis*, 7.

<sup>97</sup>Serres, *Five Senses*, 180–181.

ronments, echoed by the physical property of reflection or deflection of the soundwave.<sup>98</sup> Serres's statement that "practically all matter, particularly flesh, vibrates and conducts sound" is echoed and refined by his assertion that we hear also through "the skin," "the feet," "the cranial box, the abdomen and the thorax," "the muscles, nerves and tendons."<sup>99</sup> The resonant material human body has been acknowledged by other theorists of sound as well. Nina Sun Eidsheim describes the intricate effects of vibration: "while the human body overall has a low-frequency resonance, it does not vibrate as a single mass. Indeed, beyond the ear, different parts of the human body have their own natural frequencies. As a consequence, individual body parts resonate with the overall vibration.... Thinking organologically, each body or object, even if it appears to be wholly inanimate, is constantly in motion at the molecular level."<sup>100</sup> And Becker revises the idea that music is a predominately cognitive activity, focusing instead on its corporeal effects: "we experience music with our skins, with our pulse rates, and with our body temperature. To subscribe to a theory of musical cognition which cannot deal with the embodiment of music, the involvement of the senses, the visceral system, and the emotions is to maintain a Cartesian approach of mind/body dualism."<sup>101</sup> Especially important for this study, Bruce R. Smith notes "For early modern men and women, hearing was a whole-body experience."<sup>102</sup> Sound is a total-body experience accessed through vibrations that pass into, through, and out of our very flesh. For the deaf, the tone deaf, the musicophobics, as well as the musicophiliacs, vibration propagates the same sonic frequency throughout various types of material bodies.

My understanding of sound as both a spherical totality like that described by both Bruce R. Smith and Michel Serres, and as a wave, with vibrating frequency that blurs distinction between body and embodied space, was made tangible when I found myself in an organ as it was playing. As a music student from a nearby university, I was allowed to venture inside an organ chamber on my visit to a local museum. There, a lone lightbulb barely illuminated the space as I climbed a ladder into the cavernous room;

<sup>98</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 93.

<sup>99</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 47.

<sup>100</sup> Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 171. Please refer also to the "Vibratory Model of the Human Body" from Chandramohan Sujatha's *Vibration and Acoustics: Measurement and Signal Analysis* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill Education, 2010), 295.

<sup>101</sup> Becker, *Deep Listeners*, 6.

<sup>102</sup> Smith, "Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder," 37.

I could see rank upon rank of flue and reed pipes, horizontal trumpet pipes, huge square-shaped wooden columns, large metal tubular pipes, and small rows that reminded me of Panpipes fading into darkness outside of my cone of vision. And then, the music started. I thought that I would fall off the rickety ladder when the sound actually enveloped my body, coming at me from all around with unparalleled force and volume, causing inescapable visceral sensations. Due to my body's size and position within the organ, I actually felt the soundwaves vibrating in my chest cavity (which reiterates Serres's claims that vibrating sound can be a not-too-pleasant experience, as noise can induce nausea); the volume and force was so strong to me because this organ was meant to be heard throughout the museum, not from within the organ's sound chamber. The way that I *experienced* the sound—coming from below me, above me, from all sides, and within me simultaneously—was like nothing I've ever felt or heard since.<sup>103</sup> That this instrument bears the multivalent name “organ” is apt, its appellation made especially poignant to me as I felt the vibratory energy of this instrument's sound uncannily resonating throughout my internal organs. Indeed, Bonnie Gordon notes the connection between the words “instrument” and “organ”: “Organ derives from the Latin *organum*, which means instrument, and which comes from the Greek word that

<sup>103</sup> Suzanne G. Cusick describes a similar whole-body experience of vibration in her “Music as torture / Music as weapon” (2006, n.p.) <https://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/152/music-as-torture-music-as-weapon>, accessed 14 July 2017: “I remember from my youth the joyous feeling of the beat and guitar sounds resounding in my very bones, and from my more recent middle-age the feeling of Junior Vasquez's disco beats all but pushing me onto and across the floor, forcing me to move. For me, both kinds of experience produced the feeling of being touched, without being touched by anyone; all of us who sang or danced were physically touched by the same force, which sometimes moved, sometimes enveloped, sometimes caressed us. From that shared experience of being touched-without-being-touched by the vibrating air in which we all moved, I drew a deeply sensual, erotic (though not explicitly sexual) feeling of communion with the friends and strangers around me, even as the music blessedly silenced, temporarily, my individual thoughts. My experience, of course, was not only psychological or sensual; it was enhanced by the adrenalin rush, the raised blood pressure and heart rate, the “ringing” that would last for hours in my bones that were the best-known, immediate physical effects of loud music.” Describing the intense experience of vibratory sound as curated in Jamaican dancehall sound systems of Kingston, Julian Henriques writes in *Sonic Bodies*, 1: “There is no escape, not even thinking about it, just being there alive to, in and as the excess of sound” and “the vibrations of the music excite every cell in your body.” Further, “On the one hand, this current immersion in auditory abundance can be experienced as a sonic invasion of our bodies and their personal space. On the other, it can also be heard as a sonic extension of the body” (2).



means musical instrument or organ of the body.”<sup>104</sup> This echoes my embodied experience of sound, collapsing the boundaries of distinction between musical instrument and body part through the overwhelming and tangible power of vibration.

That sound reaches and touches the entire body through vibration was theorized also by Thomas Wright. *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* suggests that the music moving in the air “passeth thorow the eares, and by them unto the heart, and there beateth and tickleth it in such sort, as it is moved with semblable passions ... musick in those cels plaieth with the vital and animate spirits, the only instruments and spurs of the passions.”<sup>105</sup> Wright’s response invokes the sense of touch in relation to the elemental, geohumoral body, stating that the music “beateth and tickleth” the hearer’s heart so that sound phenomena is not merely aural; it also involves haptic sensory experience. Wright further posits that the music reaches all the way to the microscopic “cels,” affecting the listener literally at the molecular level, which in turn move the “spirits,” the “spurs of the passions,” creating a Serresian total-body-experience of sound through vibrating flesh.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, in his theorization of affect, Goodman writes “From vibes to vibrations, this is a definition that traverses mind and body, subject and object, the living and the nonliving. One way or another, it is vibration, after all, that connects every separate entity in the cosmos, organic or nonorganic.”<sup>107</sup> Our bodies are sounding boards resonating with others constantly and our flesh uncontrollably vibrates to music or sound, even if we do not, cannot, or refuse to attend to it with our ears.

To begin to sound otherness in early modern texts is to conceptualize soundings in a new way—as not only that which is heard by or invades an ear, but as soundwaves that are received by, and transform entire bodies. Because sound acts in a pulse field of vibration, impacting more than just

<sup>104</sup> Bonnie Gordon, “Galileo’s Finger and Early Modern Critical Organology” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, PA, November 7, 2013; cited in Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 163, 232.

<sup>105</sup> Wright, *Passions*, 168.

<sup>106</sup> Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 326, echoes this sentiment: “we use our bodies as resonators for auditory experience. The listener becomes a musical instrument.”

<sup>107</sup> Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, xiv. He states that the argument of his book “is based on the contention that, to date, most theoretical discussions of the resonances of sound and music cultures with relations of power, in their amnesia of vibration, have a missing dimension,” and that “By zooming into vibration, the boundaries of the auditory are problematized” (xvi) because humans are only privy to a certain range of vibrations that we perceive as audible sound.

the ear, we might regard the vibrating soundwaves as exemplary of Deleuzian “molecular becoming.” “Molecular becoming” entails recognition of plural tendencies, or a type of movement in the same direction—exactly the same movement as the longitudinal soundwave propagates. It also refers to intensities that arise as ostensibly molar entities form networks with different subjects and objects, and move as new entities. Deleuze and Guattari recognize that “Music dispatches molecular flows”; their assertion may be supplemented by my contention that all sound phenomena create molecular flows.<sup>108</sup> The frequency of sound vibrations conjoins body and sonic environment, as well as bodies to other bodies and forms of matter.<sup>109</sup> Vibratory sound precisely creates movement of bodies along the same frequency, even as “other” foreign sounds imply plurality.

In addition to absorbing and conducting soundwaves throughout the entire body as Serres, Wright, and Jourdain describe, fleshy bodies do deflect and reflect some of the soundwaves with which they come in contact. The same soundwave is made familiar by passing through the body and vibrating our molecules, and at the same time it is also made foreign, by deflecting off our bodies, which slightly alters the soundwave. The soundwave is changed through contact because, as a longitudinal soundwave is reflected, the energy of the wave will be different due to the size and texture of the medium with which the soundwave interacts. The wave itself is transformed by contact, even as it transforms the matter it

<sup>108</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 309. However, sounding otherness actually transcends the movement of molecular becomings, for, as Deleuze and Guattari describe it, “becoming is the process of desire” (272). Sounding otherness can occur independent of the intentions or desires of the subject, as her body becomes engaged in an assemblage orchestrated by vibration, creating an experience of otherness-in-sound for a listener, shaking and moving her at the molecular level. Sound phenomena, especially music, resound throughout the seminal works conceptualizing assemblages, appearing profusely in the writings of Michel Serres, as well as Deleuze and Guattari. The encompassing range of vibratory soundwaves, their transformative potential, and their constant fluctuating movement are a few of the reasons that sound plays such an integral role in these studies, as they echo some of these thinkers’ key ideas. For example, Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of “molecular” is characterized by sound, and they argue in *A Thousand Plateaus* that “[s]inging or composing, painting, writing have no other aim: to unleash these becomings. Especially music...” (272, also 252).

<sup>109</sup> This movement is similar to the motion of what Deleuze and Guattari term “lines of flight,” which are also transformational flows. “Lines of flight,” or “*ligne de fuite*” as they are termed in French, connotes fleeing but also flowing, dispersing, and even disappearing. It is similar to the soundwave that undoes segmentation. Deleuze and Guattari write that “music has always sent out lines of flight, like so many ‘transformational multiplicities,’ even overturning the very codes that structure or arborify it” (*Thousand Plateaus*, 11–12).



touches, moving the very molecules, or “cels” within bodies like those that Wright describes. Through the unrestricted movement of the sound-wave, vibration problematizes distinctions between inside and outside, subject and object, self and other, and—as we shall hear—*heimlich* and *unheimlich*.

\* \* \*

### SOUNDING THE SONIC UNCANNY

As vibrating sound is at once both *heimlich*, or homely, and *unheimlich*, or unfamiliar, it echoes Sigmund Freud’s theory of the uncanny, discussed in his 1919 essay that is symptomatic of the very uncanniness it describes.<sup>110</sup> The uncanny often arises in sounding otherness, for the uncanny encapsulates the unusual sensation of simultaneously experiencing the familiar and the foreign, which occurs constantly through contact with soundwaves. Vibrant sound is both alien and familiar because it is not locatable to one body, but instead harmonizes or connects many bodies and spaces. The German word, *unheimlich*, usually rendered in English as “uncanny,” translates literally as “un-home-ly,” which underscores the way that sound, sounding, and otherness all relate strongly to spatial orientations and disorientations. Freud’s etymology of “*heimlich*” also enacts an uncanny and disorienting movement, for he traces the slippage in meaning of the word “*heimlich*” as “home-ly” to its opposite connotation as “foreign.”

Freud argues that the experience of the uncanny in the visual spectrum is simultaneously familiar and foreign because it echoes a repressed archaic desire. The “*un-*” of *unheimlich*,” for Freud, marks the act of repression; as he states, “for this uncanny is in reality nothing new or alien, but something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of representation.”<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Freud at first identifies the German word “*unheimlich*” as the obvious opposite of both “*heimlich*” (homely), and “*heimisch*” (native). In addition to providing definitions in Latin, Greek, French, English, and Hebrew, the final definition of *heimlich* Freud gives is: “concealed, kept from sight, ... withheld from others.” “The Uncanny,” in *The Pelican Freud Library*, vol. 14, trans. James Strachey (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 933. *Heimlich* itself has slipped into its opposite meaning of *unheimlich*.

<sup>111</sup> Freud, “The Uncanny,” 944. Timothy Morton, “Thinking Ecology: The Mesh, the Strange Stranger, and the Beautiful Soul,” *Collapse* 6 (2010): 265–293, writes of this from the post-anthropos perspective as the “strange stranger.”

Thus, the experience of the uncanny occurs later in life, when people encounter moments suggestive of these repressed infantile desires. Because the desires are repressed, this also splits the subject into an “I,” or *ego*, and an “it” or *id*. The *id*, though still part of the psyche, is nonetheless foreign to the subject; this splitting resonates with the uncanny experience and indicates an otherness which is already within the subject.

The sonic uncanny differs from Freud’s notion of the visual uncanny in several key ways. I do not argue that sounding otherness is the product of repressed infantile desires, nor do I follow Michel de Certeau’s claim that uncanny encounters are necessarily indicative of a Lacanian irruption of *jouissance* and the Real within the Symbolic.<sup>112</sup> Rather, the sonic uncanny experienced in moments of sounding otherness is an experience of transformation incited by vibration. Vibration is itself uncanny in that it is simultaneously internal and external, familiar and foreign, because soundwaves pass through and act upon bodies. Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytic theories, which—though grounded in the body, often presume a disembodied psyche—may be supplemented with Serres’s more sensory-oriented, vibrating body. This vibrating body is thrown into “molecular becomings,” which suggest movement toward compounds instead of singular, ontologically knowable “beings.” Vibrating, uncanny sounds resonate in and across the body in a way that places the body “in tune” with other bodies, other matter, and their surroundings; for the sonic uncanny, the boundary of clear-cut distinction between internal and external othernesses is washed away by soundwaves as notes, both foreign and familiar, resonate together.

The physical properties of the soundwave itself are representative of the sonic uncanny. The peak and trough between which the wave undulates can be conceptualized as representative of the poles of the familiar and the foreign; the soundwave moves between the two seamlessly and repeatedly. But, as the oscillating wave doesn’t sonically differentiate between the familiar at one edge and the foreign at the other, producing a *single* tone to our ears, so too does the familiar and foreign sound together as one in moments where the sonic uncanny is experienced.<sup>113</sup> The concept of the

<sup>112</sup> De Certeau outlines this in his chapter “Ethno-graphy,” in *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

<sup>113</sup> Barry Parker’s *Good Vibrations: The Physics of Music* provides a clear introduction to the soundwave and its properties (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). Boethius, *Five Books on Music*, 134, explains this phenomenon in terms of a vibrating string: “whenever a string is struck, it must not be thought to emit only the sound, or only one

sonic uncanny is shaken up even more by the reflection of soundwaves, as they bounce back from a plane of contact and echo toward their source of production. This continual movement that creates a forcefield of sound echoes the “parasite” Serres describes as “the heart of relation”; noise is the oscillation between familiar and foreign, self and other, *heimlich* and *unheimlich* of the sonic uncanny.<sup>114</sup>

While Freud defines the uncanny experience as unidirectional in the visual field, by contrast, the mechanical reflection of the soundwave suggests the possibility that the vibrating sonic uncanny is multi-directional. Writes Steven Feld, “sound both emanates from and penetrates bodies; this reciprocity of reflection and absorption is a creative means of orientation, one that tunes bodies to places and times through their sounding potential.”<sup>115</sup> This process echoes Serres’s notion of cyclical returns, and the patterns of transmission and reception between speaker and listener he explains in *The Five Senses*. The “tuning” of bodies through a soundwave’s “reciprocity” that Feld describes involves the movements of molecules among various bodies and matter as sound is both produced and absorbed by actors in a network. Though the sonic uncanny refers to perception of foreign sounds as strangely familiar, moments when sound is perceived as moving from familiarity to the foreign or strange are described in this study as instances of the *reflective sonic uncanny*, where “reflection” indicates a return or bouncing back of the soundwave. The sonic uncanny involves confused or mingled motions since the soundscape of almost any environment is comprised of a multiplicity of soundwaves at various frequency levels that combine, echo, resonate, and reflect, whether or not they are even audible.<sup>116</sup> Sounding otherness always involves the sonic uncanny.

percussion, but the air is struck as often as the trembling string strikes it. But since the velocities of the sounds are joined, no interruption is sensed by the ears.”

<sup>114</sup> Serres, *Parasite*, 52. Serres describes the *parasite*, the static omnipresence of sound, as a thermal exciter; applied to noise, the thermal excitation of sound amplifies soundwaves as well as movements. In humoral theory, the thermal exciter is a feature of the warm and moist blood and air through which sound could access the spirits and influence the passions.

<sup>115</sup> Steven Feld, “Sound Worlds,” in *Sound*, ed. Patricia Kruth and Henry Stobart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 173–200, 184.

<sup>116</sup> Even the ear’s anatomy echoes the vibrational power of the sonic uncanny. In “Hearing,” Jonathan Ashmore writes that the ears’ mechanism itself vibrates with sound: “the living ear contains a biological amplifier, termed the ‘cochlear amplifier’. The action of the amplifier is two-fold: it increases the motion of the basilar membrane and it makes the vibration pattern much more localised”; furthermore, “the motion of the basilar membrane generated by sound entering the cochlea will deflect the stereocilia at the same frequency as in the original sound.” *Sound*, ed. Kruth and Stobart, 65–88, 73, 77. In addition to performing that reflective vibra-



**QR Code 1** Eastern Chimes

Other iterations of the sonic uncanny embodied by the soundwave include the fascinating ways in which a listener perceives how soundwaves interact with one another as described by psychoacoustics. A sounding example of the sonic uncanny is audible in the sonic phenomenon known as “beats”; please use a barcode reader (available as a free smartphone download) to scan the QR Code 1 and it will link you to a soundclip of my Eastern chimes producing audible beats.

In some ways, this is the most profound representation of the sonic uncanny due to the fact that the waves of sound are actually detectable by the ear, whereas a soundwave’s vibrations are usually processed by the ear as a single pitch. As you can hear from this soundbyte, striking two chimes together produces “beats” or discernible pulses in the field of sound. This happens because the two chimes, though identical in size, were struck together in slightly different places, thus producing slightly different—though still very close—frequencies. The ear is unable to definitively separate the closely pitched tones, although the slight deviation in the waves’ amplitude (caused by the slight difference in the source of origination) is produced at a rate equal to the discrepancy between the two frequencies. At once both familiar and foreign, the beats of almost identical soundwaves that even share the same pitch value sound the sonic uncanny, which suggests that uncanniness is already a property of sound itself.

tion itself, the ear-brain mechanism engages in several uncanny actions. Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 69, writes that “vibrating objects, including the throats of animals, produce strong overtones one, two, and three octaves above a sound’s fundamental frequency. So it should come as no surprise that our brains interpret frequency doublings as unities.”

This phenomenon is akin to what is probably the most familiar modern experience of the sonic uncanny: hearing one's own voice on a recording. Often characterized by a feeling like Freud's description of repulsion at encountering the uncanny, hearing one's voice divorced from her body and played back for her ears produces a reaction much like the one Wes Folkerth in *The Sound of Shakespeare* describes Henry Irving as experiencing, "as so many of us do, 'Is that my voice? My God!'"<sup>117</sup> Sounding at once alien and strangely familiar, our own recorded voices are uncanny to our ears, though sound perfectly natural to those around us. Serres's above-mentioned description of how the body vibrates with soundwaves throughout explains why hearing recordings of ourselves is an uncanny event: when we speak, we hear our voice coming out of our mouth and through our ears, but we also hear it resonate in our cranial cavities. This second mode of hearing is only available to each of us individually; like the unknowable otherness which is always already a part of an individual (evident also in the fact that one has never seen her own face without the mediation of a mirror or image), sounding one's own voice is an uncanny experience.

It is through moments of cross-cultural contact that the sonic uncanny most vibrantly sounds otherness. The texts explored here demonstrate how sonic otherness repeatedly becomes part of the travelers' interiority, sounding in concert with tones that were already present within the soundwave. In other words, the "otherness" of strange lands comes to resonate uncannily in and as the traveler's body. This process is made startlingly evident by Jean de Léry in his *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, which records his experience of sounding otherness among the Tupinamba Indians.

\* \* \*

### JEAN DE LÉRY'S RAVISHMENT THROUGH UNCANNY SOUNDING OTHERNESS

Like the theatrical Pericles, the Huguenot traveler Jean de Léry also sounds otherness, experiences the sonic uncanny, and tangibly perceives the sound vibrations that calibrate him to his foreign environment. Léry's *History* was published in 1578 and chronicled his experiences as a missionary in Brazil twenty years earlier. It raises, and Michel de Certeau's essay "Ethno-graphy" finesses, many of the issues about the embodied effects of

<sup>117</sup>Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare*, 2.

sound I consider. First, L  ry’s complicated relationship with the three modes of sounding otherness I identify explains how he sounds otherness through his written inscription of Tupinamba people’s singing, even as he also sounds otherness through embodied vibration. He notes how music’s infectious nature alters his passionate response, for he locates his “delight” in their music only after he colonizes it with sense, which he defines as “harmony.” His phenomenological relation additionally describes the sonic uncanny as simultaneously internal and external to his vibrating body. Finally, his experience recounts how even a single instance of sounding otherness incites transformations that endure through time and space.

L  ry’s written account of sounding otherness begins with his description of a “solemn assembly” held by the Tupinamba: first, the men intone a “very low murmur” that grew louder, at which the women “answered them from their side, and with a trembling voice; reiterating that same interjection *He, he, he, he*, they let out such cries, for more than a quarter of an hour, that as we watched them we were utterly disconcerted.”<sup>118</sup> The terms L  ry utilizes to express his experience of this sounding ritual—“murmur,” “a trembling voice,” and even the “*He, he, he, he*” he calls “cries”—are notably different from European musicological terms he later employs. They instead reflect the Serresian parasitic, vibratory nature of these sounds, especially as the onomatopoeic “murmur” and “trembling” imply an undulating sound and uneven tonality. Perhaps L  ry’s dismissive ethnographic writing about the cultural otherness of Tupinamba sound is to be expected, for he, like many travelers, is not equipped to comprehend the nuances of alien music.<sup>119</sup>

L  ry’s presence in the soundscape of this foreign culture, coupled with the dance movements of the women that he characterizes as “devilish madness,” “utterly disconcerts” the Protestant L  ry and his interpreter. He elaborates on this point, stating “although I had been among the savages for more than half a year and was already fairly well used to their ways, nonetheless (to be frank) being somewhat frightened and not knowing how the game might turn out, I wished I were back at our fort.”<sup>120</sup> L  ry’s fear is grounded in his experience of the unfamiliar sounds and movements of the

<sup>118</sup> L  ry, *History*, 141.

<sup>119</sup> Notes Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, 254–255, often we “find only the noise of relationlessness, and declare that the music has little melody or harmony or rhythm—in a word, that it ‘makes no sense.’ It’s as if we bring the rules of chess to a game of backgammon.” The chessmaster L  ry initially does not or cannot realize that he is witnessing a completely unfamiliar soundscape.

<sup>120</sup> L  ry, *History*, 141.

Tupinamba bodies, even though he claims he was familiar with the singing Tupinamba. Léry desires to extricate himself from the foreign soundscape and fear propels him to retreat to the familiar space of their “fort.” However, while he attempts to cling to his European identity by emphasizing his personal experience of fear at hearing these sounds, the music of the Tupinamba has already vibrated his body. This underscores an important facet of sounding otherness, for vibrating soundwaves have the power to wash over and through a listening body regardless of or even against the will of that body.<sup>121</sup> As Goodman observes, “Sound has a seductive power to caress the skin, to immerse, to sooth[e], beckon, and heal, to modulate brain waves and massage the release of certain hormones within the body.... Need we be reminded that noise, like anything else that touches you, can be a source of both pleasure and pain?”<sup>122</sup> As we shall hear, Léry’s experience of Tupinamba sound modulates from fright to overwhelming pleasure.

Through writing, Léry perpetuates the illusory mastery he claims to have over himself after this initial moment of sounding otherness; he asserts that curiosity and “joy” replace his earlier sense of fear: “However, after these chaotic noises and howls had ended and the men had taken a short pause (the women and children were now silent), we heard them once again singing and making their voices resound in a harmony so marvelous that you would hardly have needed to ask whether, since I was now somewhat easier in my mind at hearing such sweet and gracious sounds, I wished to watch them from nearby.”<sup>123</sup> At first uncomfortable with the “noise” of this foreign community, Léry relishes what Serres would call the “footprint” of form momentarily emerging from noisy chaos. Léry recognizes this beauty as a “marvelous harmony” comprised of “sweet and gracious sounds,” which he categorizes as distinct from the earlier “chaotic noises and howls.” Léry becomes more comfortable with what he hears because the sounds of the Tupinamba are now more recognizable to him under a European musicological rubric after they change their tune and he can apply familiar terms like “harmony” to their “sweet and gracious” singing. It is telling that Léry is also more appreciative of “harmony” as representative of vertical linear concord than he is of the rhythmic “*He, he, he, he*” that so disturbs him. And that is because “harmony” implies a sonic order and civility distinct from the “savage howls”

<sup>121</sup> As Serres describes it, the collectivity of noise, like Latour’s network, is prior to the individual that may become part of that collectivity.

<sup>122</sup> Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, 10.

<sup>123</sup> Léry, *History*, 141.

that he aligns with rhythmic chanting and with the otherness he seeks to ascribe to the Tupinamba ritual. Although L  ry is likely not aware of it, his writing has traced the motion of the sonic uncanny, whereby what is foreign (the sounds of the Tupinamba) is made familiar (L  ry’s naming of it as “harmony”). The sonic uncanny occurs on another level in his travel narrative, for L  ry actually transcribed or “translated” the Tupinamba singing into printed musical notation in subsequent editions.<sup>124</sup>

As Michel de Certeau rightly argues in his well-known essay on L  ry’s encounter with Tupinamba sounds, the formation of a European subject—indeed, the writing of history itself—relies on moments like this one, where L  ry seeks to inscribe a cultural other. Through the process of ethnography, the other is relegated to a knowable position, as the European traveler sublates his own enigmatic otherness by outsourcing it to the cultural practices of the other. But attempts at making sense out of the other through ethnography are repeatedly thwarted. Certeau’s reading of the onomatopoetic inscriptions in his essay contends that “nothing can be either transmitted, conveyed, or preserved” through the writing of “*He, hua, hua*.”<sup>125</sup> The *sound* of the music is what resists meaning—as Certeau observes is often the case—in L  ry’s attempt to recreate Tupi soundscape through the symbolic acts of musical notation and writing.<sup>126</sup>

Regardless of the fact that the “*He, hua, hua*” reproduced in L  ry’s text loses or even exceeds meaning, L  ry encourages his readers to sound Tupinamba otherness and so reproduces the phonetics of this language and even approximates the pitches of the song through notation. While his musical notation surely cannot convey an exact replica of Tupinamba sound, L  ry invites the sounding of otherness by making the indigenous music of Brazil accessible to Europe and England through this early

<sup>124</sup> There is some prediscursive level of importance that these “*He, he, he*” sounds have for L  ry; these inscribed syllables, coupled with his later linguistic example of “*Heu, heuaure, heura, heurarure, heura, heura, ouel*” is L  ry’s ordering of the Tupinamba soundscape through writing. This point is echoed by Greenblatt’s assertion in *Marvelous Possessions*, 17, that L  ry “even includes musical notation for the Tupinamba chant, as if he longed for his reader actually to hear the music and share the ravishment”—quite literally, to sound the otherness of the Brazilian Indians.

<sup>125</sup> Certeau, *Writing of History*, 213.

<sup>126</sup> Although Gary Tomlinson states, in *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 46, “L  ry himself, instead, registered the supplementarity of song, the excess by which it transgresses speech, in the form of his writing. He did so first, in the earliest editions of his travelogue, by italicizing the brief Tupinamba song texts.”



modern “soundbyte.” Léry’s written attempt to make the foreign familiar actually encourages another resonance of the sonic uncanny: conceivably some of his readers may have attempted to sound the otherness of the Brazilian Tupinamba by singing these inscribed tunes while reading his narrative, simulating the “foreign” sound Léry offers in his text.

Back in “Brazil,” the vibrations of the Tupinamba singing mesmerize Léry, and entice him to move closer to the sound: “I drew near the place where I heard the chanting,” he writes.<sup>127</sup> Léry is amazed that these foreign others could produce any type of recognizable music, as suggested by his assertion that “those who have not heard them would never believe that they could make such harmony.”<sup>128</sup> Léry’s ambivalence about the musical status of the Tupinamba singing is further elaborated: “at the beginning of this witches’ Sabbath, when I was in the women’s house, I had been somewhat afraid; now I received in recompense such joy, hearing the measured harmonies of such a multitude, and especially in the cadence and refrain of the song.”<sup>129</sup> Léry applies musicological terms like “measured harmonies,” “cadence,” and “refrain” to these sounds of otherness in an attempt to inscribe a kind of *logos* onto them; however, this desire to inscribe the Tupinamba through his writings about them becomes secondary to the “joy” he feels when this culture, through its musical vibrations, gets inside of him.

Although the music of the Tupinamba initially provoked fear in Léry, it creates another embodied experience that Léry recounts in detail. Upon hearing the “cadence and refrain of the song,” which he transcribes as “*Heu, heuauure, heura, heurarure, heura, heura, oueh,*” Léry recalls: “I stood there transported with delight. Whenever I remember it, my heart trembles, and it seems their voices are still in my ears.”<sup>130</sup> His account is remarkable, because it so vividly describes how sounds of otherness

<sup>127</sup> Léry, *History*, 141. He is still reluctant at this point to describe what he hears as “music,” stating “such was their melody that—although they do not know what music is—those who have not heard them would never believe that they could make such harmony” (142). If “melody” and “harmony” do not comprise “music,” then what does Léry mean when he says that “they do not know what music is”? As Certeau would suggest, Léry bases this distinction on the fact that the Tupinamba do not possess *written* or scored music notation. While the Tupinamba do produce what Léry describes as “melody” and “harmony” in their singing, Léry still considers the Tupinamba sounds exceptionally foreign even as he attempts to inscribe what he is hearing through Western musical terminology and notation.

<sup>128</sup> Léry, *History*, 142.

<sup>129</sup> Léry, *History*, 144.

<sup>130</sup> Léry, *History*, 144.

transform his body through vibration. This song of the Tupinamba has vibrated the exterior sonic phenomena into Léry's interiority, making Indian sounds of otherness part of his European body. This happens even as he perceives himself ethnologically inscribing the Tupinamba culture and himself segregated from it, secure in his intransigent molar Christian identity.<sup>131</sup> Through this vibratory song, the sonic otherness from which Léry attempts to differentiate himself uncannily harmonizes with an otherness that was already present within him—an otherness that takes the form of pleasure. As Simon Smith observes, “For early modern writers, the experience of music *is* delight, and the two words are paired constantly” in early modern theatrical texts and paratexts.<sup>132</sup> The word “delight” had several important valences in the early modern period, especially with regard to a lack or absence of human agency: the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) cites “the Latin verbs ‘delectare’, meaning ‘to *allure*, *attract*, *delight*, *charm*, or *please*’, and ‘delicere’, meaning ‘to *entice away* or *allure*’. These italicized senses underlie an early modern delight not just pleasurable but also irresistible to the delighted subject.”<sup>133</sup> While Janet Whatley translates Léry's line, “I stood there transported with delight,” Léry's French phrase is “me tout ravi,” which is closer to “I was totally ravished,” as Certeau indicates in his essay. Tupinamba music ravishes Léry's body, both producing a remarkable embodied effect within him and calibrating his body to the totality of the “Brazilian” environment and Tupinamba singers. Marsilio Ficino's description of the multi-valent effects of music seems particularly resonant with Léry's experience: “Musical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air it excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly; by its contemporation it flows smoothly: by the conformity of its quality it floods us with a wonderful pleasure: by its nature, both spiritual and material, it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man

<sup>131</sup> Tomlinson, *Singing of the New World*, 46, for example, also notes the discrepancy between Léry's writing of the Tupinamba and his experience of their song: “His writing technologies cannot keep Tupinamba song from escaping his and his readers' control”; however, “Léry reserved song in the *Histoire* to affirm his proximity to the Indians and the humanity they shared with him. Their singing was for him a source of wondrous communion with the Americans” (106).

<sup>132</sup> Smith, *Musical Response*, 27, Smith's emphasis.

<sup>133</sup> Smith, *Musical Response*, 28.

in his entirety.”<sup>134</sup> In his narrative account, Léry records that he experiences this same range of effects, from emotional response to ascribing a “meaning” to the music, from spiritual experience to physical, embodied ravishment.

In his reading of Leibniz’s discussion of “the fold,” Deleuze describes the way that music is both an appreciation of an imprint of form and an embodied experience: “Music is in fact not without ambiguity—especially since the Renaissance—because it is at once the intellectual love of an order and a measure beyond the senses, and an affective pleasure that derives from bodily vibrations.”<sup>135</sup> Léry’s description perfectly demonstrates the vibratory power of the sonic uncanny, for the “trembling voices” that he heard earlier have calibrated Léry with a Tupinamba sonic frequency, and even to the same passionate frequency, for their singing has moved his own “trembling heart” with their vibrations. In the original French, “le coeur me’n tressaillant” translates to “my heart trembles,” or “my heart vibrates.” Though he is obsessed with inscribing musicological “order” onto the Tupi music in sounding their otherness, the second sense of sounding otherness—an otherness that resounds in the body of the hearer—is what overtakes him. Léry’s experience also manifests the paradox of music, for it is both something that overwhelms the senses and something that we desire to make familiar and legible through writing. While this book explores several situations in which a writer or character finds himself enmeshed in a network of sound, Léry’s description makes it clear that he phenomenologically perceived the vibrations of the Tupi sounds he experienced. Other writers and characters who sound otherness also experience a range of emotions running the gamut from disgust to pleasure, as Léry himself describes. While these sonic experiences are characterized variously as positive or negative (or the phenomenological perception even changes, as it does with Léry), the one aspect that connects these moments is their provocation of a reaction in the individual—travel writer or theatrical character—experiencing the sonic event. All of the examples explored in this study recognize that vibratory sound incites transformations, whether the participant perceived the experience of sonic enmeshment as painful, frightening, and/or pleasurable.

<sup>134</sup> Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on the Timaeus* in D. P. Walker *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 9.

<sup>135</sup> Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 127.

Certeau understands Léry's ravishment as a moment of *jouissance*, which, like the culture of the Tupinamba, also resists symbolization; Léry's *jouissance* can only be accessed through contact with the unintelligible otherness he inscribes, for in his attempts to make the Tupi culture intelligible, he loses himself to meaningless *jouissance*. As Certeau writes of Léry, "'totally ravished,' fascinated by the other's voice, the observer forgot himself."<sup>136</sup> Certeau's brilliant observation might be supplemented with the notion of the vibrating sonic uncanny, for his theoretical reading ironically writes out Léry's trembling body.<sup>137</sup> The network of Serresian *noise* in which Léry trembles is a fungible collectivity comprised of Tupinamba bodies, Léry's own European body, and the shared environment in which the Tupinamba's musical soundwaves pass through Brazilian air and calibrate all matter—human and non-human, self and other, and familiar and foreign—at this sonic event to the same frequency of vibration. While Léry's *jouissance* implies a singular—if split—subject, Léry's own writing about his experience of Tupinamba sound insists on the multiple ecology of *noise* within which, through which, and by which Léry is vibrated. The Tupinamba soundwaves vibrate all forms of matter, and Léry's body becomes enmeshed in the soundscape. This vibrating collective resonates with Serres's definition of "accord": "being in tune musically and sonorously, the *accord* is the archaic accord of nuptial agreements. Together. A vibration in several voices. Coming together [in the original French: '*jouissance*']."<sup>138</sup> Instead of a *jouissance* relegated to a sovereign subject, sonic vibrations stimulate a *jouissance* that is a "coming together" of various peoples, places, and forms of matter.

Certeau argues that, for all of Léry's attempts to translate the Tupinamba culture into *logos*, or to make sense of this culture through his Western language and "ethno-graphy," the alterity Léry is so eager to inscribe onto

<sup>136</sup> Certeau, *Writing of History*, 214.

<sup>137</sup> Many have noted Certeau's paradoxical disembodiment of Léry. Jonathan Gil Harris writes, "For Certeau, this delighted ravishment is the meaningless *jouissance* that subverts the project of glossing the New World, of colonizing the other's alterity or meaning.... In Certeau's brilliant exegesis, however, Léry's trembling body—which is the material substrate of this senselessness—is written out almost as soon as it appears." "Sick Ethnography: Recording the Indian and the Ill English Body" in *Indograpy: Writing the 'Indian' in Early Modern England* ed. Jonathan Gil Harris (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 133–147, esp. 136. This sentiment is echoed in Ian Buchanan's *Michel de Certeau: Cultural Theorist* (London: Sage, 2001), 81; and Chapter 4, "Musicoanthropophagy: The Songs of Cannibals" in Tomlinson's *Singing of the New World*.

<sup>138</sup> Serres, *Parasite*, 134.

an other culture is uncannily revealed as alterity within himself accessed through Tupinamba vibrations. Certeau asserts that “what comes from the mouth or goes into the ear can produce ravishment. Noises win over messages, and singing over speech.”<sup>139</sup> If one understands Certeau’s statement in terms of Serres’s description of *noise*, then Certeau’s concern with the European meaning-making ventures is complemented by the idea that *noise* is the essence of the collective, and, like the parasite, can even interfere with transmission of “messages.” The motion of sound between mouth and ear, which Certeau argues can “produce ravishment,” is similar to the description of “cyclical return” Serres describes: “this is a circular movement, like the mouth and ear for a single body.”<sup>140</sup> Léry is part of a sonic feedback loop that uncannily harmonizes all forms of matter that the soundwave vibrates. In this embodied process, it is not only Léry who is ravished by the sound he experiences, but his body, present while the Tupinamba are singing, absorbs and reflects some of the Tupi soundwaves. The soundscape of Brazil he writes about actually resonates in, through, and *as* his body.

The sounding otherness that Léry experiences lasts not only for a moment, but instead persists through both time and space in Léry’s trembling body. Stephen Greenblatt understands Léry’s protracted trembling as evidence of his wonder; Greenblatt describes this moment as “an ecstatic joy that can be experienced anew even twenty years later through an act of remembrance.”<sup>141</sup> Léry’s remark, “whenever I hear it, my heart trembles, and it seems their voices are still in my ears,” however, indicates just how deeply the notes of the Tupinamba have resonated within him through vibration, in a way that is more somatically profound than a cognitive “act of remembrance.” While other travel writers sound otherness, few recognize the enduring internal presence of sounds of otherness as vividly as Léry does. Suggestive of the polychronicity that characterizes sound in general, these songs continue to create the same physiological response in Léry as his initial experience, for his “heart trembles” at each recollection of Tupinamba music. Serres also observes how the vibratory soundwave of otherness has imparted echoing resonances within him: “I am made up of the other I claim to have left behind, even alone they make the same noise in my chest, residually.”<sup>142</sup> The sound of the Tupinamba is now

<sup>139</sup> Certeau, *Writing of History*, 212.

<sup>140</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 87.

<sup>141</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 16.

<sup>142</sup> Serres, *Five Senses*, 93.

as firmly a part of Léry as his own heartbeat. Léry's assertion that "it seems their voices are still in my ears" does not suggest that his internalization of the sound is a demonstration of his mastery over the sound or the Tupinamba themselves, but rather that the music still vibrates or moves him. His heart still "trembles" every time he recalls these "voices" to the point that he even can phenomenologically hear their voices in his ears, and feel the vibratory waves of his initial "ravishment" course through his body. The music uncannily vibrates within him, tuning him to a Tupinamba frequency even years after returning to his homeland.

\* \* \*

### SOUNDING OTHERNESS IN EARLY MODERN TEXTUAL SOUNDSCAPES

*Sounding Otherness* treats Léry's experience of the sonic uncanny in Brazil as exemplary of the pervasive sounding of otherness in travel literature. It also suggests that the theater was a laboratory in which the protocols for travel writing's sounding of otherness were tested, rehearsed, and complicated. The following chapters consider moments where otherness is sounded in cross-cultural contact zones, both in travel narratives and in the theater.<sup>143</sup> The contact zone, an area where soundwaves of different cultural groups excite one another, vibrate, and mingle, acts as an ideal space for sounding otherness. Recent studies have examined sound in cross-cultural encounters; however, many of these studies focus on the exchange between the Europeans and the New World.<sup>144</sup> The relative

<sup>143</sup> Several ethnomusicological studies have influenced my thinking here. These include Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-Three Discussions*, 3rd Edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1964); Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964); Steven Feld, *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression* (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Anthony Seeger, *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Shubha Chaudhuri and Anthony Seeger (eds.) *Remembered Rhythms: Essays on Diaspora and the Music of India* (Calcutta: Seagull Press, 2010).

<sup>144</sup> These include Peter Hoffer's *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), Richard Cullen Rath's *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), Gary Tomlinson's *The Singing of the New World*, and Olivia Bloechl's *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge

absence of work on Eastern sounds is a major gap my work begins to remedy, in sounding “East” and “West” othernesses in the archives.

The following pages engage in sounding otherness of various peoples, many of whom were categorized under the multiply-signifying term “Indian.” Indeed, uncanny motion is echoed in the very term “Indian” as it was beginning to refer to peoples located both “East” and “West” of England and Europe in the early modern period. The *OED* actually records this metamorphosis, first listing the term’s indication of the East (“Of, from, or belonging to India, British India (now *hist.*), or (formerly) the East Indies. Also: of or characteristic of the inhabitants of these regions,” (definition 1a), dating from about 1393, but then defines “Indian” in terms of Western spaces: “Of, belonging to, or characteristic of the aboriginal peoples of (any part of) the Americas” (definition 2), listing the earliest identified recording of this usage as 1590.<sup>145</sup> This shift in definition that records both the meaning of a word and its “opposite” itself uncannily echoes the slipperiness of Freud’s *unheimlich*. Also an echo of Columbus’s

University Press, 2008). Besides Ian Woodfield’s *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), another notable few who address Eastern sounds in the early modern period include Shai Burstyn’s “The ‘Arabian Influence’ Thesis Revisited,” which discusses how Eastern music had a place of “centrality in Europe’s early music history,” especially in how Western medieval musical was influenced by Eastern elements (*Current Musicology* 45/47 (1990): 119–146, 146); Henry George Farmer’s *A History of Arabian Music* (London: Luzac & Co., 1929); and *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, edited by Tara Alberts and D. R. M. Irving (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013) that contains one chapter, “Trading Tunes: Thomas Forrest, Malay Songs, and Musical Exchange in the Malay Archipelago, 1774–1784,” by Irving, which discusses musical exchange in the late 1700s. Other works that consider the importance of music to cultural encounter in the early modern period include David Irving’s *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Geoffrey Baker’s *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); and, Kristin Dutcher Mann’s *The Power of Song: Music and Desire in the Mission Communities of Southern New Spain, 1590–1810* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010). Again, my project differs in considering “sounds” more broadly than “music,” and it does not mainly consider the colonizing influence, as the studies listed above do. Rather, instead of privileging Western sounds of the colonizers defined as “music,” this book demonstrates that there were sonic exchanges that exceed what we might call Western “music,” and even more importantly, it acknowledges the power inherent in sounds performed and understood by “others” that eluded the English peoples traveling to both the New World and the East.

<sup>145</sup> Interestingly, “Britons and other Christians crossed over to Islam and to Indianness so much so that the term *renegado* or *runnugate*, which in 1599 represented to Hakluyt a convert to Islam, was soon applied to Britons who went native in America,” according to Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 96. Please refer also to Harris’s *Indographty*.

error in thinking he reached Indo-China, “Indian” was misapplied to inhabitants of the Occidental hemisphere, and in many early modern instances, it is unclear what hemisphere of the world is invoked when the terms “India” or “Indian” were used.<sup>146</sup> While these two hemispheres and groups of peoples are often—though not always—clearly distinguished in our own cultural moment, this important linguistic instability about who precisely “Indian” indicated reveals the significant fact that some of the delineations made today in categorizing groups of people were not necessarily as apparent to an early modern culture still working to “map” the globe. Travelers, including Thomas Stukeley, George Sandys, William Strachey, Ralph Lane, John Smith, and George Carteret, all traveled to the Levant before they ventured to the New World, and Thomas Roe ventured to the New World before traveling to the Levant.<sup>147</sup> This global traffic was not unusual: “before John White drew Indians, he had drawn Turks and Levantines; before the *Mayflower* carried the so-called ‘pilgrims’ to Plymouth, it had traded in the Muslim Mediterranean,”<sup>148</sup> and “as the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* reached Virginia in 1607, the *Mayflower* had long been sailing the Mediterranean Sea, carrying English traders and cargo to Istanbul, Algiers, and Cairo.”<sup>149</sup> As Gavin Hollis notes, “The Indies” could refer to points in the “south, east, and west”; this was like “America,” a term that “was so unstable in the period—after all, what point on the map were audiences expected to imagine when these places were invoked?”<sup>150</sup> I posit that this geographical confusion persisted in the early modern period, even as more “new” lands were being “discovered” by Britons and Europeans traveling the globe. As Nabil Matar

<sup>146</sup> David Bevington, “Imagining the East: Shakespeare’s Asia,” in *Shakespeare and Asia*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010: 29–44), 35, observes how this imprecision in taxonomy was deployed in Shakespeare’s works: “The confusion as to whether India is Asian India or the West Indies of the Caribbean, so common in the early modern period and responsible for the confusion of the names even today, appears in Shakespeare. One of Orlando’s love poems in *As You Like It* begins, ‘From the east to western Ind, / No jewel is like Rosalind’ (3.2.86–87). Falstaff, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, boasts that the two wives he is courting at least partly for their wealth ‘shall be exchequers to me. They shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both’ (1.3.68–70). The confusion of course arose from the search westward from Europe to the fabled riches of ‘India,’ a search that reached land and native populations (and considerable amounts of gold) in the Americas.”

<sup>147</sup> Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 97.

<sup>148</sup> Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 98.

<sup>149</sup> Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 61.

<sup>150</sup> Hollis, *Absence of America*, 21.



observes, “Students of the English Renaissance have ignored the importance of the fact that Britons encountered Muslims at the same time they encountered American Indians”<sup>151</sup>—a lacuna this book works to redress in considering how Britons and Europeans experienced othernesses through sounds, even as the precise distinctions between “East” and “West” “Indians” were sometimes elided in the process.<sup>152</sup> My project deliberately takes up the charge of silence noted by Shankar Raman, as much as it, too, invokes the European error of mis-naming: “the history of European colonialism is a history of silences. Just as the casual phrase ‘the New World’ silences the ancient worlds of native ‘American’ populations, so too the history of the New World assigns to its graveyard the histories of other worlds. In so doing, this history mistakes itself, and it is therefore fitting that it originated in a mistake.”<sup>153</sup> Engaging with the recoverable traces of sounds resonating from multiple cultures is crucial to *Sounding Otherness*.

Each chapter is an exploration of the othernesses that become organized around a specific instrumental sound in what might be called a historical approach to critical organology.<sup>154</sup> The musical instruments are

<sup>151</sup> Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, ix.

<sup>152</sup> These two ethnically “othered” groups “were superimposed on each other so that the sexual and military constructions of the Indians were applied to the Muslims.” Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, x. Matar, 17, further states, “The more English writers recognized that their discourse of domination and power was not translating into actual possession of Muslim land, the more they turned to superimposing Indians on Muslims, so much so that the terms ‘Indian’ and ‘Moore’ became, for some writers, interchangeable.” Please refer also to Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 1; *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 6–7. Rebecca Ann Bach discusses the figure of the “undifferentiated Indian,” which combined “an undifferentiated East with an undifferentiated West” in *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World 1580–1640* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 149.

<sup>153</sup> Shankar Raman, *Framing “India”: The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 1. Jonathan Gil Harris, *Indogrophy*, 1, writes that “it was only after 1492, following Christopher Columbus’s first voyage, that ‘Indian’ became the capacious, portable, and problematic term or diverse peoples around the globe that it continues to be even now.”

<sup>154</sup> Approaching sounding objects through critical organology also relates to Bill Brown’s thing theory, specifically to how “an inanimate object enables human subjects (individually and collectively) to form and transform themselves” in the collective experience of sonic events, especially those created by instrumental sounds; (quotation from Brown’s faculty webpage at the University of Chicago about his work, including “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* 28.1 (2001): 1–22). Please refer also to Emily Dolan’s “Perspectives on Critical Organology,” *Newsletter of the American Musical Instrument Society* 43.1 (2014): 14–16, and John Tresch and Emily Dolan’s “Toward a New Organology: Instruments of Music and Science,” *Osiris* 28.1 (January 2013): 278–298.

not suspended in synchronic time, but have what Arjun Appadurai calls “life histories” that span beyond a single or momentary interaction.<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, this focus on instruments as audible and vibrating aligns with Eidsheim’s observations about studying the effects of vibrating objects: “An organological investigation of intermaterial vibration would consider music in its vibrational realization, in how it is realized by different parts of our bodies, and in how the combination of material nodes reconfigures another node into transmitting or transducing energy uniquely. The boundary drawn around the object, or the liminal space that appears as the boundary is drawn, is reconceptualized from the sound’s volume (the perspective of the figure of sound) to a transformation on the molecular level (the perspective of the organology of vibrations).”<sup>156</sup> The rattles, bells, organs, and drums offered as case studies of sounding otherness are likely familiar instruments to readers today. But in early modern culture, these instruments also had various meanings and histories due to their affiliations with the New World (“Virginia” and “Brazil”), the East (Turkey and South India), and England. These musical objects are traded, imported, exported, “mis-”appropriated, reappropriated, lost, smashed, broken, fixed, broken again, and even buried in the ground. They may have sounded on English soil at the same time their counterparts were played on other sides of the globe; in all cases, these instruments incite transformations through their vibrations. Additionally, the reader/listener of this book can sound otherness in a new way; each full chapter contains at least one soundbyte accessible by smartphone scanning technology.

The first section, “New World Symphony,” considers how two specific instrumental sounds—jingling bells and rattling maracas—engage in bi-directional, uncanny exchanges between England and the New World.<sup>157</sup> The first chapter in Part I, “Rattling Soundscapes of Witch Drama and the

<sup>155</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 17. Carla Zecher’s *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry, and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 7, also demonstrates how “musical instruments have lives of their own.”

<sup>156</sup> Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 172.

<sup>157</sup> As another example of the sonic uncanny, the titles “New World Symphony” and “Songs of the Orient” are intentional echoes of song titles likely familiar to a Western audience. Instead of suggesting sonic imperialism, or arguing that the only way a modern readership could engage with sounds of otherness represented in Renaissance texts is through modern, Western musical ideas, these titles instead enact the reflective sonic uncanny for the listener/reader. Songs that are perhaps familiar are made foreign through their soundings in a new network of associations and readings that I offer here.

New World,” examines the role of the rattle or maraca in New World Indian culture. The rattle was a sonic indicator of the demonic to early modern English ears and was employed in Ben Jonson’s staging of a witch séance as the antimasque to *The Masque of Queens*. Tones of female otherness, demonic otherness, and cultural otherness sound together through the shaking of the rattle. The performances of the otherness of witches on the early modern stage borrowed supposedly histrionic elements from the rituals of New World Indian peoples; at the same time, this sonic otherness was reflective, as John Smith suggests in categorizing a New World Indian ritual he witnessed a “Virginia Maske.” “Hell’s Bells: Transatlantic Jingling,” the second chapter in Part I, traces the circulation of small crotal bells as they jingle throughout travel narratives and onto the stage. The English and European presence in the New World altered the soundscape of the Americas through the introduction and wide dissemination of jingle bells, often termed “hawk’s bells” in the early modern archive. Described repeatedly as insignificant “trifles,” these bells were actually immensely popular in England and on the continent, especially as they featured in the popular morris dance and were used in falconry. New World Indians, too, sewed them onto their garments in their own mode of sounding otherness. Like the maraca, these bells likely sounded in an English masque—the *Maske of Flowers*—and accompanied the appearance of the “Indian” character “Kawasha.”

The second section, “Songs of the Orient,” examines resonant sounds in Eastern temples and the seraglio, which were recapitulated in the English theaters. The first chapter in Part II, “An Organ’s Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam’s Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire,” follows Thomas Dallam on his remarkable Eastward journey. Dallam presented Sultan Mehmed III with the extravagant gift from Queen Elizabeth of a clockwork, self-playing organ. While Dallam insists on maintaining his English and Christian identity as he travels through the Ottoman Empire, the hot East impacts his organs, making him physically ill, while also damaging the organ in transit. Dallam believes he sounds an evangelizing Englishness in the Sultan’s seraglio, but his organ requires the air of Istanbul to produce sound; thus, the English organ is actually a hybridized instrument. “Drums Rumble Within,” the second chapter in Part II, considers sounds of the temple as it is described in travel narratives and staged in the early modern theater through the overwhelming vibrations of drums. Unlike the maracas or the bells, but similar to the large pipes of the organ, the kettledrums produced vibrations that were viscerally tangible to travelers and audience members alike who experienced Eastern othernesses. While Portuguese

travelers to the East, including Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, interpreted the large bells in Hindu temples as indicative of an Eastern form of Christian worship, William Davenant's *Temple of Love* and Robert Greene's *Alphonsus* staged "rumbling" temple scenes, replicating the acoustic environment of the frighteningly other Muslim East. In *Alphonsus*, the loud sounds of rumbling drums are orchestrated to create the diabolical atmosphere of radical alterity on the stage, accompanied by the smell and sound of squibs emanating from a flaming Mahomet's head, and creating a synesthetic experience for the audience. In his masque, Davenant seeks to reproduce sounds of the East, but does so in a way that is "harmonious," as opposed to the "discord" that so often characterized Eastern music.

Part III considers the sounds that are produced when East meets West. My final chapter, "'Something Rich and Strange': Global Listening and *The Tempest*," broadens Michel Serres's notion of global listening to expansively include resonances between the theater space (or Globe) and the terrestrial globe. In this polyphonic approach to global listening, *The Tempest* emerges as a play that refuses to map its coordinates, but instead engages with the pleasures and delights of sonically staged representations of otherness through its abundance of musical and nonmusical sounds. The island featured in *The Tempest* is often read as Western, but actually incorporates elements of both the East and the West Indies. The music of the play is instrumental in crafting this spatial confusion and palimpsest between East and West. The Coda "Songs from the Wood" briefly reads the lute as an instrumental actor in various networks, continually sounding othernesses. The lute not only sounds the temporal otherness of English Renaissance music, but it also had Eastern origins and Western tonalities, which resonate collectively with what we traditionally perceive as "English Renaissance" sounds.



## Part I: New World Symphony

The exhibition galleries at Jamestown Settlement in Jamestown, Virginia, appeal to the senses to introduce its visitors to the different cultural groups present in the area at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The galleries employ the conventional modern practice of placing artifacts carefully and safely behind a glass partition, distancing the museumgoer from these objects deemed worthy of preservation. This separates the potentially destructive present from the curated past these relics represent, except through the visual spectrum. But the first sense that may be engaged is hearing, for each exhibit in the gallery representing the year 1607 is preceded by a “sound-stick.” To use this sound-stick, one must pick it up and place it next to her ear, actively participating in order to engage with the sounds of a past cultural moment. Since there were obviously no recording devices in the early days of Jamestown, the soundbytes at the Jamestown Settlement museum are reconstructions. One of the soundsticks plays a recording of the Lenape language, which is presented as the closest relative to the extinct Algonquian family of languages, while another sound-stick features the Kimbundu language, a dialect of Bantu,

<sup>1</sup> Peter Charles Hoffer, in *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 9, makes the point that “Some otherwise splendid re-creations, like Plimouth Plantation and Jamestown Settlement, lie just far enough away from the original site to make picky scholars a little uneasy,” which is well-taken; however, precise location is less important to this study than a consideration of the various sounds heard by early modern peoples in nearby locations.

and similar to that spoken by the first Africans brought by force to the New World in 1619. While these cannot be “historically accurate” representations of that language or its sounds, the curators of the museum clearly desired to provide a sonic medium for the museum patron to hear as part of the experience of “1607 Jamestown.”

As I contend throughout this book, it is clear that from the earliest written records that sound played an integral role in cross-cultural encounters. This legacy continues, as the Jamestown Settlement museum would suggest, for sounds (or, to modern museumgoers, reproductions of sounds) of the so-called New World are a vital component of the experience of this space.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the arrowheads, pottery, garments, and other artifacts partitioned behind glass, the recordings of the sound-sticks allow the languages of the different cultural groups to interact with one’s ear and other bodily mechanisms. They vibrate and shake up the listener, as well as provide a different sensory avenue of touching and being touched by the past.

Besides the African and “Indian” languages, the English language of the early seventeenth century is presented for modern audiences to hear, should they choose. This sound-stick is in many ways the most fascinating, for it distances many members of the museum’s audience from their native tongue. Presenting a representation of “Renaissance English” suggests that this type of English is archaic, even possibly foreign, and not the style or dialect of English one speaks or hears nowadays. At the same time, the sound-stick calibrates the listener to that very frequency of supposedly “different” sound. This double move—pulling in opposite directions—enacts a phenomenological experience of the sonic uncanny in the listener. Even more remarkable, however, are the words the listener hears: lines from Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. Not only are we meant to hear Renaissance English, but words from the most venerated writer in the history of the English language, indicating the huge cultural that capital Shakespeare’s name bears. But the lines we hear are ones spoken by the fool Trinculo, who derisively comments upon the English after he spies Caliban for the first time: “Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted,” he speculates, “not a holiday-fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man—any strange beast there

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that the museum does not state that the spoken recordings of the Lenape Native American language, nor the Kimbundu African language are meant to be accurate reproductions, but rather approximations in sister languages to give the listener a sense of how these languages may have sounded.

makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian" (2.2.26–31). The term "Indian" here is often interpreted as indicating indigenous peoples of the "New World," and its use in the museum exhibit endorses this reading instead of recognizing the instability of word "Indian" in this passage—a term that simultaneously points East and West of England.<sup>3</sup> James Kearney argues that this moment is one in which Trinculo attempts "to divine the value of the exotic native on the European marketplace" through a humorous critique of both "holiday-fools and idle aristocrats" who are characterized as "rubes taken in by monsters and strange beasts."<sup>4</sup> Yet, I wonder how many museumgoers realize the meta-reference to ourselves in this soundbyte, giving our hard-earned "pieces of silver" in exchange for entering this museum precisely to see and hear the "exotic" from days long past; this passage, moreover, suggests an uneasy similitude between representations of the native peoples museumgoers have just viewed and the fishy "islander" Caliban that Trinculo had just described.

Furthermore, the reference to a "dead Indian" emphasizes the (perhaps deliberately) oft-neglected dark and tragic side of the "American" foundational story apparent in Trinculo's lines<sup>5</sup>: as Scott Manning Stevens argues, "Both the land and the inhabitants of the Americas had an effect on the Europeans. For the indigenous population, contact would very often prove fatal and would inevitably result in cultural disruptions that are difficult for most of us to appreciate today."<sup>6</sup> The pathogens termed "invisible bullets" by Thomas Harriot and discussed famously by Stephen Greenblatt resulted in the decimation of indigenous peoples; these deaths,

<sup>3</sup> Consult Jonathan Gil Harris, ed. *Indography: Writing the 'Indian' in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 192.

<sup>5</sup> In the epilogue to *Colonial Transformations*, Bach analyzes the representations of different cultural groups in Jamestown Settlement museum and Colonial National Historical Park, concluding that the imagined museumgoer is a white person who identifies with the colonialists (despite curatorial efforts to the contrary), and that the story told in these spaces is one of white colonial triumph through the inception of the "American" (i.e., "white") dream story. Rebecca Ann Bach *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World 1580–1640* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Scott Manning Stevens, "New World Contacts and the Trope of the 'Naked Savage,'" in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003): 125–140, 126.

however, were—as Trinculo posits—marketable for Anglo-Europeans.<sup>7</sup> Even the presentation of live Indians in England could be profitable: scholars estimate that dozens of “New World Indians” were brought to England, many to London. These include Pocahontas, who died at Gravesend; Eiakintomino, who was pictured in his native dress in St. James’s Park; Kalicho, who was brought to England by Martin Frobisher and died soon after; and Epenow, who was “shewed up and downe London for money as a wonder,” according to John Smith, but was one of the few who was eventually able to escape his captors.<sup>8</sup>

While there are no skeletal or organic remains of “Indians” on display at Jamestown Settlement in the manner that Trinculo describes, the museum displays statues of “dead Indians,” as well as artifacts from their village. In an ironic twist, one can travel the short distance over to Historic Jamestowne and see the remains, not of a “dead Indian,” but of three dead colonists, including Bartholomew Gosnold, in the Voorhees Archaearium. If the museum functions like Trinculo, and the exhibits like the spectacular “strange beast” Caliban, then we are the “holiday-fools” seeking a novel experience in Jamestown.

Sound is clearly one way to experience culture. This sentiment was expressed in the 2018 Shakespeare Association of America panel on “Indigenous Shakespeare and Cultural Translations”: two of the four panelists began their presentations by speaking words in their native languages, sharing sounds of otherness with the audience. Scott Manning Stevens greeted us with a Mohawk salutation and Laura Lehua Yim with one spoken in Hawaiian. And all panelists spoke about the importance of Amerindian languages, especially as it related to performance of Shakespeare. Stevens made the point that “Language is the one thing we

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, ed. Paul Hulton (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972), 29. Stephen Greenblatt, “Invisible Bullets,” in *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 21–65.

<sup>8</sup>Quotation is from John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, vol. 1 (Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 2006), reprint, 593. Please refer also to Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 121; Jonathan Bate and Dora Thornton, *Shakespeare: Staging the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 244–245; Alden T. Vaughan, “Trinculo’s Indian: American Natives in Shakespeare’s England” in *“The Tempest” and Its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 49–59, 50; and Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).



want to share,” and by speaking Mohawk words to the audience, he did precisely that, calibrating everyone in the conference meeting room, the chairs, the walls, the bodies, and the building all present on Native American land to the frequency of Mohawk linguistic vibrations.

The title of this section suggests that the fascination with Amerindian and “New World Indian” sound still pervades modern American culture. The “New World Symphony” is the popular name of Antonín Dvořák’s Ninth Symphony (1893), which was subsequently taken to the moon during the Apollo 11 exploration of another “new world.” The title as I deploy it is not meant to colonize the sounds of the “New World” with a Western orchestral scheme of music, but rather, to open up the meaning of “symphony” to include nonmusical sounds and sonic collaborations between different cultures. Dvořák’s symphony itself cites “Native American Indian” music and African spirituals, even as this piece was performed with the standard instruments of a Western orchestra. The terms in this title can even be temporally relocated to the early modern period: the word “symphony,” in the Renaissance, was suggestive of both a variety of instruments and their beautiful harmony, rather than an orchestral work.<sup>9</sup> The phrase “New World” is absolutely a problematic one on many levels, and not least because it temporally and physically negates the millions of peoples who had been living in the region for centuries before Europeans arrived and called this world “New.”<sup>10</sup> In a similar way, “Indian” is a term that highlights the very mistake the non-native newcomers made; it was first misapplied by Columbus, who termed the indigenous peoples “*indios*” because he (wrongly) assumed he was on the opposite side of the globe. While this term enacts another colonizing move, some modern-day peoples embrace this term because of that very mistake. Because early modern English and

<sup>9</sup> *OED* defines “symphony”: 1. “Used vaguely, after late Latin *symphōnia*, as a name for different musical instruments.” 2: “Harmony of sound, esp. of musical sounds; concord, consonance”.

<sup>10</sup> I am using this term quite expansively, I realize, even as I disagree with the implication that this half of the world was “New” only to those from the “Old World.” As Peter Hulme, in *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1992), 159, acknowledges, even the term “Virginia” “denoted that enormous stretch of coastline from Newfoundland to Florida, and connoted what was assumed to be its pure state.” Similar problems arise with regard to the native peoples that the Anglo-Europeans encounter; whenever possible, I have tried to use the names of specific tribes. “Native American” also performs a colonizing process, by applying a European name to a land already named by peoples who had lived there for centuries, and to the peoples themselves.

European peoples understood the Western hemisphere of the globe under the imprecise and incorrect conceptual framework of the “New World,” rather than individual and individuated tribes, I retain that phrase in this study because of its use in the early modern period and to remind readers that travelers to the “New World” possessed, at best, a perfunctory understanding of the Occidental hemisphere of the globe. Although I will henceforth dispense with using quotation marks around “New World,” “Native American,” and “Indian,” please understand that these marks are implied each time these terms are employed throughout this book.

The fascination with New World sounds captured the imagination of early moderns, as evident by travel narrative accounts and stage performances like *The Maske of Flowers*. The New World resonated with sounds that were also “new” to European travelers, as well as sounds that were more familiar to home. Visitors to this world they perceived as “new” record particular sounds embedded in this novel soundscape in their travel writings; these sounds include natural sounds, animal noises, sounds of weaponry, of speech, singing of the indigenous tribes, strange instruments, and even singing of their own. In the cross-cultural encounters considered here, otherness is sounded and heard between the newcomers to the New World and those native to it. At these encounters, sonic exchanges resulted in moments of the sonic uncanny, where sounds oscillate between the categories of the familiar and the foreign. This distinction, of course, was also dependent on the perspective of the listener; for example, an English trumpet-call in “Virginia” sounded the familiar homeland to the English colonists, but sounded the foreignness of another culture to the New World Indian peoples, at least initially.

The succeeding two chapters follow the movement of the sonic uncanny and its reflection through two instruments, the rattle and the bell. The rattle, a hollow shell filled with small seeds or stones, produced a sound that both fascinated and disturbed European travelers who journeyed to Virginia, as well as those who ventured to Brazil. Rattles were also employed in the contact zone of the English theater and used to construct New World Indian sonic otherness in the staging of Ben Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*. By contrast, a novel sound was introduced to peoples of the Occidental hemisphere: the tiny jingle bell. This small bell perfectly enacts the sonic uncanny, for like Freud’s term *unheimlich*, the sound of these bells modulated from the familiar to foreign for European newcomers; these familiar items became indicators of the foreign when worn on foreign bodies. Conversely, this same bell would have indicated the sonic

uncanny for New World Indians, sounding initially foreign, but becoming familiar as it gradually became part of their soundscape. The bells became so closely identified with New World Indians that they were used in the staging of an Indian figure in the anonymous play, *The Maske of Flowers*. Bells and rattles simultaneously sounded on both sides of the Atlantic, vibrating their listeners to different cultural and sonic frequencies.

These two instruments, although they seem to originate from opposite sides of the globe, are themselves uncannily similar: from an acoustic and material standpoint, the bell and the rattle are structurally identical. Michael W. Francis's discussion of the Micmac word for rattle, "*sesuwejk*," collapses the distinction between the bell and the rattle through onomatopoeic sound: "*Sesuwejk, sesuwejk* is the rattle. You ever seen those horses' bells? They go '*ti-ling, ti-ling, ti-ling*.' They are called *sesuwejk*. That's the same *sesuwejk*—something that rattles inside."<sup>11</sup> Both bells and rattles are idiophones, meaning that they produce sound through their structural vibrations, rather than through the use of vibrating strings or membranes. Unlike other idiophones, bells and rattles create sound through the process of concussion or shaking, whereby the rumbler (or rumpblers) located in the hollow interior collides against the rattle's internal surface and produces noise. These shaken objects also "shake up" bodies that are touched by the vibrations that these instruments produce, whether in the early modern theater, or in the vast region that travelers called the New World.

<sup>11</sup> Quotation cited in Beverley Diamond, M. Sam Cronk, and Franziska von Rosen, *Visions of Sound: Musical Instruments of the First Nations Communities in Northeastern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 76.



# Rattling Soundscapes of Witch Drama and the New World

... *so great bewitching of those Maraca ...*  
*Jean de Léry*, History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil

In the early modern imagination, witches sounded eerily similar to indigenous peoples of the New World. The representations of soundscapes of the New World and of early modern witchcraft are not *sui generis* or based on unfiltered empirical observation. Instead, they incorporate elements from each other's repertoires, and in the process reveal a larger nexus of religious and gendered othering, whereby what it means to be a devil, what it means to be a woman, and what it means to be culturally "other" are all interarticulated. In the process, a frightening cultural and religious otherness from the New World is transcoded by early modern playwrights like William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson as a gendered otherness in the form of the witch. This transposition is also bi-directional: English writers resorted to the New World soundscape—some of it empirically observed, some of it invented—to represent supernatural otherness; concurrently, travelers to the New World, including John Smith, Thomas Harriot, and Jean de Léry, relied on a familiar lexicon of witchcraft to inscribe the non-Christian belief systems of indigenous peoples. The mapping of witch culture onto New World Indian ceremony ironically parallels the invention of the witch in England and Europe, itself based on treatises like Jean Bodin's

*De la démonomanie des sorciers* and James I's *Daemonologie*. Travel narratives, witchcraft disquisitions, and dramatic representations were all involved in a dialectic that always-already interpreted otherness through an Anglo-Eurocentric and Christian framework. This linked the otherness of the witch to the otherness of the New World Indian, especially as both marginalized groups uncannily embodied a frightening alien otherness through their performance of dance and "hollow"-sounding music. Fictional representations of imagined witches and quasi-factual representations of foreign peoples, two seemingly disparate discursive categories, converge into one another through overlapping characterizations and sonic conflations that synthesize the tonalities of New World Indian otherness with sounds of witchy otherness.

This chapter will explore the sounds of otherness evident in descriptions of witch sounds heard and catalogued in the British Isles compared with those recorded in early modern ethnographical accounts of indigenous peoples in the New World, particularly those in the geographical regions the English and European newcomers denominated "Virginia" and "Brazil." Both witches and New World Indians were characterized as producing disordered sounds—shouts, cries, howling, and rattling—all unintelligible noises that resonated outside of the realm of acceptable Anglo-European forms of language or music. Thus, these embodied performances are interpreted as demonic by those observing their vocalizations, songs, and dances, because such embodied actions and sounds fail to signify according to Christian, musical, linguistic, and logocentric ideologies. These performances were disconcerting because the sounds and movements of otherness reflected the uncontrolled—and uncontrollable—bodies from which these sounds emanated, bodies that when joined together were threatening to male-dominated systems of order, restraint, and sublation of the other. The sonic characterization of their singing as "howling" was not the only aural element that led to the fusion of these two sets of "noisy" others under the rubric of the diabolic: witches and New World Indians were also both associated with the agitated, clattering, and unmusical sound of the rattle.

Rattles, or maracas, which sound throughout the travel narrative archive and were interpreted as symptomatic of indigenous peoples' worship of the devil, were also employed in the staging of a witch séance during the anti-masque to Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* performed at Whitehall Palace in 1609. Rhythmic rather than tonal instruments, rattles were understood as similar to the voices of indigenous singers and witches: the vocalizations of both witch and New World Indians were characterized as "hollow" or "howling," the same quality of sound that is echoed in the material

construction that constitutes the “hollow” sounding body of the rattle. Although “hollow,” “rattling” sounds were not ones with which the English and Europeans wished to identify—especially as these sounds were indicative of a frightening otherness—the vibratory energy emanating from the hollow bodies of the rattles and the vocal cords of both witch and Indian singers enmeshed the sometimes horrified English and European bodies exposed to this sound into a sonic assemblage formed by these vibrations of otherness. European, often white, Christian bodies were attuned to sounds of foreign and diabolical otherness through the very sounds they reviled as “howling” noise. Sounding otherness occurred both in foreign lands and in the early modern theater, as English and European peoples uncannily encountered noisy witches and Indians in domestic settings and in the New World.

\* \* \*

### SOUNDING LIKE A NATIVE

Travelers venturing to the New World characterized its soundscape as dominated by “howls” reverberating throughout the Atlantic coastal regions. Thomas Harriot recorded that the “Inhabitante[s]” of “the new found land of Virginia” “as soone as they saw vs began to make a great an horrible crye,” and departed “makeinge out crys like wild beasts or men out of their wyts.”<sup>1</sup> John Smith, in *A True Relation*, recalls hearing a “loud cry and a holloing of Indians” before he is captured by “the King of Pamaunck” and two hundred of his men<sup>2</sup>; in the version of this narrative collected in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, Smith describes the singing of the people at Werawocomoco as “howling devotions.”<sup>3</sup> Henry Spelman, who lived among the Algonquian-speaking peoples for over a year, observed, “Drums and trumpets they have none. But when they will gather themselves together they have a kind of howling, or hubbabub.”<sup>4</sup> William Strachey also recounts the dance ceremonies as consisting of “showting, howling and stamping their feet”; Strachey similarly characterizes their grieving rituals as “mourning and lamenting by turns, with such yelling

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590), ed. Paul Hulton (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972), 45.

<sup>2</sup> John Smith, *A True Relation*, in *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*, ed. Edward Wright Haile (Champlain, VA: Roundhouse, 1998), 156, 162.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1613), 638.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Spelman, *Relation of Virginia, 1609*, in *Jamestown Narratives*, ed. Haile, 494.

and howling as may express their great passions.”<sup>5</sup> John Smith even describes Pocahontas as howling: he writes that after she is abducted by Samuel Argall and told that she must go with him to broker peace, “the old Jew and his wife”—Smith’s phrase referring to the Patowomeck couple who betrayed her—“began to howl and cry as fast as Pocahontas” in remorse for their deception.<sup>6</sup> Intended to categorize the sounds of New World Indian otherness as the sounds of disorder and incivility, “howling” also disparaged the vocalizations of indigenous peoples to the point that they were equated with the sounds of animality; in a passage resonant with Strachey’s depiction cited above, George Percy renders the sounds accompanying the Powhatan people’s dancing as “shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many antic tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils.”<sup>7</sup> “Howling” itself indicates sonic disorder and uncontrollable noise that resonates outside of accepted modes of English communication; this form of sound production was even more disconcerting when experienced by foreign visitors to the New World who did not comprehend how to interpret these sounds of otherness. In their writings, however, their own lack of comprehension is often elided by the repeated, contemptuous assertion that the noises of indigenous peoples were savage and animalistic.<sup>8</sup> As we shall hear, these noises, furthermore, were considered evidence that indigenous peoples worshipped—and even embodied—the demonic, as Percy concludes in his account.

The newcomers to the New World so strongly aligned that region with the noise of howling that the environment itself came to be defined by this particular sound of otherness and disorder. As Richard Cullen Rath explains in “The Howling Wilderness,” “Thomas Hooker warned his second-generation congregation that they would have to ‘come into and go through a vast and roaring wilderness.’ In 1654, Edward Johnson would write of the founding of Concord, ‘Thus this poore people populate this howling Desart.’”<sup>9</sup> Describing “uncivil” lands in terms like “wilderness”

<sup>5</sup> William Strachey, *The History of Travel into Virginia Brittania*, in *Jamestown Narratives*, ed. Haile, 643, 652.

<sup>6</sup> John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, vol. 1 (Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 2006), reprint, 112.

<sup>7</sup> George Percy, “Observations gathered out of a discourse of the plantation of the southern colony in Virginia by the English, 1606,” in *Jamestown Narratives*, ed. Haile, 85–100, 92.

<sup>8</sup> *OED*, “howl, *n.*” and “howl, *v.*”

<sup>9</sup> Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 147.

and “Desart” that were sonically qualified as “roaring” and “howling” demarcated these spaces as distinct, and certainly “other,” from the burgeoning townships populated with English and European settlers who brought their notions of civil society with them as they encroached upon lands to which they had no claim. Evidence supporting the idea that indigenous peoples worshipped the devil was found in the audibility of their incontinent sounds—sentiments expressed by Smith and Percy—and were echoed in the poetry of the puritan Michael Wigglesworth: in the “waste and howling wilderness ... none inhabited / But hellish fiends, and brutish men / That devils worshipped.”<sup>10</sup> These descriptions characterize the overwhelming experience of the sounds of otherness to the point that the entire expansive landscape was imagined as filled with howling Indian others—and ones whose noises indicated worship of the devil at that. Perhaps failing to recognize the utility of employing loud vocalizations to convey information across long distances—or frightened by these modes of communication—the newcomers to the New World were not able to, or chose not to, differentiate the sounds of native singing or language, instead classifying any unfamiliar sound they heard as “howling.”

Vocalizations that exceeded order and civility according to English conventions of language and speech, and the associations of these sounds with devil worship in particular, were perceived as threatening the newcomers to the New World. Their writings about these sounds reified the tautological relationship between the sounds they perceived and the sounds of otherness interpreted as demonic. This was especially the case with vocal sounds performed in conjunction with warfare. In a version of Jean de Léry’s *Histoire d’un Voyage* included in Samuel Purchas’s *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Léry recollects the sounds of the Tupinamba as they prepare for combat: “as soone as they saw the Enemie, [they] brake out into so great and loude howling and exclamation, as they who here hunt Wolues, make no out-cries comparable with those: for the clamour so pierced the aire, that thunder then could scarce haue beene heard.”<sup>11</sup> Because the vocal noise was described as overpowering even the noise of thunder, it is possible that Léry may have even experienced these

<sup>10</sup> *The Poems of Michael Wigglesworth*, ed. Ronald A. Bosco (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 25.

<sup>11</sup> Jean de Léry, “Extracts out of the Historie of John Lerivus a Frenchman, who lived in Brasill with Mons. Villagagnon, Ann. 1557–1558,” in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, ed. Samuel Purchas, (London, 1625), 1336. Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage* was first published in French in 1578.



exceptionally loud noises as visceral vibrations he could feel in his body. As Steve Goodman argues in *Sonic Warfare*, sound itself becomes weaponized when it is employed to intimidate, overwhelm, and disorient the enemy, which clearly seems to have been an effective strategy according to L  ry and other travel writers who recorded their impressions of these particular sounds and their frightening effects. Though in a different region, and referring to a completely different indigenous culture, the Algonquian peoples also believed that sound played a significant role in warfare; as Rath explains, “planned battles were prepared for with war songs. Attacks were initiated with yells. Victories and losses, both during and after battles, were marked out loud. The sounds they made in these circumstances were part of the very identity of aggression.”<sup>12</sup> John Smith was disgusted by whatever indigenous custom he recorded, and wrote that the Powhatan commenced battle by “leaping & singing after their accustomed tune which they vse only in warres,” elaborating in vitriolic language that “their accustomed tune” was nothing more than “horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall hellhounds could not haue made them more terrible.”<sup>13</sup> Smith’s ears can only discern these sounds of otherness as “horrible,” “terrible” noises of “infernall hellhounds,” and this last epithet perfectly combines the demonic and animalistic qualities he perceives in Indian sounds. For Smith, as for many other travelers to the New World, the sounds of indigenous otherness were defined according to familiar categories of radical alterity with which the travelers did not wish to identify.

John Smith’s and Jean de L  ry’s descriptions of indigenous voices as “howls” echo the same differentiation from proper linguistic (and English) speech that characterizes the sounds of witchcraft, and which also emanate from unruly tongues. Because the New World Indians’ embodied sounds were regarded as wholly distinct or “other” from the English or European languages of the travelers’ homelands, the foreign visitors often categorized the native people’s vocalizations in familiar terms of witchcraft or devil worship, repeatedly misconstruing indigenous calls or songs as “howls.” Gary Tomlinson argues that “this automatic and repeated European association of American song with things diabolical reacts to the unsettling transgression inherent in others’ singing”; the foreign vocalizations definitely disturb Smith and L  ry, as they hear tonalities of demonic

<sup>12</sup> Rath, *How Early American Sounded*, 152.

<sup>13</sup> John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (Oxford, 1612), 27.

otherness in the sounds of alien otherness.<sup>14</sup> Yet, as Michel Serres argues, all sounds, including those heard in one's eloquently articulated native language, consist of the detectable but often ignored sounds of otherness; even spoken words are subtended by an excess of vocal sounds extraneous to linguistic meaning.<sup>15</sup> However, in these representations of New World Indian "howling," that excess of sound outside of meaning is the only discernable element and these vocalizations are "meaningless" to those unfamiliar with the systems of meaning from which they derive. "Howling" sounds of otherness, then, can only be the frightening noises of alterity, ones that—according to early modern Christian belief—can only signify the devil.

Jean de Léry records his anxiety at hearing sounds of Tupinamba otherness, and he renders his description of the Tupinamba "assemblée" he witnessed in terms of their satanic howling:

They did not onely horribly howle, but also leaped forth with great violence, and shaked their paps, and fomed at the mouth, nay some of them ... fell downe dead. So that I thinke, that the Deuill entred into their bodies, and they suddenly became possessed with the Deuill. Moreouer, hauing plainly perceiued those things which *Bodinus* writeth, in the Booke which he called *Daemonomania*, concerning the extasie of Witches, which hee affirmeth to bee common to all Witches, who haue made an expresse couenant with the Deuill, and who are often violently carried away in spirit, the bodie remayning voide of all sense, although also they are sometimes carried away both in bodie and minde. Adde (saith he) that they neuer meete together in any place, but they danse, among which, as farre as he could gather by the confession of certaine Witches, they all crie out together, *Har, har*, (which very well agreeth with *He, he*, of our *Americans*) ... These things, I say, being certainly knowne, I gather, that Satan is Lord of them both.<sup>16</sup>

As discussed in the Introduction, Jean de Léry is the same writer who relates how the Tupinamba music "ravished" him—music he here describes as unquestionably diabolic, and which prompts possession by the devil in

<sup>14</sup> Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 48.

<sup>15</sup> Michel Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*, trans. Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley (London: Continuum, 2008), 100.

<sup>16</sup> Léry, "Extracts," 1337–1338. In addition to featuring Western musical notation, the 1585 edition also included information about witchcraft lifted directly from Bodin's demonology published in 1580.

the bodies of those who perform these sounds. Stephen Greenblatt observes that Léry referenced passages from Jean Bodin's *De la démonomanie des sorciers* because "Léry evidently felt he had found in Bodin's account the European ritual that most closely resembled the astonishing scene he had witnessed more than twenty years earlier, a resemblance that transcended the immense cultural and geographical distance."<sup>17</sup> Such distances were traversed throughout the travel narrative archive as the otherness of the witch was often conflated with the foreign otherness of the New World Indian. Both witch and Indian others were pathologized in popular discourse because these subaltern groups were perceived as foreign bodies threatening the established social order. Armed with constructions of what witches sounded like (or superimposing them after the fact, as Léry did), it was impossible for travelers to hear native voices as anything other than howling, and that "howling" as anything other than demonic.

Those who encountered howling on both sides of the Atlantic—from New World Indians and witches in the British Isles—were terrified by the potential effects that these sounds of foreign otherness could achieve. Travelers abroad relied on conventional notions about devil worship and applied these assumptions to the customs of indigenous peoples. This practice not only conveyed the natives' "heathen" status to their readership, but also used the act of inscribing these strange sounds as an attempt to allay the writers' fears about what they were hearing; unusual sounds in a foreign place were not necessarily legible to the English and Europeans, and may result in unpredictable consequences for the newcomers. The lexicon of witchcraft, ironically, provided the travelers with a familiar conceptual framework within which to cast the sounds of foreign otherness, effectively making these sounds uncanny. Because noisy ceremonies performed by foreign peoples and by witches were often interpreted as inversions of Christian practices, their effects were perceived as analogously threatening.

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<sup>17</sup>Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 15. Bodin was also one of the numerous sources on witchcraft Jonson consulted in composing his *Masque of Queens*.

## SOUNDING LIKE A WITCH

Witch ritual, whether depicted in the early modern theater, documented in trial proceedings, or described in treatises on the subject, depended on an androgynous and performative body to construct and sound its diabolical meanings. Like the native bodies portrayed in the travel narratives, witch bodies also issued frightening sounds of otherness that were described as “howls” resonating outside of proper linguistic order; furthermore, the sounds of witchcraft—“howls,” but also the noises of “charms,” spells, and incantations—were believed to produce diabolical effects. After James VI of Scotland’s accession to the English throne in 1603, witches haunted the English theater, partially due to playwrights’ response to James’s own fascination with witches; as has been argued, Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* that debuted in 1606 was likely written and performed for James by the newly dubbed “King’s Men” as a sign of their gratitude.<sup>18</sup> James himself wrote extensively about witchcraft and he appended *Newes from Scotland* (1591), a record of the North Berwick witch trials he witnessed, to the 1597 edition of his *Daemonologie*.<sup>19</sup> In the *Newes*, James replicated the testimony of “Agnis Tompson,” who professes that on “*Allhollon Euen last*” she, along with about two hundred other witches, “*tooke handes on the land and daunced this reill or short daunce, singing all with one voice*” the words “*Commer goe ye before, commer goe ye, If ye will not goe before, commer let me.*”<sup>20</sup>

The sonic impact of this incantation is made visible in the printed version of the text; these lyrics are italicized and offset from the rest of the prose in the *Newes* to highlight their sonic difference. The charm also sounds the rustic Scottish dialect, underscoring another level of marginalization, as Amanda Eubanks Winkler observes.<sup>21</sup> “Commer” functions here as a noun and refers to the devil’s spirit the witches are summoning; they ask that he appear (“goe before”) to the witches or else allow the

<sup>18</sup> Glynne Wickham, *Shakespeare’s Dramatic Heritage: Collected Studies in Mediaeval, Tudor and Shakespearean Drama* (London: Routledge, 1969), 231.

<sup>19</sup> James Carmichael, rather than James I, is believed to have authored the *Newes from Scotland*, but as James’s name is on the title page, I retain it in these citations. Please consult Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland* (Liverpool University Press, 2000), 8, for more information about authorship.

<sup>20</sup> James I, *Newes From Scotland* (London, 1597), 92.

<sup>21</sup> Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 29–30.

witches to go to him. The charm employs spondees and anaphora, which contribute to the rhythmic nature of the chant and differentiates it sonically from conventional speech. The rhyme composed of the homophonically similar “ye” and “me” additionally suggests a sonic union between the witches and the devil they summon. The metrical foot oscillates between tetrameter and trimeter as another marker of the charm’s strange otherness from spoken language; this alternating meter, in fact, bears close resemblance to a familiar form of the sung ballad. The witches’ singing “all with one voice” is further indicative of the song’s lack of musical complexity; their unison singing implies monophony, as opposed to harmony, polyphony, or even the call-and-answer form like that employed in Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*. Though this charm may be musically simple, the joined female voices singing it resonate with a dangerous sound of incorporated femininity. Women’s collective voices, sonically amplified by the large number of women gathered in their coven on Auld Kirk Green, are dangerous because their incantations were believed to create an array of effects ranging from fairly innocuous Puck-like trickery to severe mortal danger.

The voluminous body of early modern literature composed on the subject of witchcraft emphasized the relationship among witches’ uncontrollable voices, often potent powers, and transgressive femininity. In sounding the otherness of the diabolical with their slippery tongues, witches could enchant, making other bodies and natural phenomena susceptible to supernatural forces. In the very first sentence of the *Daemonologie*, James designates the witches “enchanters,” a term that emphasizes the link between their singing voices and magical powers through its Latin root, *cantare*, meaning “to sing.”<sup>22</sup> Popular belief in the dangers of female sounds, particularly women’s voices, mouths, and tongues, led to the conclusion that women were more prone to witchcraft than men; as Jonathan Gil Harris argues, the “socially poisonous tongue” was considered a “specifically ‘feminine’ site of satanic infiltration and disease.”<sup>23</sup> George Webbe,

<sup>22</sup> James I, *Daemonologie* (London: 1597), xi. Refer also to the *OED* entry for *enchant*, *v*.

<sup>23</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 107. Keith Thomas’s *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin, 1971) also considers witch language. As Sarah Williams explains, “Cast as ‘leaky vessels,’ women were regarded as generally weaker—and ultimately wicked—creatures, due to their excess fluids, melancholic temperament, and tendency toward extremes and emotion.” Consult “‘A Swearing and Blaspheming Wretch’: Representations of Witchcraft and Excess in Early Modern English

chaplain to James I, amplifies the connection between the sonic and diabolical in his 1619 treatise, *The Araignment Of an unruly Tongue*, declaring “The tongue is a witch,” thereby aligning the organ of speech with unregulated danger.<sup>24</sup> While its evils were linked with femininity, the tongue was also tied to male virility in early modern discourse; aspects of both genders were eventually compressed onto what Carla Mazzio has called this “unruly organ.”<sup>25</sup> The tongue assumed an androgynous character that echoed the witches’ ambiguous gender status, apparent through both the witches’ visual appearance and recognizable vocal sounds. Because their bodies, including their tongues, did not conform to established gender conventions, “female witches,” as Winkler reminds us, “were regularly accused of being overly masculine or androgynous,” especially since those accused of being witches were often elderly women whose voices became deeper as they aged, and because they were portrayed in the theater by older male actors.<sup>26</sup>

Enacted by male bodies on stage, witches like the Weird Sisters of *Macbeth* were still identified as “women” in the play-text, echoing the strong association of the feminine with the diabolic. In stage productions, ambiguously gendered, cross-dressed male bodies visually and sonically signified the otherness of female witches. Although witches are often assumed to be female, the term was applied to both males and females in the early modern period. In the *Daemonologie*, for example, James designates both males and females “witches”; yet he claims that the proportion of female to male witches is about twenty to one. This is because “as that sexe is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Devill,” echoing the repeated notions about women’s predilection toward witchcraft like those enumerated in the examples discussed above.<sup>27</sup> However, the etymology of “witch” traces the term’s gender instability: by 1601, according to the second *OED* entry for the noun “witch,” the prefix “he-” was added to “witch” to designate a male witch; this suggests that toward the beginning of the

Broadside Balladry and Popular Song,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 30.4 (2011): 309–356, 322.

<sup>24</sup>Cited in Nathalie Vienne-Guerrin, *The Unruly Tongue in Early Modern England: Three Treatises* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012), 90.

<sup>25</sup>Carla Mazzio, “Sins of the Tongue in Early Modern England,” *Modern Language Studies* 28.3/4 (1998): 93–124, 100–101.

<sup>26</sup>Winkler, *O Let Us Howle*, 19–20.

<sup>27</sup>James I, *Daemonologie*, 43–44.

seventeenth century in England, “witch” had already started to function as a term applied specifically to women.<sup>28</sup>

In designating his witches the “Weird Sisters,” Shakespeare indicates their female gender in the textual medium, although this specificity is itself confused during the course of the play. “You should be women,” Banquo observes, “And yet your beards forbid me to interpret / That you are so”; Banquo recognizes that the appearance of the Weird Sisters collapses the gender binary (1.3.45–47). His reference to the Sisters’ “beards” suggests that the Weird Sisters were performed by older male actors, instead of by young boys who conventionally performed female roles.<sup>29</sup> By contrast, Jonson insists that the witches were portrayed by “women” in his anti-masque to the *Masque of Queens*: “And because her majesty ... had commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers, and have the place of a foil or false masque, I was careful to decline not only from others but mine own steps in that kind, since the last year I had an anti-masque of boys, and therefore now devised that twelve *women* in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, etc., the opposites to good fame, should fill that part.”<sup>30</sup> Jonson’s written description is at odds with the theatrical convention of hiring professional transvestite male actors to perform women’s roles in the courtly antimasques.<sup>31</sup>

This unusual transgendering and even confusion about the witches’ gender is echoed in the travel literature archive. Léry, for example, initially

<sup>28</sup> Deborah Willis in *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 17, argues specifically that witches were closely identified with bad mother-figures.

<sup>29</sup> While it is possible that young boy actors were outfitted with stage beards to portray the witches, it is more likely that older male actors were employed to suggest the grotesque appearance and sound of the witches, rather than the attractive young men with unbroken, beautiful voices.

<sup>30</sup> Ben Jonson, *Masque of Queens* in *Ben Jonson’s Plays and Masques*, ed. Robert Martin Adams (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), 321, emphasis added.

<sup>31</sup> Clare McManus and Tiffany Stern both suggest that the witches in Jonson’s antimasque were “transvestite male professionals,” to use McManus’s phrase from *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court 1590–1619* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 24. Stern in *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 152, writes that *The Masque of Queens* “was played by the King’s Men at Whitehall on 2 February 1609, with, as usual, the professional players performing the antimasque, and the courtiers joining in the masque itself.”

describes both men and women as participants in the “witches Sabbath,” yet later decides, “I have concluded that they have the same master: that is, the Brazilian *women* and the witches over here were guided by the same spirit of Satan.”<sup>32</sup> The slippage from a Tupinamba ceremony involving both genders to female worship led by the “spirit of Satan,” which Léry believes equates the “Brazilian women” of the New World with the “witches over here” on the continent, is echoed in the performances of female witches on the early modern stage, especially since they were performed by male actors. As with Jonson’s staging of an antimasque of only “women” witches, Léry so vehemently associates witchcraft with the feminine that the male performers also participating in the Tupinamba ritual magically vanish. To listeners like Jonson and Léry, both women and foreign others are “devil worshippers,” who produce recognizable sounds of otherness with their “howling” voices.

As much as they were marginalized, witches were also associated with the powerful and threatening effects their voices could produce, both according to witchcraft treatises and through performances staged in the theater. Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, for example, loudly echoes passages from James’s *Daemonologie* and the *Newes from Scotland*. In addition to recapitulating the witches’ threats to James, including invocation of a “bark” that is “tempest-tost” just like James’s was (1.3.24–25), the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth* pronounce strange prophecies unintelligible to Macbeth: the witches hail him as “Thane of Glamis,” “Thane of Cawdor,” and “King hereafter” (1.3.48–50).<sup>33</sup> Indeed, their treble divinations regarding Macbeth’s future are probably the most frightening because their words function like what J. L. Austin would describe as a performative speech act; that is, their predictions—though logically undecipherable at first—still come to fruition, only sometimes propelled by Macbeth’s interventions (for example, one of the witches’ latter prophecies, the movement of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane, occurs independent of Macbeth’s actions).<sup>34</sup> Macbeth and the theater audience have their auditory interest captured by the unusual sound of the witches’ speech, articulated in a mode that hovers in a liminal space distinct from but intimately related to song. The charms “take the ear strangely,” to quote Shakespeare’s Alonso (*The Tempest* 5.1.270), due to the unusual

<sup>32</sup> Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 248, emphasis added.

<sup>33</sup> References to *Macbeth* are from the Arden Shakespeare, ed. Kenneth Muir (London: Methuen, 1984) and will be cited parenthetically.

<sup>34</sup> J. L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).



structural, rhythmic, and metrical patterns on which fulfillment of the prophecies is predicated: in order for the spells to take effect, they must be performed in such non-normative ways. As in the *Newes*, cryptic and atypical vocalizations were also a sonic indicator of witch presence on the stage: Macbeth addresses the Weird Sisters as “you imperfect speakers” when he first encounters them, drawing the audience’s attention to what he perceives as the remarkably strange sounds of their audible incantations (1.3.70).<sup>35</sup> The Sisters’ words are also “imperfect” because their pronouncements sound illogical to Macbeth and others. They hail Banquo as “Not so happy” as Macbeth, and “yet much happier,” using recognizable words and forms of language in ways that are illogical, and—arguably—fatal to Macbeth because of certain actions he takes as he (mis)interprets their prophecies (1.3.66). Resonant throughout the Sisters’ speech, too, is their use of paradox, which echoes perhaps most familiarly in their aphorism “Fair is foul, and foul is fair” (1.1.11).<sup>36</sup> This proclamation is apparently a non-sense phrase, both a chiasmus linking two opposite terms together and a structural palindrome employed to suggest a magical way of speaking. As if by magic, the first words that Macbeth utters in the play echoes the witches’ language: “So fair and foul a day I have not seen” (1.3.38). Patricia Parker argues that, “within the discourse of witchcraft, the backwards spells of witches were repeatedly associated with the sinister or the left as well as with the inverted or reversed, with ‘sinistral or devilish acts.’”<sup>37</sup> Incanting enchanting words in a “backwards” fashion—saying both “Fair is foul” and “foul is fair”—signified the satanic to early modern listeners, as did especially subversive speech-acts like saying the Pater Noster backwards. The witches’ inverted manner of speaking, resistant to *logos* and standards of normative usage, was understood as dangerous due to the very characteristics of “backwardness” and “unintelligibility” ascribed to their charms or spells.

Sung incantations, or “charms” as they are termed in the text, dominate the introductory soundscape of Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*, performed by witches who haunt the antimasque. Deriving from the Latin word *carmen*, which means “song,” “charm” likewise refers to the stylized manner of speech distinct from normative discourse. Even if not literally sung, charms were probably intoned in a manner that suggested excessive

<sup>35</sup> “Incantation” has the same *cantare* root as “enchant.”

<sup>36</sup> The syncopated pattern of trochees (a stressed syllable followed by an unstressed syllable) is the reverse of iambs, which more closely approximate spoken English.

<sup>37</sup> Patricia Parker, “Spelling Backwards,” in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (New York: Routledge, 2007), 25–50, 26.

or distorted vocalizations related to singing; the lilting rhythmic patterns of the metrical feet particularly suggest a “sing-song” quality. In their “Seventh Charm,” the witches incant “Black go in, and blacker come out, / At thy going down, we give thee a shout: Hoo!”; echoing the speech patterns of Shakespeare’s Weird Sisters, Jonson’s witches conclude their charm with a palindrome of the nonsensical vocalizations “Hoo, Har, Har, Hoo.”<sup>38</sup> The onomatopoeic howl, “Hoo!” that accompanies the descent of a spirit into the underworld is another representation of the witches’ sonic otherness from normative modes of spoken language. Disordered vocal noise continues to resound: “at thy rising again” of the spirit they are conjuring, their “shouts” will become multiplied from “two,” to “ten,” to “a score,” and the addition of other howling witch voices will amplify the volume, and perhaps potency, of their spell.<sup>39</sup> The collective “Hoo!”s and “Har”s indicate the sonic otherness of the witches, whose noises resound outside of established conventions of speech, and grow louder as the spirit rises. These nonverbal “shouts” are blatantly distinct from meaningful language, even as the witches explain the reason for some of their noises.

Cultural anxieties about the witches’ gender ambiguity are manifest in their sounds of otherness; like their bodies, their voices also consistently fail to conform to conventional models of feminine restraint. They instead erupt outside of the realm of meaning in concert with the diabolical activities their very voices collude to produce. Indeed, part of the fear surrounding these incantations arises from the fact that these words are “meaningless” to listeners unfamiliar with their significance, and at the same time, have a potent power associated with them. As the *Newes* describes, embodied performance was an integral part of the witch ceremony; Agnes Sampson confessed that the purpose of the incantation, dancing in a circle, and amplifying their sound by “singing all with one voice” was to summon the “Divell” who appeared “in the likeness of a man,” and proclaimed his hatred for King James as his greatest enemy on earth.<sup>40</sup> That the assembly of witches dancing and joining their voices together could bring forth the very devil intimates both the power inherent in the witches’ voices and bodily movements, as well as fear of that power.

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<sup>38</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 230–231, 237.

<sup>39</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 233–236.

<sup>40</sup> James I, *Newes from Scotland*, 93.

## DANCING FROM HELL TO THE NEW WORLD

In another uncanny echo, like the diabolical howling heard on both sides of the Atlantic, circle dances were also considered a defining feature of both New World Indian and witch rituals. According to numerous contemporary sources, the witch séance included three specific and interconnected bodily acts: incantation of charms, instrumental accompaniment, and the circle dance. Witches who sing unusual-sounding charms while dancing in a circle haunted the Scotland of James's *Newes*, as well as the Scotland of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The All Hallow's Eve séance described by testimony in the North Berwick witch trials recorded in *Newes from Scotland* states that the witches "tooke handes on the land and daunced this reill or short daunce" while singing the "*Commer*" song.<sup>41</sup> Shakespeare's witches are likewise presented "dancing in a ring," as indicated by the stage directions, while they chant "The weird sisters hand in hand, / Posters of the sea and land, / Thus do go about, about" (1.3.30–32). They also join in a circle dance "round about the cauldron" in Act 4 while singing the refrain of the song "Black Spirits": "Round, around, around, about, about, / All ill come running in, all good keep out" (4.1.4, 49–50).<sup>42</sup> Additionally, the ninth and final charm of Jonson's antimasque explicitly calls attention to music and dancing in a circle as features of the witches' ritual, echoing what the audience was perceiving visually and sonically:

Around, around,  
Around, around,  
Till a music sound,

<sup>41</sup> Winkler in *O Let Us Howle*, 29, defines the reel as "an ancient Scottish folk dance frequently performed in a circle."

<sup>42</sup> As Stern argues in *Documents of Performance*, 151–152, the dance of the witches may have been the same dance performed in the antimasque of *The Masque of Queens* routed through Thomas Middleton's *The Witch*. Furthermore, the songs of the Weird Sisters ("Come away, come away" of 3.5 and "Black Spirits" of 4.1) were likely added by Thomas Middleton in a later revival of *Macbeth*, who included the same songs in his 1613 play *The Witch*, as Stephen Greenblatt notes in his textual introduction to *The Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 2751. If, as Ross Duffin supposes, in *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004), 66–67, the lyrics for "Black Spirits" were set to the tune "Packington's Pound," the first line of the refrain has an extra syllable: "Round." That word may have been a mis-set stage direction to indicate the position of the witches in a circle while they sing this section of the piece.

And the pace be found  
 To which we may dance  
 And our charms advance. (247–254)

Circles were frequently associated with magic, but while fairy circles like those in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* were considered benevolent, witch circles were not. As Barbara Ravelhofer explains, they “could assume a threatening character, in particular, if contrived ‘contrary to the custome of Men’, to a rhythm against nature (‘around’) and performed with brooms, ‘with which we armd our Witches’, as Jonson proudly noted”; Ravelhofer also states that “circular dances” were associated in the popular imagination “with witches’ covens.”<sup>43</sup> This practice of dancing as diabolical celebration profanes the idea that the circle symbolizes perfect order and harmony, especially as this order was sometimes conveyed in the masque proper by the masque dancers dancing in a circle. In an uncanny reversal, the witches’ unharmonious “charms” are most effective when they are performed while engaged in a circle dance; singing in a circle would also amplify the resonance of their voices at the center.

New World Indian ritual is similarly presented in the travel narrative archive as consisting predominantly of song and circle dances. In addition to descriptions of these dances in Léry and Smith’s written accounts, in images including the “Figure des Brazilianes” depicting a reconstructed Tupinamba village in 1550 Rouen, Theodor de Bry’s copper-cut engravings incorporated into Thomas Harriot’s 1590 *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, and those in numerous other collections about “America,” native inhabitants of the New World danced—or were imagined to dance—in a circle while singing and playing music in ritual celebration.<sup>44</sup> De Bry’s engravings included in Harriot’s collection feature several images of the Carolina Algonquian people organized in circles. Besides Image XVII, “Their manner of prainge with Rattels abowt te fyer,” which portrays the native people of Virginia singing and shaking rattles as they sit in a circle around a fire, de Bry also depicts these New World Indians dancing in a circle while waving rattles and sassafras branches in Image XVIII, “Their dances which they use att their hyghe feastes” (Fig. 1).

<sup>43</sup> Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 192.

<sup>44</sup> The Tupinamba in Rouen are shown dancing in a circle in the 1550 *C’est la deduction du sumptueux ordre* (Rouen, 1551), Kiv–iir. Consult Surekha Davies, “Depictions of Brazilians on French Maps, 1452–1555,” *The Historical Journal* 55.2 (2012): 317–348, 326.



**Fig. 1** Theodor de Bry's engraving XVIII, "Their dances which they use att their hygge feastes" from Thomas Harriot's *A Brieffe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590). Call# STC 12786. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library

Léry also notes that the circle structure was employed in the ritual dancing of the Tupinamba people: "These are their gestures in dancing. They were ordered in a round circle, standing close each to other: yet so, they tooke not one another by the hand stooping, with their bodie somewhat bending downward, shaking onely one of their legs, to wit, the right, with their right hand laid vpon their buttockes, and the left hanging downe, and after this fashion they both dansed and sung."<sup>45</sup> Although the dance movements (among countless other attributes) differ between the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil that Léry describes and the Carolina Algonquian people that de Bry represented in engravings based on John White's sketches, the circle dance is a common feature of both peoples and was associated in the early modern imagination with multiple other New World Indian tribes. The central figures that occupy the circle in de Bry's

<sup>45</sup> Léry, "Extracts," 1338.



**Fig. 2** Theodor de Bry, [*Grands Voyages, America pt. 2.*], *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provincia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam navigatione, duce Renato de Laudoniere ... anno MDLXIII. Quae est secunda pars Americae* (Wecheli, [1609]). By kind permission of the Newberry Library. VAULT Ayer 110 .B9 1590a pt. 2, 118–119

above engraving are young women, offered as sensual objects upon which to gaze, and suggesting femininity at the heart of this ritual dance, while the all-male dance of Tupinamba Indians are portrayed in Fig. 2 performing the song that L  ry said “ravished” him.

The visual image of strange gestures and circle dances performed in conjunction with song are common to both witches and New World Indian others; however, while European writers borrow from the repertoires of witch dramas in their ethnographies of the New World, antitheatricalists like Philip Stubbes or William Prynne posited that drama itself was a form of enchanting witchcraft. These writers argue that the theater is inherently idolatrous and thus closely connected to pagan belief systems; theatrical elements, furthermore, are utilized in creating representations of foreign, non-Christian cultures. The embodied performances of native



song and dance were actually often inscribed within familiar theatrical terminology, as Harris demonstrates.<sup>46</sup> John Smith capitalizes on this practice in describing what he calls a “Virginia Maske” in *The Generall Historie of Virginia*. Smith recounts, “thirtie young women came naked out of the woods.... These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce.”<sup>47</sup> Smith imposes lexicons of both witchcraft and early modern theater onto the embodied performance of indigenous women. In addition to terming this an hour-long “Mascarado,” the marginalia at this point reads “A Virginia Maske,” a phrase that reinforces the similarities between the highly wrought music and dance performances at the English court and the dancing of Pocahontas and the other women; as Rebecca Ann Bach observes, “to represent the Powhatan Indians as masquers, Smith had to transform a native dance textually into an English dance form alien to the dancers it supposedly described.”<sup>48</sup> Smith’s terminology highlighting these similarities is ironic, considering the disorder evident in the “hellish shouts and cryes,” and the women “falling into their infernall passions” that he recounts.<sup>49</sup> In describing the shouts and cries of the women, rather than attempting to understand their language/song, Smith “relayed a fiction of incomprehensibility, and thus could insert his own signifying system—a display of devil worship and ‘infernall passions’” in his description that “exemplifies a colonial disempowerment of Indian women.”<sup>50</sup> The relationship between song and dance in early modern England was predicated on measure and structure, especially in courtly masque performances. Dances of witches and foreign others, by contrast, were often characterized by chaos, confusion, and

<sup>46</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” in *Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 442–459.

<sup>47</sup> Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 141.

<sup>48</sup> Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World 1580–1640* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 192.

<sup>49</sup> Consult Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1992) and Karen Robertson, “Pocahontas at the Masque” *Signs* 21.3 (1996): 551–583. The veracity of Smith’s later document concerning Virginia has been debated for some time, especially since much of the material concerning Pocahontas was absent from his earlier writing.

<sup>50</sup> Bach, *Colonial Transformations*, 212–213, 204. See also Olivia A. Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 112.

strange movements that, when coupled with unregulated howling, performs the antithesis of civilized order.

Although he characterizes what he witnesses as a “Virginia Maske”—with Smith himself taking the position of King for whom the masque was performed—the ensuing description Smith gives of the performance is more like an antimasque than a masque proper, especially since Smith inscribes what he experiences as disordered sounds and gestures. Pitted against the masque proper, the preceding antimasque was a theatrically contrived world where disorder was staged to comic and/or grotesque effect. The antimasque represented a foil against which the allegorical representations of Truth, Poetry—or in the case of *The Masque of Queens*—“Heroic Virtue,” could triumph at the antimasque’s conclusion. In this process, the forces of vice and disorder were superseded by the establishment of ideal Platonic order, to which the participants could aspire. As Stephen Orgel argues, the celebratory masque was also Machiavellian; it represented the triumph of the aristocratic community, headed by its powerful monarch.<sup>51</sup> The use of sound and music, along with the elements of poetry, costuming, staging, and dance, was integral to demonstrate the shift from disorder to the re-establishment of order that concluded the masque proper and commenced the revels. It seems that in designating the entertainment a “Virginia Maske,” Smith was deliberately suggesting that the only type of masque that could be performed by indigenous peoples was a backward or inverted version of the proper English masque: the antimasque itself.

The witches in Jonson’s masque also perform sounds and movements that Jonson characterizes as non-normative through his use of the word “strange”: he states that the witches appear making “strange gestures.”<sup>52</sup> Right before the appearance of Heroic Virtue, heralding the commencement of the masque proper, the witches again appear; this time, the “music” is described as “strange.”<sup>53</sup> As with the travel writers’ descriptions of the sound and movement of indigenous peoples as radically unusual compared with practices in their homelands, Jonson characterizes both the music and dancing of his witches as “strange.” In language remarkably similar to Léry’s “danse” of the Tupinamba cited above, Jonson writes

<sup>51</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

<sup>52</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 321.

<sup>53</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 330.



that the witches' "magical" dancing involves "all things contrary to the custom of men, dancing back to back, hip to hip, their hands joined, and making their circles backward to the left hand, with strange fantastic motions of their heads and bodies."<sup>54</sup> Like the "backwards" incanted charms performed by the witches in *Macbeth* and *The Masque of Queens*, the backwards and inverted gestures of the dancing witches in Jonson's antimasque indicate the demonic because these embodied sounds and movements are opposite from conventional English and Christian ones. But they also signify the foreign. The term "strange" indicates this: to modern ears, it signifies the unusual, but the term had a different valence for early moderns, denoting also the foreign or alien.<sup>55</sup> In terming the witches' movements "strange," Jonson intentionally characterizes their bodily movements as alien, aligning and conflating their staged demonic rituals with representations of New World Indian customs described and portrayed in circulating travel narratives.

\* \* \*

### THE SATANIC INSTRUMENTS OF THE NEW WORLD

Embodied performances of songs and dances of otherness were accompanied by instruments, which were often understood as further aural signifiers of alterity. James's *Newes from Scotland* states that "*Geilles Duncane* did goe before" the singing and dancing witches "playing this reill or daunce vpon a small Trump, called a Iewes Trump."<sup>56</sup> The "Iewes Trump" is an alternate name for the "Jew's harp," a small metal instrument held in the mouth that produces a very peculiar sound through the plucking of a vibrating reed that sounds simultaneously with tones produced by the performer's mouth. The name may have been a corruption of "jaw" or "jaw's" harp, or of the French "*jeu d'harp*," although the *OED* dismisses this latter rationale, instead suggesting that it may have been associated with the Hebraic "trumps" mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. The designa-

<sup>54</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 330. Consult also Stuart Clark's comprehensive *Thinking with Demons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), for a discussion of the backward nature of witch ritual.

<sup>55</sup> "Strange," *adj.* 1.a, *OED*.

<sup>56</sup> James I, *Newes from Scotland*, 92.

**Fig. 3** Detail featuring a Jew's Harp from Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate XXII. By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710



tion of “harp” might derive from the shape of the instrument, which somewhat mimics the shape of the psalter, a medieval harp (Fig. 3). David Munrow states that the name “jew’s harp” does not appear in written documentation until the sixteenth century, “a period when the Jews suffered a great persecution in Europe,” although the instrument was extant centuries before that time.<sup>57</sup> The term “Iewes Trump,” as it is called in Sampson’s account, was first recorded in 1545, several decades earlier than “Jew’s harp,” which has a provenance of 1596.<sup>58</sup> It may have been likened to the trumpet due to the similar playing strategy of using the overtone or harmonic series to produce different pitches. While its nomenclature suggests a Jewish derivation or tonality, the Jew’s harp likely migrated from Asia to England; although its origins are uncertain due to its age, it

<sup>57</sup> David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 36.

<sup>58</sup> Consult *Jew’s trump*, *n.1* and *Jew’s harp*, *n.* in the *OED*.

is an oriental instrument. The attribution of this instrument to the “Jews” is known only in English, which makes its marginalization more notable in the context of British representations of witchcraft. The instrument’s association with Eastern otherness and Jewish otherness as representative of non-Christian alterity, however, makes the Jew’s trump an apt choice to accompany the sounds of otherness at the witch coven on Auld Kirk Green.

Coupled with its otherness deriving from its nomenclature, the Jew’s harp or trump occupies a liminal space in the instrumental hierarchy. The apparent interchangeability of the descriptor “harp” or “trump”—one a stringed instrument, the other a brass, wind instrument—echoes this difficulty in taxonomy. Michael Praetorius in his *Syntagma Musicum II, De Organographia* classified it with the percussion instruments, but also maintained that it was a “mixed instrument.”<sup>59</sup> This is due to the fact that the Jew’s harp produces a noticeably unusual sound that combines both droning and rhythmic patterning; its sound is audible in a recording accessible through QR Code 1. The sound quality of the instrument is immediately recognizable for its difference in timbre from consort instruments; the Jew’s harp was an instrument featured often in rustic music or ballad singing rather than in courtly musical performance. Shakespeare also employed foreign or “strange” Eastern sounds to signify the black magic of the Weird Sisters; their cauldron vanishes to the reedy tones of “Hautboys” after they conjure the three apparitions. The hautbois is the predecessor of the modern oboe, and was utilized to stage the exotic otherness of Egypt in *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.1.121sd). Although the Jew’s harp was associated with the East, it was a cheap, domestic, and portable instrument that was brought overseas by travelers, and likely played for



QR Code 1 Jew’s Harp

<sup>59</sup> Munrow *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 36.

entertainment aboard ship. Multiple Jew's harps have been unearthed in Jamestown, which suggests that this instrument produced sounds of English otherness to the indigenous peoples of the New World, even as it may also have had "Eastern" or "other" resonances to the English who owned and played upon them.<sup>60</sup> However, they were also likely a familiar reminder of the soundscape of home: as Christopher Marsh observes, the Jew's Harp was so popular that its tones "may well have been one of England's most familiar musical sounds" in the early modern period.<sup>61</sup> An instrument largely unknown in modern culture, it was probably as ubiquitous as the harmonica was in nineteenth- and twentieth-century America, compact and fairly easy to play.

While a familiar instrument to early modern England, the Jew's harp could certainly be appropriated, as James suggests. In his *Daemonologie*, composed after he witnessed the testimony of Sampson and the performance on her "Iewes Trump," James I counsels his readers not to fear "any thing that the Deuill and his wicked instrumentes can do against vs."<sup>62</sup> While the primary use of "instrument" here denotes "accomplice," "instrument" also connotes a material object used to produce musical sounds. It is not difficult to imagine that Ben Jonson might have had this passage from the *Newes* in mind while constructing his antimasque and choosing which specific percussive instruments he could employ in the soundscape of witchy disorder. To enhance the witches' "strange" embodied performance, Jonson orchestrated the sounding bodies of a particular instrument to accompany the witches' singing and dancing, and to amplify the witches' sonic otherness: the disordered sounds of the rattle. Jonson describes the witches performing "hollow and infernal music,"<sup>63</sup> which captures the surreal, otherworldly quality of these sounds: as an adjective, "hollow" derives from "hole," and when applied to sound, "hollow" means "without body, sepulchral." As a verb it is defined as "to cry out loud, to shout, vociferate," indicating vocalizations like the "howls" echoing throughout the antimasque and travel narratives alike.<sup>64</sup> As with the vocalizations of various New World Indian peoples, "hollow" sounds were also recognized as a

<sup>60</sup>The collection at the Jamestown Archaeum contains several of these instruments.

<sup>61</sup>Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3.

<sup>62</sup>James I, *Daemonologie*, 38.

<sup>63</sup>Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 321.

<sup>64</sup>Please refer to the OED definitions of *hollow*, *adj.* 4 and *v.* 1a. There is also the ironic homonymic similarity with the "hallo" of the English hunt that associates this sound with a civil and gentlemanly pastime.

sonic marker of witch voices; in *Daemonologie*, James also represents those possessed as incanting with an “vncouth and hollowe voice.”<sup>65</sup> The “Hoos” and “Hars” of Jonson’s antimasque additionally suggest hollow-sounding vocalizations. The “hollow” shouts of the witches threaten the stability of human language as well as natural space, and the vibrations of their cries collapse the boundaries between the worldly and the otherworldly.

Jonson writes that “these witches, with a kind of hollow and infernal music” appear from “the jaws of hell ... all with spindles, timbrels, rattles, or other venefical [poisonous] instruments, making a confused noise.”<sup>66</sup> The cacophony of “confused noise” that ensues from poisonous instruments includes the “timbrel,” a loud, sometimes rhythmic noisemaker akin to the modern tambourine, and was, like the Jew’s harp and the haut-bois, also associated with foreign, Eastern otherness.<sup>67</sup> But Jonson’s witchy orchestra contains not only strange Eastern instruments, but also a “hollow” percussive instrument strongly identified with the New World through its inclusion in various travel narratives.<sup>68</sup> Jonson’s mention of the “rattle” in his catalogue of instruments echoes the otherness of the New World Indian ceremony recorded in the travel literature archive; this instrument is visible in de Bry’s engravings XVII and XVIII included in Harriot’s *A Briefe and True Report*, as well as images accompanying Jean de Léry’s *Histoire* that also portray New World Indian circle dancing (these are visible as Figs. 1 and 2). The rattle or maraca is audible through a sound recording accessible via QR Code 2. Just as the travel writers presumed the sounds of New World Indian otherness were indicative of devil worship, Jonson intends the witches’ sounds in *The Masque of Queens*’s antimasque to sonically signify the alterity of hellish otherness.

In Jonson’s antimasque, the witches use their rattles in the Fifth Charm to conjure a storm, chanting “the sulphur is gotten / Up to the sky, that was in the ground. / Follow it then, with our rattles, round.”<sup>69</sup> This excerpt of their charm links the foul smell of sulfur and the sound of the rattle, both early

<sup>65</sup> James I, *Daemonologie*, 71.

<sup>66</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 321.

<sup>67</sup> Its jingling sound, however, may have also been associated with the jingling crotal bells, explored in the following chapter.

<sup>68</sup> As Winkler notes in *O Let Us Howle*, 28, “the rattle,” in addition to the tambourine, “was also a standard aural signifier of disorder featured in village rituals.” Rattles might also have connoted the childish, as they were also baby playthings; in the Dedicatory Epistle to *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophetes* (London, 1583), Henry Howard describes “false prophets” as “like young babies,” who enjoy “Rattles that can make a kind of hollow sound, more than matters that are sound indeede.”

<sup>69</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 186–188.



## QR Code 2 Rattle/Maraca

modern signifiers of the demonic.<sup>70</sup> This particular charm accompanied by rattles was especially topical since it summons threatening storms; Anna of Denmark was prevented by storms at sea from sailing to James for their marriage, and after they were wed, James and Anna both encountered stormy weather on their voyage from Denmark to Scotland. These meteorological events were believed to be the result of witchcraft, and this suspicion precipitated the North Berwick witch trials recorded in the *Newes from Scotland*.<sup>71</sup>

The connection between the disordered, rattling sounds of alterity and hell was not unique to Jonson or the travel writers alone. The final trick played on Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is orchestrated by Mistress Page and likewise involves rattles. Mistress Page conspires

Nan Page my daughter, and my little son,  
And three or four more of their growth, we'll dress  
Like urchins, oafs, and fairies, green and white,  
With rounds of waxen tapers on their heads,  
And rattles in their hands. Upon a sudden,  
As Falstaff, she, and I are newly met,  
Let them from forth a saw-pit rush at once,  
With some diffused song ... (4.4.46–53)

Although the rattles are not mentioned in the scene where Falstaff is cozened by the merry wives, the stage directions do call for “*A noise*”

<sup>70</sup>The smell of the diabolic is discussed further in the chapter “‘Drums rumble within’: Embodied Experiences of Temples in the East and on the London Stage” and in Jonathan Gil Harris’s *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>71</sup>Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark, and William Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 79.

(5.5.26sd), which may come from “within,” as the Norton editors suspect. The children-fairies likely come on stage shaking their rattles and continue to do so even through some of the dialogue, because shortly after they enter the scene, the character Hobgoblin commands them “Silence, you airy toys” (1.39). Although Mistresses Page and Ford know what the sound and source of the noise is, they feign fright: “Alas, what noise” and “God forgive our sins!” they exclaim respectively (1.27, 28), and Falstaff subsequently bellows, “I think the devil will not have me damned, lest the oil that’s in me should set hell on fire. He would never else cross me thus” (1.31–33). The disordered noise frightens Falstaff, and although the audience recalling Mistress Page’s plot (as with other examples of trickery in this play) may quickly realize the source of this likely unseen sound, Falstaff immediately associates the sound of the rattles with both “the devil” and “hell.” In this comic representation, the sounds of the rattles are orchestrated by the characters to create an alarming sound performed in conjunction with the otherworldliness of fairies; however, Falstaff interprets the rattling sound as diabolical, echoing the association of rhythmic, non-melodic sound with the demonic, like that performed in Jonson’s *Masque of Queens* and described throughout the travel narrative archive.

Rattles as music objects sound the otherness of radical alterity with which the English did not wish to identify, largely because these sounds uncannily indicate the space of hell through their association with non-Christian forms of worship—both those practiced in New World rituals and in domestic witchcraft. Although the rattle’s sound was potentially frightening due to these correlations, the travel writers were also fascinated by this particular sound, as evinced by the numerous descriptions of rattles and their uses circulating in the narratives. For example, the detailed text accompanying de Bry’s engraving XVII reads:

When they have escaped any great danger by sea or lande, or be returne from the war in token of Joye they make a great fyre abowt which the men, and woemen sist [*sic*] together, holding a certain fruite in their hands like unto a rownde pompio or a gourde, which after they have taken out the fruits, and the seedes, then fill with small stons or certayne big kernellt to make the more noise, and fasten that upon a sticke, and singing after their manner, they make merrie: as myselfe observed and noted downe at my beinge amonge them. For it is a strange custome, and worth the observation.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report*, 62.

Stating that the Algonquian “custome” is “strange” and “worth the observation,” Harriot underscores the importance of the instruments’ ability to make raucous sound: the rattles are constructed to produce “more noise.”

Other travelers venturing to what they called “Virginia” noted the importance of rattles to the inhabitants. In *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, the Powhatan’s “solemnities” are described, and the rattles feature prominently: “The manner of their devotion is sometimes, to make a great fire, all singing and dancing about the same with Rattles and shouts, foure or fiue houres.”<sup>73</sup> Even John Smith seems fascinated with the rattles, describing them in his *Map of Virginia*: “their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds, or Pumpions shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man.”<sup>74</sup> Imposing ordered musicological terms onto the rattles, analogous to consort viols or voice-parts in a madrigal, Smith then claims that this “terrible noise” would induce “fright” instead of eliciting “delight” in “any man”—which to him, means any Anglo-European white male. This particular description Smith gives was replicated in several different accounts, appearing in his *Map of Virginia* (1612), in William Strachey’s *The History of Travel* (1612), and again in Smith’s *Generall Historie* (1624).<sup>75</sup> In Strachey’s version, the rattles “mingled with their voices, sometimes 20 or 30 together, make such a terrible howling as would rather affright than give pleasure to any man”: slightly different from Smith’s “terrible noise,” in Strachey’s retelling, both human vocal cords and shaken instrument are presented as producing “howling” sounds.<sup>76</sup>

Rattles served important ritual and cultural functions in indigenous societies. They were employed, for example, as part of Algonquian healing rituals, a fact that John Smith observed (though in his characteristic derogatory fashion): “To cure the sick, a man with a rattle and extreme howling, shouting, singing, and such violent gestures and antic actions over the patient will suck out blood and phlegm from the patient.”<sup>77</sup> Henry Spelman

<sup>73</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 841.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, *Map of Virginia*, 28.

<sup>75</sup> Strachey also writes that the “priests” “in their hands they carry everyone his rattle for the most part as a symbol of his place and profession, some bass, some smaller,” connecting the rattle to Indian religious observation. William Strachey, *History of Travel*, in *Jamestown Narratives*, ed. Haile, 653.

<sup>76</sup> Strachey, *History of Travel*, 642.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, *True Relation*, 164.



corroborates the use of the rattle for healing, stating that the “priest” kneeling by the sick person’s side takes “the rattle, and with one hand shakes that, and with the other he beats his breast, making a great noise.”<sup>78</sup> Both Smith and Spelman recognize the function of the rattles as instruments used for curative purposes, yet they still present these instruments and their use as other, accompanied by sounds they characterize as “extreme howling” and “a great noise” that once again suggest the savage nature of the people practicing such customs. This tendency is even more pronounced in the context of other ritual observances. In describing a ceremony that became known as the *huskanaw*, a coming-of-age rite for young Powhatan men of Tsenacomoco, William White associates the sounds of the rattles with the diabolic: “Some of them were blacke like Deuils, with hornes and loose haire, some of diuers colours. They continued two dayes dancing in a circle of a quarter of a mile in two companies, with antick tricks, foure in a ranke, the *Werowance* leading the dance, they had Rattles in their hands; all in the middest had black hornes on their heads.”<sup>79</sup>

Like the unregulated “howling,” the sound of the rattle, even when recognized as being employed in New World Indian religious or spiritual practices, was a sonic indicator of the diabolic and was played by both “priests” and “devils.” As rhythmic or noisy instruments, rattles produce percussive sounds that are sonically distinct from melodic or harmonic instruments commonly heard in English or European court culture, such as the virginals or lute; the rattling echo of invisible stones or seeds striking against each other and the interior of the gourd indicate a sonic otherness from the more orderly, pitched sounds of standard Anglo-European instruments. Pointing out the physical violence necessary for beating a drum, in addition to the loud sounds it made, Christopher Marsh notes the subversive implications of unauthorized drumming in early modern England; perhaps ironically, the sound of drums was often described as “rattling.”<sup>80</sup> Like the “hollowing” of both witch and native voices, the sound of the rattle is characterized by—and dependent on—its hollowness to produce sounds.

<sup>78</sup> Spelman, *Relation of Virginia*, 1609, 490.

<sup>79</sup> Purchas his *Pilgrimage*, 841.

<sup>80</sup> Christopher Marsh, “‘The pride of noise’: drums and their repercussions in early modern England.” *Early Music* (April 2011): 203–216, 203. While accounts of witches using drums to conjure spirits are rare, an example appears in Nicholas Rémy’s *Daemonolatreiae libri tres* (Lyon, 1595), one of the sources Jonson consulted for *Masque of Queens*. The witches sing and play the pipe, while “another beats an oak tree with a cudgel or heavy club, and so produces a roaring sound like the beating of heavy drums” (cited here is E. A. Ashwin’s translation in *Demonolatry* (Secaucus, NJ: University Books, 1974), 66).

Echoing the supposedly unintelligible language of foreign peoples, rattles belonging to such peoples resonate also outside of the realm of meaningful *logos*, failing to signify in ways that were intelligible to non-native hearers. Their strange timbres unsettle, though sometimes also allure, listeners who are initially unfamiliar with these instruments. While rattles are used almost exclusively to perform sounds of otherness in early modern England, even their foreign otherness is confused; Praetorius catalogues them as “Indian,” although Jeremy Montagu posits that they are likely “American” (Fig. 4).<sup>81</sup>

The association between rattles and howling Indian noises is firmly established in John Smith’s writings, and his amplification of the diabolic becomes more prominent in his subsequent description of indigenous ceremonies featuring the rattle. In *A True Relation*, Smith recalls “their religion and ceremony”:

seven of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle, began at ten o’clock in the morning to sing about the fire, which they environed with a circle of meal, and after, a foot or two from that, at the end of each song, laid down two or three grains of wheat, continuing this order till they have included six or seven hundred in a half circle; and after that two or three more circles in like manner, and hand breadth from other. That done, at each song they put betwixt every three, two, or five grains a little stick, so counting as an old woman her paternoster. One disguised with a great skin, his head hung round with little skins of weasels and other vermin, with a crownet of feathers on his head, painted as ugly as the devil, at the end of each song will make many signs and demonstrations with strange and vehement actions. Great cakes of deer suet, deer, and tobacco he casteth in the fire. Till six o’clock in the evening their howling would continue ere they would depart.<sup>82</sup>

As is characteristic of Smith’s descriptions, the native appearance is “ugly,” the actions are “strange and vehement,” and he even equates the arranging of wheat with “an old woman counting her paternoster,” aligning Powhatan ritual with blasphemous Catholic practice. Smith amplifies the diabolical attributes of indigenous ceremony in his subsequent retelling of a similar episode in his *Generall Historie*. He introduces this anecdote by stating, “they entertained him with most strange and fearful conjurations. *As if near led to hell, / Amongst the devils to dwell*,” and describes their ceremony thus:

<sup>81</sup> In the same image that depicts gourd rattles are jingles that look like morris dancers’ pads, but which are described as American.

<sup>82</sup> Smith, *True Relation*, 163.

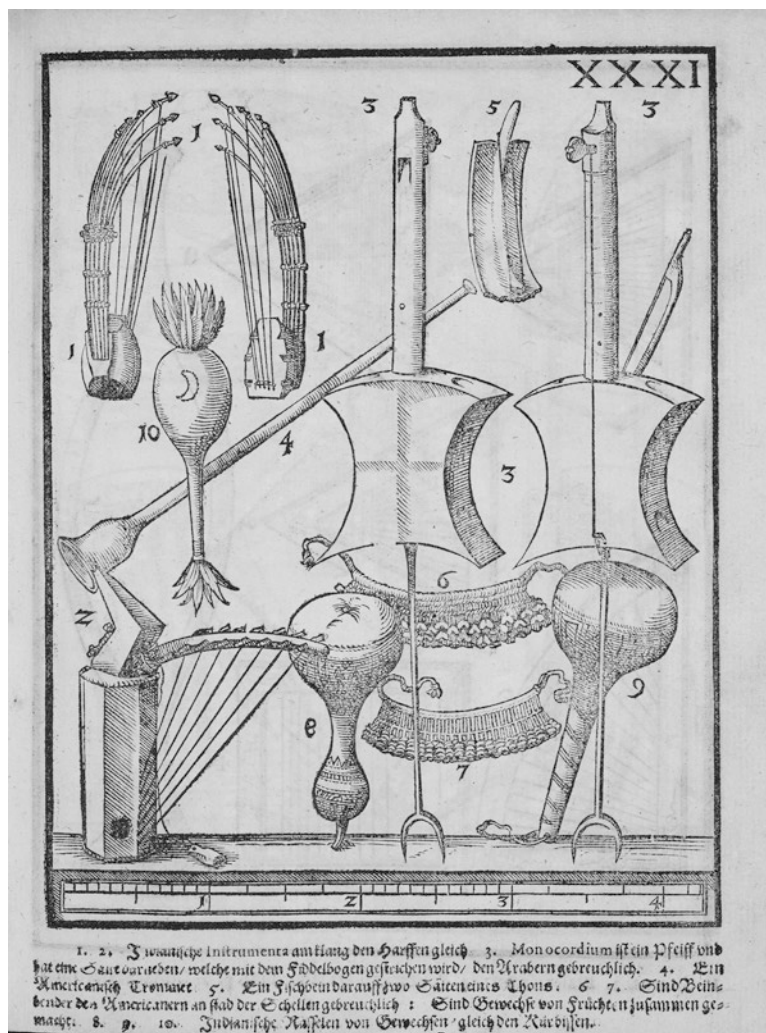


Fig. 4 Three different types of gourd rattles (numbered “8,” “9,” and “10”) are visible in Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate XXXI. By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710

with a hellish voice and a rattle in his hand[,] with most strange gestures and passions, he [“a great, grim fellow, all painted over with coale mingled with oil”] began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato’s along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd down five wheat cornes.<sup>83</sup>

Given that Smith’s later and dilated account was written years after his return to England, one wonders how much the 1624 version, especially with its detailed descriptions of the body painting and the “hellish voice and rattle,” was inflected by theatrical performances of diabolism in the theater, of the witches in *Macbeth*, for example, or the devils in *Doctor Faustus*. Smith was connected with the theatrical world through Richard Gunnell, who wrote commendatory verses to Smith’s *Description of New England*, and was an actor, dramatist, and the theater manager of the new Fortune Theatre in London, so theatrical portrayals may very well have inflected Smith’s later descriptions.<sup>84</sup>

Although often sounding in ceremonies of various New World Indian peoples and on the stage at Whitehall Palace, the rattles serve a remarkable function in Tupinamba systems of belief. Léry describes the Tupinamba using “maracas,” or rattles, as part of ritual singing, but he also records their cultural purpose and significance: the Tupinamba, “after that so great bewitching of those *Maraca*, (which they continually carrie in their hands) conceiue an opinion, attributing holinesse vnto them, that while they are shaken by them, a certaine Spirit speaketh with them from the middest thereof.”<sup>85</sup> The particular sound accessed through shaking these rattles allows the Tupinamba to communicate with their ancestors, to hear the voices of the spirit world resonate in a terrestrial location: the Tupinamba believed that the rattling noise of the maraca produced vocalizations of the departed. The rattles are not simply percussive accompaniment to

<sup>83</sup> Smith, *Generall Historie*, 99–100; italics appear in original text.

<sup>84</sup> Philip L. Barbour, “Captain John Smith and the London Theatre,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83.3 (1975), 277–279.

<sup>85</sup> Léry, “Extracts,” 1339.

Tupinamba ceremonies; rather, they sound the voices of spirits and act as a sonic bridge between the earthly and spiritual realms, speaking the musical language of death's otherworldliness. Ignoring the spiritual dimension of sound inherent in Tupinamba ethos, Léry instead conceptualizes their religious practices as "bewitchment," because it was impossible for a Calvinist like Léry to interpret Tupinamba religious practices as anything other than occult. He also detects a form of fetishism in their beliefs about the maracas: besides shaking the rattles as part of ritual ceremonies, Léry observes that the Tupinamba adorn their maracas with feathers, post them outside their houses, and even provide food and drink for them. These activities all indicate idolatry in Léry's estimation, as he misinterprets the significance of the rattle as a sounding body in Tupinamba culture. Tomlinson notes that the Tupinambas' rattles allow them to access dimensions normally unavailable: "the rattles that were basic to their ceremonial song and dance provided a bridge to spirit realms, with such clarity that few early observers of their society missed the fact."<sup>86</sup> That the sound of the rattle was also heard in Whitehall Palace during Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, where it signaled the noise of witchcraft, demonstrates that the rattle's sound was one associated in the English and European consciousness with radical alterity—an uncanny alterity constructed through tones of witch otherness resounding together with foreign, New World Indian otherness, which ultimately signified the diabolical.

\* \* \*

### "GREAT DELIGHT" IN DIABOLIC NOISE

Rattles and howling voices were sonic indicators of frightening otherness—both the otherness of witches and of foreign peoples encountered in the New World. These noisy sounds emblematic of disorder and discord echo throughout descriptions of the two marginalized groups of peoples to the point that they collapsed into each other as sonic signifiers of the diabolic. As much as the English and Europeans may not have wished to identify personally with these sounds of otherness, these sounds themselves calibrated those present at these sonic events—whether New World Indian ceremony, witch séance, or some interpreted combination of the two—on the

<sup>86</sup>Tomlinson, *Singing of the New World*, 111.

same frequency of sound. While frightening to some, however, intense pleasure could be experienced through these sounds, whether heard at the theater or in a foreign land. This certainly seems to have been the case with Jean de Léry, who included five examples of musical notation in his 1585 edition to record the sounds of the Tupinamba singing he heard in Brazil. Léry even includes notation for the music that he claims “ravishes” him every time he remembers it, even twenty years after his initial encounter. Surrounding the intricate image of the circle dance of the Tupinamba reproduced in de Bry’s *Grand Voyages* (Fig. 2), the textual apparatus concerning Léry’s “ravishment” (rendered “me raptus sueris” in this text) includes the musical notation describing and accompanying this moment of rapture in Léry’s narrative.<sup>87</sup> For the armchair traveler, one imagines that these audio-visual aids amplifying the text engendered something of the experience of vicarious travel. In addition to recording these particular sounds through musical notation—ironic since Léry states that the Tupinamba are ignorant of European music—it is possible that Léry intended his reader to sound the otherness of Tupinamba alterity from the comfort of her own home through performing the music incorporated into the text, and perhaps, this performance might induce an extraordinary experience of ravishment like his own.

According to extant musical examples, the witch music of Jonson’s antimasque also seems to have circulated in networks of manuscript collections and performance outside of the *Masque of Queens* itself. To conclude the antimasque, “a sound of loud music, as if many instruments had given one blast” at which “not only the hags themselves but their hell into which they ran, quite vanished” occurs right before the House of Fame appears; it seems that this loud “blast” was intended to recalibrate Whitehall’s soundscape of disordered noise of the witches into the proper sound of order through this overwhelming noise of reorganization.<sup>88</sup> However, this recalibration to the aspired ideals of musical order was not as incontrovertible as Jonson might have us believe. As Mary Chan proposes in her reading of *The Masque of Queens*, “Jonson says that the antimasque vanished, ‘scarce suffering the memory of any such thing’: but that the memory *did* remain is evident—even in a single respect—from the number of sources which reproduce one of the witches’ dances” in no

<sup>87</sup> While Fig. 2 is an image from Theodor de Bry’s *Grands Voyages, America Pt. 2*, Léry had included these musical examples since the 1585 edition of his *Histoire*, the printing of which he supervised, along with images of the Tupinamba.

<sup>88</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 330.

less than five surviving copies.<sup>89</sup> Although the ordered “blast” is intended to erase the witches’ strange music and dance at the commencement of the masque proper, the fact that the music accompanying the witches’ dancing is extant in multiple copies while the music from the masque proper is lost suggests that the sounds of witchy otherness captured the audience’s attention to the point that they wished to own copies of this music, perhaps to perform its otherness themselves. The evidence for the popularity of the witches’ music suggests that song and chant may have been an especially subversive way that disorder could be staged and experienced: while the goal of the masque was to supplant the disorder and chaos of the antimasque, the music of the antimasque echoed in the minds of hearers after the scenery and costumes had changed and the soundscape in the hall was transformed to properly ordered music.

According to the early sixteenth-century music theorist Andreas Ornithoparchus, who wrote about how the divine properties of the music of the spheres were reflected in instrumental music and human relationships, humans are predisposed to “harmonious” sounds: “Humane Musick” is “Concordance of divers elements in one compound ... which proceedes from the uniting of the body and the soule.” This, Ornithoparchus asserts, is why “we loath and abhorre discords, and are delighted when we heare harmonickall concords, because we know there is in our selves the like concord.”<sup>90</sup> Ornithoparchus’s statement is especially relevant for understanding the purpose of music in the masque proper: the order of music mimicked the godly design of the universe, and was reflected in the monarch. However, as Chan notes, sometimes the sounds of disorder were the ones that drew the attention of the audience. The proliferation of witch-song in extant musical copies is especially poignant in the context of the “Song” lyrics in *The Masque of Queens* praising Good Fame and Virtue, which were sung by the masquers to “triumphant music”:

Help, help all tongues to celebrate this wonder;  
The voice of Fame should be as loud as thunder.  
Her house is all of echo made,  
Where never dies the sound ...<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 210.

<sup>90</sup> John Dowland, trans. *Andreas Ornithoparchus, his Micrologus* (London, 1609), 1.

<sup>91</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 349–352.



While this song that is representative of order posits that the “voice of Fame should be as loud as thunder,”<sup>92</sup> it is the music of witchy disorder—possibly even the dance music that Jonson described as “strange”—that actually eclipses the stately song of the masquers according to archival and material evidence. The witch music also was divorced from its role as part of the antimasque and went on to have afterlives outside of the masque structure that was believed to have subsumed it. While the masque concludes with this sonic depiction of the “triumphant music” of the masque proper, the sound that actually “never dies” is the sound of the witches’ diabolical, cacophonous dance from the antimasque.<sup>93</sup>

The trace of the witch sound that still echoes even after the appearance of the House of Fame signals that the masque has been properly “ordered” is similar to the tones of New World Indian otherness that echo through the rattles, even as they are used to construct witchery in Whitehall. Like the music for the witches’ dance from Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*, rattles are described as sounding repeatedly throughout the travel narrative archive, especially in Tupinamba and Powhatan cultures. Through the vibratory energy of hollow vocalizations and the rattle of the maraca—both sounds of otherness—the borders between entertainment and ritual are blurred, as are those between England and New World, witch and New World Indian, court masque and travel narrative, and especially self and other. The sounds of the rattles in the masque were presented as entertainment through the deliberately crafted mode of sounding otherness for members of the court, including James, who apparently enjoyed hearing sounds of diabolical otherness. His pleasure at hearing such sounds was recorded in the *Newes from Scotland*, which states that the witches’ “confessions made the King in a wonderful admiration, and [he] sent for the said *Geillis Duncane*, who vpon the like Trump did playe the said daunce before the Kings Maiestie, who in respect of the strangenes of these matters, tooke great delight to bee present at their examinations.”<sup>94</sup> James’s “great delight” in experiencing the “strangenes” of Geillis Duncane’s performance on the Jew’s harp and hearing witch testi-

<sup>92</sup>This is a direct counterpoint to the thunder the witches attempted to conjure in Charm 5; it also is suggestive of the “sound of loud music, as if many instruments had given one blast” that accompanies the appearance of the House of Fame. Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 330.

<sup>93</sup>King James, a lover of sounding otherness, also requested that the antimasque of *The Maske of Flowers* be re-performed for him after the masque’s conclusion. This represents another instance of sounds of otherness participating in afterlives that actually supersede their ordered counterparts of the masque. *The Maske of Flowers* is discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>94</sup>James I, *Newes from Scotland*, 92–93.



mony at the North Berwick trials echoes L  ry's account of the pleasure he experiences in Brazil at a "witches' Sabbath," discussed at further length in the Introduction; Purchas's version states that L  ry was "rauished out of my selfe," overtaken, essentially, by Tupinamba otherness.<sup>95</sup> As with James's "delight" at the testimony and performance of witchy sounds of otherness, L  ry was ravished after hearing sounds that he had earlier characterized as demonic. While certain travel writers like John Smith only record their disgust at hearing the sound of Indian otherness—which he also identifies as diabolic—other listeners experienced joy or pleasure in sounding otherness. The various instruments of the devil—witch, hollowing voice, rattle, cultural other—even as they signified a frightening otherness, might have simultaneously produced pleasurable vibrations for audience members of the early modern theater and even for those who traveled throughout the noisy world's stage.

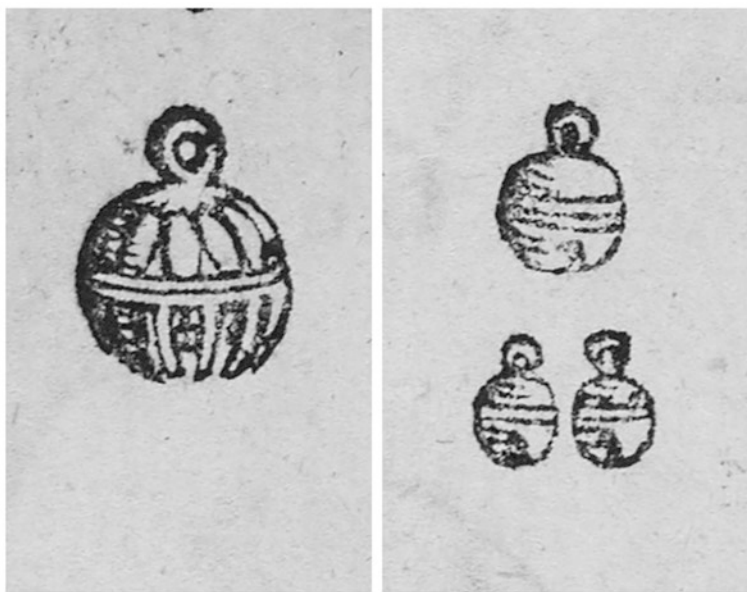
<sup>95</sup> L  ry, "Extracts," 1338.

## Hell's Bells: Delight in Transatlantic Jinglings

*They are greatly delighted with anything that is bright,  
or giueth a sound...*

*Dionise Settle, The Principal Navigations*

The jingle of the small bell, like the rattles that sounded the radical alterity of New World Indian otherness conflated with the diabolic, indicated the otherness of the New World Indian to English and European ears. This sonic association is ironic, especially since the bells were imported to the New World by English and European travelers. These bells, often called “hawk’s bells” by travel writers, and crotal, pellet, rumbler, or jingle bells in modern English terminology, were made of copper, tin, lead, brass, or some combination of these metals. From the earliest extant examples, we know that these bells also featured a metal suspension loop at the top so that they could be attached to many items, from hems of garments to animal harnesses to hawk’s jesses. In fact, the nomenclature “hawk’s bell” derives from the fact that these bells were used in falconry, attached to a bird’s ankle with leather straps; their jingling helped the handler locate the bird after it had completed its predatory flight. Fashioned from sheet metal with upper and lower hemispheres soldered together, or cast in a single piece, this type of bell is different from the “open” bell, like a church bell, that rings due to an internal clapper striking the interior of



**Fig. 1** Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate XXII. Crotal bells, detail. By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710

the bell's sides.<sup>1</sup> Hawk's bells are spherical, closed, and have a pellet or "rumbler" inside that produces sound when it collides with the internal surface of the bell as it is shaken or moved; the majority of the bells that feature in the accounts enumerated in this chapter were probably light sheet metal bells made from copper and copper alloy (Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup>Technically crotal bells are actually rattles themselves, rather than "true" bells, but since they are called "bells" in the travel accounts, I retain that usage here. There were two ways the cast bell could be manufactured: one method left the bottom of the bell open until the pellet was inserted, then the seam along the bottom was closed to keep the pellet inside; a later method used sand in a bell's hollow center during the foundry process, which left a small pellet inside as the bell was cast. Consult Percival Price's "Introduction" to *Bells and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983). In the process of making sheet metal bells, "The body of these is made in two halves, formed by hammering the sheet into shaped moulds, and joined together, after inserting the iron 'pea', with a lead/tin solder," according to Rod Blunt, "Crotal Bells," <http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/pages/crotal-bells.html>, accessed June 19, 2017. These were valued for their lightness, which probably made them easier to transport compared to the bells cast as a single piece.

These small instruments were continually imported to the New World by Europeans and were sounded during moments of first contact between the two groups of peoples. Columbus writes that during his first voyage, some of the native people “wore pieces of gold hanging from their noses, which they happily exchanged for little bells, for bells of the kind made for the feet of a sparrow-hawk and for glass beads, but the amount was a mere trifle.”<sup>2</sup> Termed “*cascabeles*” in Columbus’s text, which Samuel Eliot Morison glosses as “the tiny round bells used in falconry,” these hawk’s bells were transported by the trunkload on Columbus’s voyages to the West Indies.<sup>3</sup> While these particular bells were associated in the European imagination with “Indians,” they uncannily sounded European otherness to inhabitants on the West side of the Atlantic—an auditory sign of a foreign presence in their homeland. That the bells were inexpensive is important, for they were considered “trifles” or “trash” that the Europeans could easily transport and use as cheap trading items with the supposedly ignorant natives who—according to the Europeans—did not comprehend the systems by which material objects should be properly valued.

Trifles though they may have been, these “little bells” not only made a tremendous sonic impact in the New World, jingling from modern-day Canada to South America, but they also resonate with multiple valences as examples of the sonic uncanny. Sounding the familiar jingle of home to the European newcomers, and the invasive presence of European newcomers to the native peoples of these various locations collectively identified as the “New World,” the uncanniness of the bell’s sound morphs throughout time for both groups of peoples. For the European visitors, this shift in the uncanny follows the pattern of *heimlich* that Freud outlines: once familiar, this sound jingles in the soundscape of a location that they do not identify as “home,” thus becoming associated with the foreign. To the indigenous groups of people, the sonic uncanny of these bells follows the opposite trajectory, slipping from the “foreign” to the “familiar” as the bells become part of the soundscape of their land over time. A sound clip of a jingling bell is accessible via QR Code 1.

<sup>2</sup>Quotations of Columbus’s writings are from *Christopher Columbus: The Four Voyages*, translated by J.M. Cohen (London: Penguin Books, 1969) unless otherwise noted. Quotation above from page 72. The account of the first voyage is recorded as a “Digest” by Bartolomé de las Casas, which was a rewriting of Columbus’s logbook.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Eliot Morison, *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1963), 66.



### QR Code 1    Jingling bell

Ubiquitous in the travel narratives, the bells jingle throughout the collected writings of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, in the records of Columbus's voyage, and in John Smith's travel narratives. Throughout these texts, the bells play an important role in the contact zone, for Europeans initially presented them as gifts to encourage peaceful relationships with the "Indians." Although they are "trifles"—and because they are trifles—the bells later function as objects of exchange, traded by the Europeans for necessary (sometimes vital) provisions. As their importation to the New World continued through the sixteenth century, bells became so strongly associated with New World Indians that the 1614 anonymous *Maske of Flowers* staged an American Indian figure whose entrance was accompanied by the sound of these jingling bells. Even though the geo-sonic signification linking bells to New World Indians was strong, these bells were also associated with Moors and East Indians through cultural assumptions about sounds of otherness rooted in travel narrative accounts. Bells are described by the travel writers as eliciting "delight" from indigenous others, but vibration blurs the precise location of this pleasure as much as it blurs the lines of distinction between the familiar and the foreign. The bells' long-standing and continued presence in English culture—from the morris dance, to the fool's motley and scepter, to the gentlemanly pastime of falconry—locates the experience of "delight" in English bodies, rather than relegated only to Indian bodies.

\*   \*   \*

### COMMERCIAL TRIFLES

Some of the most detailed accounts describing the trading or giving of these bells come from the journeys of Columbus, particularly those recorded during his first voyage. Columbus recounts an incident of a

cross-cultural encounter with the native peoples shortly after reaching land on October 15, 1492. On the island he named “Santa Maria de la Concepcion,” one of the native men, likely of the Lucayan, Taino, or Arawak tribes,

had come to barter a ball of cotton. Since he would not board the caravel some sailors jumped down and seized him. Having seen all this from the fore-castle where I was standing, I sent for him and gave him a red cap and some green glass beads which I put on his arm and two hawk’s bells which I put in his ears.<sup>4</sup> I told the sailors to give him back his canoe which they had taken on to the ship’s boat, and sent him ashore.... I had not taken the ball of cotton from him, although he wished to give it to me. The people gathered round him and he appeared astonished. It seemed to him that we were good people and that the man who had escaped in the canoe must have wronged us or we should not have carried him off. It was to create this impression that I had him set free and gave him presents. I was anxious that they should think well of us so that they may not be unfriendly when your Majesties send a second expedition here. All I gave him was worth less than four *maravedis*.<sup>5</sup>

In this description, Columbus employed the hawk’s bells in the performance of the magnanimity of the foreign newcomers to this land, especially as Columbus would not take the proffered ball of cotton in exchange for the bells. That Columbus put the bells at a specific place on the native body—“in his ears”—underscores the importance of these sounding tokens through their proximity to the hearing organ; it seems that Columbus did not want to take any chances that the native person would mistake the sonic purpose of these jingling bells.<sup>6</sup>

Columbus’s retelling of this moment of contact also indicates that the gift of bells to the native peoples was not actually gratuitous, but was intended to produce results beneficial to the European visitors and, ultimately, to their rulers. According to this account, Columbus’s intended outcome of this gift-giving was to “create” the “impression” that the Europeans were “good people”; furthermore, he relates the reason that it was important that the natives “think well” of the newcomers is so that

<sup>4</sup> Morison renders this line “I placed *on* his ears” in *Journals and Other Documents*, 70. In either case, the proximity to the hearing organ is clear.

<sup>5</sup> *Four Voyages*, trans. Cohen, 61.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly in *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*, trans. Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley (New York: Continuum, 2008), 34, Michel Serres describes a woman adorning the ears; she “underlines hearing with an earring” and in so doing “draws the map of her own receptivity.”

“they may not be unfriendly when your Majesties send a second expedition there,” ensuring that his own benefactors were aware that important intercultural groundwork was being laid—as well as groundwork entreat-ing Ferdinand and Isabella to bankroll another voyage West. Columbus is certain to conclude his account of this encounter with the satisfied obser-vation that “All I gave him was worth less than four *maravedis*,” indicat-ing that little cost was incurred by the Europeans during this encounter project.

Columbus is the first to introduce this particular type of sounding object into the New World soundscape, although Morison states that Columbus’s practice of bringing bells to a country to lure the native peo-ples into a trade relationship arose from the demand for these and other items among African peoples with whom the Spanish had already made contact: “the standard trading-truck for the African coast proved equally sale-worthy in the Antilles, especially the hawk’s bells.”<sup>7</sup> Morison’s asser-tion that bells were traded with African peoples is corroborated by a letter from Nicolo Syllacio to the Duke of Milan, describing the experience of his friend, Guillermo Coma, on Columbus’s second voyage. He writes that in Hispaniola,

all the men [the Spaniards] were not permitted to accept gifts indiscrimi-nately from the Indians, but only those who gave something in return, even if it were nothing but trifles like pins, bits of glass, bronze bells like those fastened to the tinkling talons of hawks. The Ethiopians and the Arabs are strangely fascinated by these bells and exchanged them for their wares, as we know from the history books.<sup>8</sup>

William Pietz argues that the trading of trifles with African peoples led to European “contempt for a people who valued ‘trifles’ and ‘trash.’”<sup>9</sup> His argument can be broadened to encompass attitudes to other foreign

<sup>7</sup> Morison, *Christopher Columbus Mariner* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1956), 78. Morison also discusses bringing bells to Africa in *Journals and Other Documents* (66).

<sup>8</sup> Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 241.

<sup>9</sup> William Pietz, “The Problem of the Fetish, II: The Origin of the Fetish,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 13 (1987): 23–45, 41. As Pietz argues, an echo of the “fetish” is linguistically tangible in the “trifle.” The concept of the fetish has been developed in both Marxian and psychoanalytic frameworks. Karl Marx outlines his theory of the commodity fetish in *Das Kapital* (1867), where the social relationships among people are truly objectified economic exchanges. In Freud’s account, the fetish is a substitute for the lost phallus, as he describes in his 1927 article, “Fetishism.”

cultures, as the “contempt” Pietz identifies was certainly leveled also at the New World Indians. Their purported “love” of “tinkling” bells, the misprision of trifles, was a large part of the reason the Europeans perceived these people as “savage,” ignorant, and exploitable.

The lyrics of a contemporary English ballad, “Have over the Water to Florida” reiterate this very point: in “Floryda,”

Wher savage pepell planted are  
By nature and by hest,  
Who in the mold fynd glysterynge gold,  
And yt for tryfels sell.<sup>10</sup>

The prospect of obtaining “glysterynge gold” from “savage pepell” in exchange for “tryfels” is an alluring one, especially as the English and Europeans can quickly and easily profit from an unbalanced exchange economy. Stephen Greenblatt elaborates on this point, arguing that relative economic value is a concept lost on early modern Europeans, who instead “think that the savages simply do not understand the natural worth of things and hence can be tricked into exchanging treasures for trifles, full signs for empty signs. . . . indeed the more worthless and hollow the trifle, the more value is gained in the exchange.”<sup>11</sup> But these hawk’s bells are not exactly “hollow,” and certainly not so in a literal sense: in order for the bells to produce their sounds, the “pellet” or tiny metal ball must be present and rattle inside the hollow body of the bell. The presence of a kernel at the center gives these bells the sonic resonance that makes them unique and valuable to those unfamiliar with the sound; as with the Tupinamba, who heard the voices of their ancestors in the maracas, some tribes believed the bells’ sounds indicated communication with the spirit world.<sup>12</sup> While Greenblatt’s reading of the economic exchange of these trade items is astute, he overlooks the fact, discussed in further detail below, that the English also very much enjoyed these “cheap” items even as they outsource their enjoyment of such trifles to Indian “others.”

<sup>10</sup> Cited in Charles Harding Firth, *An American Garland: Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1563–1759* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1915), 7.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 110.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Vennum, Jr., *The Ojibwa Dance Drum: Its History and Construction* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 161.



As in Columbus's account, the incentive to trade and the cheap cost to the venturers are reiterated in the English narratives as well. According to George Peckham's "True Report of the Late Discoveries," about the expedition to Newfoundland with Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 included in Hakluyt's *Principal Voyages*,

Sauages may easily perceiue (were their sences neuer so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented vnto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Iet, or Glasse, &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with vs.<sup>13</sup>

The presentation of "our pettie marchandizes and trifles" to natives who don't properly know how to value objects is all that is necessary to change their "barbarous nature"; furthermore, like Columbus's presumption that the bestowal of trifles will encourage the native peoples to "think well of us" newcomers, Peckham believes that to foster "an assured friendship" and create a "mutuall societie" with the Europeans, gifts of trifles should be offered. The assertion that presentation of such "things, thought to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation," as Jeffrey Knapp argues, demonstrates the very savage nature of these foreign peoples: "the most salient fact about savages is that they always hold the wrong thing in 'precious estimation'—not gold, for instance, but trifles."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>The references to Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Volume XIII, America Parts I and II* in this chapter are from Edmund Goldsmid's edition (Edinburgh, 1889), 2:7. A similar sentiment is recorded in Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr in *The decades of the newe worlde* (London, 1555), 89r, during the voyage of "*Vaschus Nunnez*" (Vasco Nunez de Balboa), in which "*Vaschus* to recompence one benefyte with an other, gaue hym certeyne of owre thynges, as counterfet rynges, Christal stones, copper cheynes & brase lettes, haukes belles, lokinge glasses, and suche other fyne stuffe. These thynges they set much by and greatly esteeme. For suche thynges as are straunge, are euery where counted precious."

<sup>14</sup>Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from "Utopia" to "The Tempest"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 145. At a later moment in the narrative of Columbus's first voyage, the author recounts that Indians arrive at the Christian

Another factor contributing to the exploitation of the New World Indians is their profane relationship to things, which Protestants align with Catholicism. James Kearney identifies a religious valence in his study of trifles, noting the English terms “trinket” and “trifle” “emerged in early modern England as specifically Protestant markers of Catholic superstition,” which aligns the Catholic ritual “superstitions” with Indian misprision of objects.<sup>15</sup> As Peckham’s account demonstrates, the ignorant natives can be won by gifts that have little intrinsic value.

The main goal in presenting native groups with these objects was to create a bond with these peoples, but as Columbus’s and Peckham’s narratives demonstrate, these bonds are appealing to Europeans because they are imbalanced. Another instance in Hakluyt’s collection, between the native peoples of Florida and the French, exemplifies that very “mutuall societie” formation that Peckham describes. According to “A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Capitaines into Florida,” it was during the fourth voyage of 1567 that a pact was made between the Timucua and the French that is recorded as occurring through the exchange of bells:

Afterward Gourgues [Dominique De Gourgue, the French Captain] being about to speake, Satourioua [one of the Timucua] preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards since their comming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to reuenge so shame full a treason, aswell as their owne priuate griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giuing them

camp, Navidad, “bringing some sheets of gold to barter for bells which they value above everything else,” which reaffirms the point made by Knapp, as well as in the ballad “Have over the Water to Florida,” that gold could be gotten in exchange for trifles (93). Morison, *Christopher Columbus Mariner*, 189, writes that during his fourth and final voyage, Columbus found native peoples near the Boca del Dagon wearing gold disks around their necks and “for the standard price of three hawk’s bells, value about a penny, the Spaniards were able to buy a gold disc worth a double eagle, or four guineas.” As even Morison’s estimation of the monetary value of this exchange makes clear, the native peoples don’t know how to properly value objects.

<sup>15</sup> James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 185. This conflation also allowed the English to align the Catholic explorers with the natives, even though the English, ironically, engaged in the same patterns of trade relationships centered on trifles.

his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine presents of daggers, kniues, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, trifles vnto vs, but precious vnto these kings.<sup>16</sup>

The author of this narrative is certain to note that these items, including the “belles,” were “trifles vnto vs,” although they were “precious vnto these kings,” again suggesting a native penchant for fetishizing cheap trifles. Because the native peoples do not know how to properly value items, they are assumed to be simple and are considered expendable; this “league” formed between the French and the Timucua resulted in the French capturing and razing three Spanish forts. In this case, the native peoples were pawns, cheaply gotten, in the battle between European factions.

Somewhere along the transmission of the journal accounts recorded by Columbus and his crew, the letters exchanged and stories that circulated to become the basis for Peter Martyr d’Anghiera’s 1530 *De Orbe Novo*, and Richard Eden’s 1555 translation of Peter Martyr’s text as *Decades of the New World*, misprision of gold became even more prominent in the narrative as a way to demonstrate the native people’s childish desire for trifles.<sup>17</sup> For example, instead of the Spanish gifting the Taino peoples trifles during Columbus’s 1492 voyage, Eden’s translation states that the Taino “cast them selues by heapes into the sea, and came swimminge to the shypes, bryngyng golde with them, which they chaunged with owre men for erthen pottes, drinking glases, poyntes, pynnes, hawkes belles, lokinge glases, and suche other trifles.”<sup>18</sup> Later in Eden’s text, in the region of Cipangae or Cibana (a garbled form of the word “Cipangu,” the Renaissance English exonym of Japan), the marginal note reads “Golde for haukes bels” and the text states,

th[e] inhabitantes beinge desirous of haukes belles and other of owre thinges, resorted dayly thyther. To whom the Admirall declared, that if they wolde brynge goulde, they shulde haue what so euer they wolde aske, Forthwith turninge theyr backs and runnyng to the shore of the next ryuer, they returned in a short tyme, brynginge with them their handes full of goulde. Amongest al other, there came a owld man bringyng with him two pybble stones of goulde weighinge an vnce, desyryng them to gyue him a bell for

<sup>16</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:525.

<sup>17</sup> In many, if not all, of the examples cited here, Peter Martyr seems to have expanded the role of gold in the narrative.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Martyr of Angleria, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India*, trans. Richard Eden (London, 1555), 2r.

the same who when he sawe oure men maruell at the byggenes therof, he made signes that they were but smaule and of no value in respecte of sume that he had seene.<sup>19</sup>

Gold's role in the story of conquest of these lands was amplified, and the native peoples were depicted as ignorant of—and gratuitous with—the “actual” vast riches of these misidentified foreign lands.

This fiction of a land overflowing with gold that could be cheaply gotten by the Europeans was not relegated to the voyages of Columbus alone: Eden records another instance of trading trifles for gold when “Petrus Arias” (the Spanish explorer Pedro Arias Dávila) ordered that Gaspar de Morales should make an expedition to the Island of Dites (Dites seems to have been the name of one of the native chiefs—the island is now one of the Pearl Islands of Panama, called Contadora Island). At the “iland of Dites,” in the South Sea,

Beinge ageyne rewarded of owre men with such tryfles as they brought with them of purpose, as garlandes of Christall and glasse and other counterfet stones of dyuers colours, with lookyng glasses also and laton belles, and especially two or three Iren hatchets (which they more esteme then great heapes of gold) he thaught hym selfe abundantly recompensed. They laughe owre men to scorne that they wyll departe with so great and necessarie a thyng for any summe of golde: affyrmyng an axe or hatchet to bee profytable for manye vses of men: and that golde serueth onely for wanton pleasures, and not to be greatly necessary.<sup>20</sup>

Again, the Europeans are presented as knowledgeable about how to properly value material items, gold principally among them; yet, the tongue-in-cheek commentary here also records the native peoples “laughing” at the Europeans for their love of gold as valuable only for “wanton pleasures” and incapable of understanding the “necessary” value of a pragmatic tool like an “axe or hatchet.” This anecdote at once faults the native peoples for appraising the use-value of iron tools more highly than the intrinsic value of gold, at the same time that it (perhaps) recognizes truth in the Cueva and/or Coclé peoples’ awareness of the Europeans’ misprision: after all, what good is gold in a land where the gold is not worth much when compared to objects like tools and food that are necessary for survival?

<sup>19</sup> 11v–12r.

<sup>20</sup> 140r.

Gold has to be taken back across the Atlantic where its exchange-value would be worth anything substantial to the Europeans in order for it to function in the way the Europeans expect it to. In Marxian terms, the Indians are the ones who equate the use-value of an object (its pragmatic usefulness) with its exchange-value (its exchange equivalent compared to other objects on the market), while the Europeans infuse gold with an exchange-value much higher than its use-value, investing certain objects with inflated worth, which is—ironically—precisely the fault they find in the Indians’ behavior.

Later accounts enumerate other effects of establishing a “mutuall societie” with the native peoples, including a sense of recognition and familiarity between the indigenous peoples and the newcomers. John Smith begins his *A True Relation* by describing how he and Captain Newport,

with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discover the Riuer, some fifty or sixty miles ... the people in all places kindly intreating vs, daunsing, and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions, whereof we had plenty: for which Captaine *Newport* kindly requited their least fauours with Bels[,] Pinnes, Needles, beades or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindly to respect vs.<sup>21</sup>

Although bells make an early appearance in the very first paragraphs of this account, they are absent from the rest of his narrative, except when he uses them in one other instance to repay the natives for assisting him. After his canoe gets stuck in a riverbank, “six or seven of the king’s chief men” come to Smith’s aid:

Their importunacie caused me better to like the Canow then their curtese, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the Ose, desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats, to couer me, and I would content them: each presently gaue his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scare have indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.<sup>22</sup>

As in the account in which Newport bestowed the “bells, pins, needles, beads, or glasses, which so contented” the Algonquians, Smith uses the same emotive term—“contentment”—to remark that Algonquians who

<sup>21</sup> John Smith, *A True Relation* (London, 1608), A3v.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, *A True Relation*, D2v.

aided him in his time of need were “richly contented” by a few bells, even though Smith describes the trouble to help him as “pains a horse would scare have endured.” The “king’s chief men” who saved Smith are rendered as willingly tolerating circumstances a beast would not have suffered simply to gain worthless trifles.

Trifles though they were, these bells in Smith’s narrative not only serve as a token to thank the men for their help, but also function as an exchangeable commodity for food and other of the native “country provisions” necessary for English survival. Smith’s account again performs the double move, like that of Gaspar de Morales at the Isle of Dites, characteristic of these narratives that relate interactions with the New World Indians: on the one hand, these natives are so ignorant, they will give up more valuable commodities in exchange for trifles, thus allowing the English and European newcomers a commercial advantage; on the other hand, the English and Europeans neglect to mention the fact that when they find themselves in threatening situations (hunger, danger, confusion, illness, or being lost), and trade trifles like bells for sustenance or aid, the value of the bells becomes equivalent to the value of their lives. Smith, however, obscures this equation of his physical comfort with the exchange of “a couple of bells” by his assertion that the effort exerted by the native peoples was of a higher value than the cost of the bells.

Several other accounts of the Jamestown settlement describe a relationship with the natives that centered on commerce. In a 1608 letter, Francis Perkins relates his experience arriving at Jamestown with the first supply in the winter of 1607–1608. In it, he remarks on the by-now-familiar Indian trait of misprision, as well as the usefulness of trifles in encouraging trade of commodities that the English find necessary. After leaving Plymouth and sailing for the West Indies, the supply ships reach the island of Santo Domingo (Dominica):

we were there all that day trafficking with the savages, who came on board naked, bringing us potatoes, plantains, pineapples, which are a very savory fruit, bread which they call *casadra* (made of certain roots), parrots, cocks and hens, and other things, which they gave us in exchange for iron hatchets, saws, knives, rosaries, bells, and other similar trifles which they esteem very highly, and are of great usefulness to those who carry them in like voyages.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cited in *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*, ed. Edward Wright Haile (Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 132–133.

Not only does Perkins enumerate what the native peoples traded to them, but the lists of exchange suggest very different priorities between the two groups of people: while the Indians are willing to accept “iron hatchets, saws, knives, rosaries,” and “bells,” the English desire “potatoes, plantains, pineapples,” “bread,” “cocks and hens”—food items they would need to survive, especially since Jamestown was soon to encounter the “starving time” for the white settlers in 1609–1610. And yet, Perkins’s writing does not suggest that the English are hungry for food. He instead points out the Algonquian mistake of valuing the offerings too dearly, as “trifles which they esteem very highly,” even as he admits that the trifles “are of great usefulness to those who carry them in like voyages.”

It is at Jamestown where instances of the exchange of trifles for food-stuffs are most prominent, as suggested by Perkins, and these modes of exchange appear again in both Francis Maguel’s and William Strachey’s accounts of Jamestown. Francis Maguel, an Irishman, records that the practice of trading bells with the natives was still current along the Atlantic coastal areas in 1610:

The emperor of Virginia has sixteen kings under his dominion. He and all his subjects deal peaceably with the English and attend a market which the English hold daily near the fort, and bring to them there the commodities of the country to exchange them for many little trifles which the English give them, as knives, glass, mirrors, little bells, etc.<sup>24</sup>

Likewise, William Strachey, in his “History of Travel into Virginia Britannia,” records

Captain Samuell Argoll in a small river, which the Indians call Oquiho, anno 1610, trading in a bark called the *Discovery* for corn with the great king of Patawomeck, from him obtained well near 400 bushels of wheat, peas, and beans, beside many kinds of first, for 9li of copper, 4 bunches of beads, 8 dozen of hatchets, five dozen of knives, iiii bunches of bells, one dozen of scissors—all not much more worth than 40 shillings English.<sup>25</sup>

In both reports, the cheapness of the English trade items is reiterated. They are termed “little trifles” in Maguel’s text and the monetary value of

<sup>24</sup> “Report of what Francisco Maguel, an Irishman, learned in the state of Virginia during the eight months that he was there, July 1, 1610” in *Jamestown Narratives*, ed. Haile, 450.

<sup>25</sup> Cited in the *Jamestown Narratives*, ed. Haile, 606.

the bells and other items is given as “not much more worth than 40 shillings English” in Strachey’s estimation. But unlike examples from earlier travel writings, which propose that these trifles be given *gratis*, the settlers at Jamestown used them for the purpose of obtaining provisions through trade. As Maguel relates, they even held a “market” to exchange their trifles for food; yet, the market is one that crucially benefits the English. Compared to life-saving provisions, like the “wheat, peas, and beans” Strachey mentions, things like mirrors and bells are certainly trifles by comparison, and yet, their exchange-value is certainly higher than their use-value or intrinsic worth when they are exchanged for sustenance.

Travel writers assert that the trade relationship with the natives benefits the Europeans who are properly able to value commodities. But the archival records suggest otherwise. Here we might reconsider the meaning of “trifle” as an item of cheap value, since the newcomers at Jamestown were actually starving to death during this period described by Maguel and Strachey. John Smith’s 1612 *Map of Virginia With a Description of the Countrey* contains a brief dialogue to teach the Algonquian language—one that reveals the truth of the English plight in stark clarity: the Englishman in the dialogue states “I am verrie hungrie, what shall I eate?”<sup>26</sup> In some cases, the English and European travelers had laden their ships with these trifles instead of with enough sustainable food, or the knowledge of how to cultivate crops upon their arrival in the New World. Their survival thus depended on “ignorant savages” who exchanged food and provision for “mere trifles,” while many of the narrative accounts elide the reality of starvation from lack of necessary provisions. Although the travel writers do not acknowledge it, trifles like bells actually become quite valuable commodities when they must be traded for food and assistance, commodities that the Indians had in abundance but that the English in Jamestown needed in order to survive.

\* \* \*

### DANGERS OF UNCANNY JINGLING

As the Jamestown accounts, Columbus’s narratives, and Hakluyt’s voluminous collection all relate, the establishment of a trade relationship with the New World Indians happened over the course of many years and encounters, with probably thousands of these bells given and eventually

<sup>26</sup> John Smith, *Map of Virginia With a Description of the Countrey* (Oxford, 1612), sig. \*4r.



incorporated into the soundscape and indigenous trading networks of the New World. The narratives of Martin Frobisher's several journeys Westward, included in Richard Hakluyt's first volume of the collected travel writings about voyages to America, trace the movement of these bells as they become part of Inuit Indian culture. In *The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest*, the author, Christopher Hall, records an instance of presenting one of the native peoples with a bell. On the east side of Baffin Island, Hall, "the Captaine," and four others went ashore and saw "houses" and people native to the island. The Inuits began to row toward the English, whereupon Frobisher and company ran back to their vessel and this exchange occurred: "wee being in our boate and they ashore, they called to us, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife."<sup>27</sup> This gift of a bell, again, was intended to establish a relationship between the newcomers and the indigenous people.

An incident that occurred during their more extensive second voyage actually records the becoming-uncanny of these very bells, recounted in *The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher* by author Dionise Settle. After collecting what they believed to be gold ore, the company found a harbor, and as they got closer, they saw two seal-skin tents. Upon espying the visitors, the native people fled. The English then entered their tents and found "certain trifles of ours, as glasses, bels, kniues, and such like things" after which they departed, but "did in like maner leaue behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody, might (if any of them were aliue) be advertised of our presence and being there."<sup>28</sup> Although they are not able to locate their lost countrymen who may (or may not) have been captured by the Inuit Indians during the previous voyage, the English do find items that had, at one time, belonged to them. Described as "certain trifles of *ours*," these "glasses, bels, kniues" and other objects that once signaled the invading English presence have become part of the material culture belonging to the people living in the land the English called "Meta Incognita." The bells are representative of the reflective sonic uncanny, in that they sound both an English "home" to the travelers, at the same time they now also sound the foreign through their location in the tents of New World Indians and as Indian possessions. George Best

<sup>27</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1:79–80.

<sup>28</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1:88.

recounts a similar instance that occurred in the third voyage of Frobisher after several travelers arrive in “West England” and also discover tents belonging to the people there: “Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompense belles, looking-glasses, and diuers of our countrey toyes behinde them.”<sup>29</sup> Although Best attempts to reclaim these bells by terming them “toyes” of “our countrey” which were left in these tents for the native people, the earlier description of finding the bells in certain tents during the second voyage suggests that these items from the English “countrey” have uncannily become part of the soundscape of this other culture, even as it still signals an English homeland.

While the initial moment of encounter in the contact zone of the New World is most often discussed in such studies, possibly due to the relative abundance of material recorded at instances of first contact, the presence of bells in these tents asks us to consider the effects of placing bells on the bodies of native peoples. This act, which Columbus performed at his first encounter, indicates that sensory history is paramount to studies of political history, as Peter Charles Hoffer also asserts.<sup>30</sup> Although the travel writers are quick to assure readers that the gifting of these small sound-producing instruments to the native peoples was because the native peoples desired them and it would establish positive trade relationships, the consequences of “belling” native peoples would have greatly benefited European ears. Intended or not, the presence of the bells on bodies in this soundscape could make it easier for the English and other European visitors to locate native bodies in this foreign landscape filled with unfamiliar sounds, such as the “howling” discussed in the previous chapter. Placing bells on native bodies likely leveled the sonic-playing field for—as Hoffer notes—the sound of the English in Roanoke often gave them away: for example, Ralph Lane’s “men, noisy and armor clad, could be heard and seen from anywhere on the island, but the Indians blended into the landscape and moved about unheard and unspotted.”<sup>31</sup> That is, until they were adorned with these jingling bells.

According to the display of trade items at the Jamestown Settlement museum, “bells and other small copper items were sewn on clothing or worn as jewelry,” because copper was highly valued by the Powhatans as a

<sup>29</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1:178.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Charles Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), viii. He notes the wide application of sensory studies, arguing “we will see that sensory history plays into all the realms of the past, political and military as well as social and cultural” (viii).

<sup>31</sup> Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds*, 55.

symbol of status.<sup>32</sup> Not only were these bells used to ornament clothing, but, like Columbus placing bells in or on native ears, Michele de Cuneo's *Letter on the Second Voyage*, 28 October 1495 records the native peoples of Jamaica also wearing hawk's bells on their bodies. De Cuneo recalls that on Columbus's second voyage, "we then landed and presented them with some of our truck, among it hawk's bells which they liked more than anything else and which immediately they attached to their ears and to their noses. Ears and nose, that is the septum, they all, men and women, have pierced for that purpose."<sup>33</sup> Ornamenting the body with bells seems to have been practiced by several New World Indian tribes: Karlis Karklins relates that in 1691, Father Chrestien Le Clercq wrote about the Mi'kmaq (also known as Micmac) First Nations peoples of today's Canadian Atlantic Provinces, noting that the women "pierce their ears, to which they attach certain pieces of bead-work, with little bells."<sup>34</sup> The Chippewa-Ojibwa sites in present-day Michigan suggest that hawk's bells were "used to decorate clothing."<sup>35</sup> Several migratory tribes, including the Micmac, Ottawa, Chippewa, Ojibwa, and Woodland Cree, are known to have worn bells as adornments on their clothing, on leg garters, and on necklaces—as did the Iroquois, who wore bells on their shoes and decorated their cradleboards with them, and the Blackfoot, who wore them on the skirts of their robes.<sup>36</sup> The location of bells directly on the bodies of native peoples, as well as on their clothing, amplifies the bells' sonic function as they require movement to engage the rumbler inside that produces the jingling sounds. As evident by their presence on bodies, and location within their dwellings, it is clear that these tiny objects became part of the daily soundscape for many native peoples and sounded throughout various lands West of the Atlantic.

<sup>32</sup> Quotation from Jamestown Settlement Museum's display case consulted in the summer of 2011. Linwood "Little Bear" Custalow and Angela Daniel "Silver Star" write in *The True Story of Pocahontas: The Other Side of History from the Sacred History of the Mattaponi Reservation People* (Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010), 51, "It was well known that the Powhatan prized copper. The Powhatan attributed spiritual qualities to it. As such, only Powhatan royalty wore copper jewelry; thus it signified a high status in Powhatan society."

<sup>33</sup> Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 222.

<sup>34</sup> Karlis Karklins, *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1992), 13, citing Father Chrestien Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia*, trans. W. F. Ganong (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), 89–99, 28.

<sup>35</sup> Karklins, *Trade Ornaments*, 24.

<sup>36</sup> Karklins, *Trade Ornaments*, 48, 66, 78, 99, and 106.

These bells were the same kinds of crotal bells as used to adorn animals—cats, cattle, and even birds—in England and Europe; Columbus himself describes the instruments as “little bells, for bells of the kind made for the feet of a sparrow-hawk” used in locating birds as they were trained in falconry.<sup>37</sup> In Shakespeare and Fletcher’s play *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Jailer’s Daughter also describes hawks and their bells:

There was three fools fell out about an owlet –  
[Sings.] The one he said it was an owl,  
          The other he said nay,  
          The third he said it was a hawk,  
          And her bells were cut away. (3.5.67–71)

Sujata Iyengar reads these lines of the ballad as indicative of the Jailer’s Daughter’s commentary about her identity. Similarly, the sound of the hawk’s bells defines her as a hawk: “to cut off a hawk’s bells sets her free from human control but also removes the feature that makes her recognizable as a hawk, rather than as an owl or any other bird.”<sup>38</sup> This distinctive feature, of course, is its sound; in this sport common to the English and European gentry—and also practiced in the Mughal Empire—the falconer would locate his hawk by listening for the sounds that the bells made as his hawk moved.<sup>39</sup> Placing bells on the bodies of indigenous peoples had similar outcomes in terms of sonic location, and jingling could betray a native presence to European settlers less familiar with the New World lands. Even as these bells could indicate the presence of foreign bodies to newcomers, their jingle would be a sound familiar from their own homeland. Conversely, if the English themselves are carrying around these bells as potential trade items, it could cause a sonic misrecognition in both parties hearing the jingling of the bells, producing a definite

<sup>37</sup> *The Four Voyages*, trans. Cohen, 72. Morison, *Christopher Columbus Mariner*, 78, appositely describes these bells as “little spherical bells about the diameter of a quarter dollar or shilling, which were attached to the birds used in falconry.” For a full discussion of the use of bells in falconry according to English practice, consult Tom Ingram, *Bells in England* (Exeter: David & Charles, 1987), 139–141.

<sup>38</sup> Sujata Iyengar, “Moorish Dancing in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 20 (2007): 85–107, 92.

<sup>39</sup> The National Portrait Gallery holds a portrait of a young King James I and VI holding a hawk wearing bells on its ankles (NPG 63). Several images depict men with hawks wearing bells in the Mughal Empire, including a watercolor held by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, “Prince With a Falcon,” M.83.1.4.

uncanny effect if one's visual expectations are not congruent with the person who appears in conjunction with the jingling bells.

The bell sound might also incite fear. The hawk's or falcon's bells mentioned in *The Rape of Lucrece* link the sound of these bells to the fright Lucrece feels at Tarquin's approach: "under his insulting falchion lies / Harmless Lucretia, marking what he tells / With trembling fear, as fowl hear falcons' bells" (509–511). Lucrece's fear is aligned with the fear that birds experience at hearing the sound of the hawk's bells, since both are prey anticipating an attack. As the term "hawk's bell" and its association with predatory sport suggests, the introduction of bells into a native society could be dangerous to the native people: not only might the bells signal the indigenous presence in the New World land- and sound-scapes less familiar to white invaders, but the bells could even be used to entrap the native people, as one instance in Hakluyt's collection relates. In "A true discourse of the three Voyages of discoverie," the reader encounters an anecdote not included in the other collected accounts of Frobisher's voyages; this episode is poignant because the Central Inuit sewed bells to the hems of their skirts and coats, and were described as especially interested in such bells.<sup>40</sup> According to George Best, after five of the Englishmen had been lost during the first voyage (these are the men that the group later goes back to find), the captain devised a plan to recover them,

for knowing wel how they [the Inuit] greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretty lowbell, making signes that he would giue him the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for feare, he flung one bell vnto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost, And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came nere the ship side to receiue the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himself: for the captaine being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man fast.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Karklins, *Trade Ornaments*, 199, 223.

<sup>41</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1:140. The "pretty lowbell" and the "louder bell" could have been the open-mouthed handbells that were different from the crotal bells discussed in this chapter; however, the cost of those bells would likely have been greater, and the loss of the bell to the sea more substantial than if he had been using different types of crotal bells, which came in a wide range of sizes. Of the moment when Best lured the man who bites his tongue off, William McFee, *The Life of Sir Martin Frobisher* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), 52–53, continued this tradition of disparaging native peoples for what

The captive man bit his tongue off, but Best assures his readers that he died in England of a cold which he caught at sea on the voyage across the Atlantic. In this example, however, it is the ringing of the bell, specifically its sonic quality, which Best describes as enticing the man toward their ship—and toward his death. It is ironic that this sound actually tolled the Inuit man's death knell.

The efficacy of commercial exchange and political maneuvering depended on the Indian desire for trifles like bells. As Best's account above reveals, that desire could result in dire consequences for native people who supposedly improperly value objects. According to travel accounts, the New World Indians coveted bells, although they were not always treated so dastardly for their purported materialism. This commonplace practice of bringing enticing objects to different foreign lands had devolved into exploitation of the native peoples to the point that Francis Bacon condemns it in his essay "Of Plantations." He writes, "if you *Plant*, where Savages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But use them justly, and graciously."<sup>42</sup> In addition to his admonition to treat the native peoples "justly, and graciously," Bacon's statement describes the sonic dimension—the enticement—of these "Trifles" through terming their sounds as onomatopoeic "Gingles," which indicates the prominence of these tiny sounding bells in "New World" encounters.

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### "THEY DESIRE NOTHING SO MUCH AS HAWK'S BELLS"

The bells were successful commercial items because they were novelties that the New World Indians desired. "The first relation of Iagues Carthier" describes the pleasure native women in New France apparently exhibit when they are presented with bells and other items:

they desire, writing "There was nothing on earth, probably, of less use to a Labrador native than a bell, but there was nothing for which he could conceive a more fatal infatuation. Bells were wrecking the whole social system of those parts. The natives who had secured bells were going up in the world, while those who had no bells were talking of revolution and setting up a new government which would give every man his bell."

<sup>42</sup> Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 108.

They had caused all the young women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that stayed with them, to ech of which we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Capitaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw vs giue something vnto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end that that they should haue as much as the others: These women are about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Capitaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cherishing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs.<sup>43</sup>

The gift of the comb and “little Tinne bell” to the few women, probably of the Mi’kmaq tribe, was enough to lure the remaining women toward the newcomers. The narrative also explains that the women touching the Captain’s arms and chest, and later dancing and singing, was evidence of their gratitude at receiving these items—“for which they were very glad.”

“Delight” is the emotion, if not the very term, that repeatedly characterizes the New World Indian reaction to these bells. The supposed native “delight” elicited by the bells is reiterated in the account of December 26 recorded in the *Journal of the First Voyage* of Columbus:

another canoe came from another place, which bore certain pieces of gold which he sought to give for a hawk’s bell, because they desire nothing so much as hawk’s bells, so scarcely had the canoe come alongside when they shouted and showed pieces of gold, saying *chuque, chuque* for hawk’s bells; they were on the point of going mad for them.<sup>44</sup>

According to Morison, the hawk’s bells “had a pleasant little tinkle and the natives loved them,” and the narrative’s assertions that “they desire nothing so much as hawk’s bells” and “they were on the point of going mad for them” definitely support that claim.<sup>45</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas also observed that the bells were particularly precious to the New World Indians, writing that they “would give nothing for beads, but they gave everything they had for hawk’s bells, they did not want anything else.”<sup>46</sup> Because the reaction to these instruments was perceived as being so highly

<sup>43</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:93–94.

<sup>44</sup> Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 137.

<sup>45</sup> Morison, *Christopher Columbus Mariner*, 78.

<sup>46</sup> Cited in Jeffrey Brain, “Artifacts of the Adelantado,” *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology, Papers* 8 (1975): 129–138, 129.

positive at moments of first contact, the bells were regularly imported in subsequent ventures to the New World.<sup>47</sup>

George Best's account of the third voyage of Frobisher also describes the bells in terms of the "delight" they are said to elicit in the native people. On August 30, the masons had completed construction of a house on the Countess of Warwick's Island at the order of Captain Fenton:

And the better to allure those brutish and vnciuill people to courtesie against other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary vse, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horsebacke, looking glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.<sup>48</sup>

This cabin is a house of English sensory wonders meant to entice the Inuit people, for not only are there objects that are meant to be seen and handled, like the knives, pictures, and looking glasses, but there are also sounding objects, including the bells, whistles, and pipes, not to mention the bread that was left for them "to see and taste," in perhaps a resonant synesthetic echo of Psalm 34:8 ("Taste and see that the Lord is good..."). These English objects allow the Inuit an apparent privilege in experiencing such sensory delights from the English world; Indians could presumably benefit from "becoming-English" through their proximity to and interaction with these English items. In his retelling of furnishing this cabin, however, Best suggests that there is something especially intriguing about the metal "Countrey toyes" of bells and knives. Again the bell is described as an incentive for "those brutish and vnciuill people"—who are conspicuously absent from this moment in Best's narrative—to "allure" them to future "courtesie" toward the English. Even more apparent in Best's account is his suggestion that these enticements might succeed because the bells and knives are objects in which the native peoples "specially delight."

Best's syntax is somewhat confused in his explanation of the native people's affection for these objects: it is unclear whether the bells or the knives are what Best refers to in categorizing one for "necessary vse" and the

<sup>47</sup> As Jeffrey Brain explains in "Artifacts of the Adelantado," 129, "the preference of the natives for the bells resulted in their being selected for the second voyage as the principal Spanish barter for gold and other valuables."

<sup>48</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:208.



other for “great pleasure.” Syntactically, the order of clauses in this sentence might suggest that because bells were mentioned first they might be modified by “necessary vse,” while the latter-mentioned “kniues” are enjoyed for “the great pleasure thereof.” Logically and proximately, however, Best probably elaborated on knives as being objects of “necessary vse,” as they were tools. The “belles,” notably spelled here identically to the French word, *belle*, meaning beauty—a word that was beginning to gain currency in England during the seventeenth century (*OED*, “belle,” A., *adj.*, 1)—were the objects in which the natives “specially delight” for no other reason than “for the great pleasure thereof.” Bereft of use-value, other than from the English perspective of their value in fostering relationships beneficial to the English, these “belles” do hold the capital for pleasure-value that Best ascribes to them chiefly among the list of commodities left in the cabin. Whether or not Best’s claim that the bells give the native people special delight or pleasure is factually or historically true is almost less important than the fact that it was “true” to the cultural imagination Best helped shape through his writing. That is, in reporting that the Inuit found such delight in these tiny sounding objects, Best injects this belief into the cultural imagination of the English people reading his account, especially since the notion that the native peoples of various foreign lands were delighted by the sound of bells had been reified since the time before Columbus sailed.

Even as delight is assigned to the indigenous peoples of the New World, other non-European “others” are described as greatly desiring these bells. As mentioned above, the standard trade trunk that was successful in African contexts contained trifling trade items, including bells; based on its perceived success, this was the same cargo imported to the New World. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda records gifting bells to the “Moors” in his travel narrative account of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama.<sup>49</sup> In addition

<sup>49</sup> Fernão Lopes de Castanheda’s narrative was translated into English by Nicholas Lichfield in 1582. He writes

...the Generall threw on lande little belles, which the Negroes tooke vp, and some of them came so neare vnto him, that he gaue them the bells into their owne hands, whereat he wonderfully meruailed, for that Bartholome Dyas had informed before, that when he was there, they did run away, and wold not be allured to come so neere view. The Generall therefore finding and perceiving contrary to his expectation, the gentlenesse of those blacke people, hee then leapt out on lande with his men, making exchange of certain red night caps with the Negroes for Bracelets of Iuory which they had, and so for that time departed.

to acting as trifles in accounts like Castanheda's, the bells were aurally associated with "Moors" in England through the morris dance. The morris dance was a hybrid, even uncanny, form that combined elements of the darker-skinned exotic with more familiar elements of English folk culture, like the Robin Hood and Fool characters that are also featured in the dance; as Sujata Iyengar explains, "early in the seventeenth century, the morris dance is at once a quintessentially English tradition and a sharp encounter with the foreign."<sup>50</sup> Accompanied by music, usually a country band consisting of tabor and pipe among other instruments, the morris dance also prominently featured the sound of the jingle bells. Crotal bells were attached to dancer's legs, and sometimes garments, to enhance the rhythm of their dance steps. It is also likely that these bells had resonances with the figure of the Moor, at least at the advent of the morris or "Moorish" dance in the late fifteenth century, since these were the same types of bells that were exported in European expeditions to Africa.

But the bells given to "Indians" in the West were also recognized by travel writers as important to East Indians, which associates this sound with both East and West Indians in English cultural imagination. This linkage is demonstrated even today: the *Grove Music Online* entry describing the size of crotal bells actually pits the two extremes against each other using "Indians" on both sides of the Atlantic as reference points: "The largest crotals (worn by Indian elephants) are about 18 cm in diameter, and the smallest (on pre-Columbian American jewellery) about 5 mm."<sup>51</sup> Those large crotal bells were observed by English travelers to India: Edward Terry writes that the Great Mughal's elephants "are adorned with bosses of brasse, and some of them are made of massie silver or gold, having likewise divers bells about them, in which they delight."<sup>52</sup> Besides

*The first booke of the historie of the discoverie and conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales* (London, 1582), 8–9. Castanheda's account is discussed at further length in the chapter "'Drums rumble within': Embodied Experiences of Temples in the East and on the London Stage."

<sup>50</sup> Iyengar, "Moorish Dancing," 86. As Iyengar discusses, the white English morris dancers in the period usually blackened their faces to perform the dance (86–87). See also Jane Garry, "The Literary History of the English Morris Dance," *Folklore* 94.2 (1983): 219–228.

<sup>51</sup> Percival Price, "Bell (i)"; "Sizes" in *Grove Music Online*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.42837>, (2001), accessed March 19, 2018.

<sup>52</sup> William Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels in India: 1583–1619* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1968), 306.

ringing on elephants, bells in the East were sounded by Hindu deities,<sup>53</sup> jingled on bodies of temple dancers,<sup>54</sup> and alerted the Emperor Jahangir that a civil suit required his adjudication.<sup>55</sup> An interesting East Indian custom concerning the bell was recorded in the travel narrative accounts of the East, specifically in Pegu, a location now known as Bago, Burma. Ralph Fitch provides the most detailed relation of this practice, stating that

the men weare bunches or litle round balles in their privy members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be married the husband is, for every child which his wife hath, to put in one untill he come to three and then no more; for they say the women do desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so given to that villainy, that they were very scarce of people.... The bunches aforesaid be of divers sorts; the least be as big as a litle walnut, and very round; the greatest are as big as a litle hennes egge. Some are of brasse and some of silver; but those of silver be for the king and his noble men.

<sup>53</sup>Percival Price, *Bells and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 21, writes that “Ganusha shook a garland of crotals in order to terrify people; Krishna wore a waistband of them to inform of his presence.”

<sup>54</sup>Price, *Bells and Man*, 24. “The Sanskrit term *ghaṇṭī*, or the diminutive *ghaṇṭikā*, can also denote small metal pellet bells, worn cosmetically or on various parts of the body for dancing (female dancers traditionally wear 101 bells and male dancers 151 around the lower legs). The spheres, of bell-metal, with a slit on the one side and interior pellets of *ṭikṣṇa* (probably cast-iron), are threaded on to strings by an integral ring at the top. Bells of this type are common throughout South Asia, known in North India as *ghuṅgrū*,” according to Alastair Dick, “Ghaṇṭā,” *Grove Music Online*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.51700> (2001), accessed June 15, 2018. Dancers who performed a Mughal version of the Kathak dance tradition wore “scores of ankle-bells,” which the female dancers used in rhythm to the tabla playing, according to Jonathan Gil Harris, *First Firangis: Remarkable Stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans and Other Foreigners who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 155.

<sup>55</sup>As William Hawkins records, Indians who experience injustice “come to a certain place where a long rope is fastened unto two pillars, neere unto the place where the King sitteth in justice. This rope is hanged full of bells, plated with gold, so that the rope beeing shaken the bells are heard by the King; who sendeth to know the cause and doth his justice accordingly” (cited in Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 113). William Finch also observed: “On the further side of this court of presence are hanged golden bells, that if any be oppressed and can get no justice by the Kings officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the King” (Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 184).

These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but litle; and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift; and because he hath used them, they esteeme them greatly.<sup>56</sup>

Multiple accounts record the European fascination with the sonic regulation of sexual practice.<sup>57</sup> The bells (transitioning from crotal bells to scrotal bells?) do not merely adorn the body; they become an internal, though still audible, part of the human body. They even circulated in networks that reached to England: Hakluyt's *Discoveries of the World* records that Fitch "brought divers of these bels into England" upon his return.<sup>58</sup>

Although this variety of bells was enmeshed in networks of trade relations and associated with Africa, East India, and the New World, their connection to the New World was most prominent in the early modern period. Strong archival and archaeological evidence survives which indicates that various tribes of New World Indians actually did enjoy these novel, foreign-sounding objects and attached these bells to their ceremo-

<sup>56</sup> Cited in Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 39–40.

<sup>57</sup> Jan Huyghen van Linschoten writes in *His discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies Devided into foure bookes* (London, 1598), 29,

also divers of the Peguans weare a bell upon their yarde, and some two, as bigge as an Acorne, which is made fast between the flesh and the skinne. Of the like Belles *Paludanus* can shew you one, which I brought out of *India*, and gaue it him; which bels have a very sweet sounde: This custome of wearing Belles was ordained by them, because the Peguans in time past were great Sodomites, and vsing this custome of belles, it would be a meane[s] to let them from the same.

Luis Vaz de Camões writes in his verse *Os Lusíads* (cited here is *The Lusíads*, trans. L. White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 10.122.1–8):

See the Arakan kingdom and the throne  
Of Pegu, once peopled by monsters—  
Children of the horrible coupling  
Of a solitary woman and a dog  
Today, men wear on their genitals  
Tiny tinkling bells, a custom  
Invented very subtly by their queen  
To put pay to behaviour so obscene.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *The Discoveries of the World* (London, 1601), 208.

nial garments. The Powhatan, Creek, Fox, Ojibwa, Omaha, Apache, Chickasaw, and Innu tribes all adopted these tiny bells as part of their cultural soundscapes, often using them in dance rituals.<sup>59</sup> Jeffrey Brain also cites narrative accounts that state that Cortez brought bells and beads to Tenochtitlan in his first visit of 1520, that Coronado brought them to what is now the American southwest, and that they were given to the Hopi tribe in 1629; they were even used as the core of the standard trading kit, and were given out by missionaries to win converts.<sup>60</sup> Eventually

<sup>59</sup> Consult Helen Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 69. Karl Schmitt records in his archaeological findings that “small copper ‘hawk’s bells’ between a half-inch and an inch in diameter were fairly common” trade items, “fifty-five being found” in Patawomeke; consult “Patawomeke: An Historic Algonkian Site” *Quarterly Bulletin: Archeological Society of Virginia* 20.1 (1965): 1–36, 20. In the *Encyclopedia of American Indian Costume* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), Josephine Paterek cites bells on the dress of the Creek, who used “Brass or silver bells from the traders” to adorn garments and boots (20); “tin tinklers” on the Fox and Ojibwa (53, 63); and for the Omaha, “Garters had brass bells attached, to add to the rhythm and sound of the dance,” similar to the Osage, who also wore “woven garters” that “often had brass bells attached to them to add to the sounds and rhythms of the dance” (125, 127). According to the *Grove Dictionary of Music*, “after the coming of Europeans and the introduction of metal, bells (sleigh bells) came to be used as container rattles among some Apache groups and have since spread to other tribes, where they are sometimes worn on ceremonial costumes, enhancing the dance with rhythmic jingles.” Bruno Nettl, et al., “Native American Music: Musical Instruments: (a) Idiophones”; *Grove Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2251909> (2013) accessed March 19, 2018. Ian W. Brown, “Bells,” in *Tunica Treasure*, ed. Jeffrey Brain (Salem: The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 1979), 197–205, 197, records that “the anonymous author of the *Relation de la Louisianne* wrote, ‘when dancing ... they don their best clothes. They wear a belt made up of about forty *potin* hawk-type bells.’” At an Innu powwow, the dance rhythms, “accentuated by the bells or jingle cones which are part of the dance outfit, are an integral aspect of the experience,” according to Beverley Diamond, M. Sam Cronk, and Franziska von Rosen, *Visions of Sound: Musical Instruments of the First Nations Communities in Northeastern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 158–159.

<sup>60</sup> Brain, “Artifacts of the Adelantado,” 129–130. The practice of giving bells to the Native Americans continued into the nineteenth century: “Prior to departing St. Louis in 1804, on their expedition into the then unknown Far West, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark amassed thousands of items for trade with or as gifts for the Indians they would encounter: sewing needles, brass kettles, ivory combs, calico shirts, brass hawk bells, cheap rings with glass stone, knives, scissors, and yards of red flannel,” note Anita J. Ellis and Susan Labry Meyn in *Rookwood and the American Indian: Masterpieces of American Art Pottery from the James J. Garner Collection* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 132. By 1890, things had changed little; “Other objects, such as brass sleigh bells, were high fashion for dancers who

bells were even traded among different tribal groups, as owning these items afforded the native peoples higher status through their connection with foreigners.<sup>61</sup> Bells were incorporated into the ceremonial practices of various Indian tribes, not only for their novelty as “trifles,” but as elements that formed a part of their belief systems. Their symbolic importance was linked to locally produced items of copper, as Waselkov, Wood, and Hatley argue in their study of these English objects in Virginian Indian tribes.<sup>62</sup> The bells’ prominence in dance rituals was due to their noisemaking, their jingling sounds enhancing and accompanying the movement of the dancers. Many native peoples chose to appropriate these sounding bells and make them part of their own cultures, blending the new metallic jingle with established traditional ceremonial songs and dances, creating an uncanny remix of sounds familiar and foreign.

Much of our knowledge of the bells today, ironically, comes from the moment when these bells were buried in the earth and silenced: bells were considered of such importance that some New World Indians were interred with them. As Stephen Potter relates, at the burial site located on “Potomac Neck, Virginia, near a historic Patawomeke village site (44STI) at Indian Point,” “two flushloop brass bells” were buried above the head of one of the twelve skeletons, which were likely interred in the early seventeenth century.<sup>63</sup> The burial mound at Clarksdale, Mississippi, where De Soto

wanted noise-making ornaments. Soon small tin cones, sometimes made from snuff can tops replaced the expensive and hard-to-find bells” (132).

<sup>61</sup> “In October 1541, Coronado prepared a report to the king, describing the highlights of his visit to Quivira, in which he says that a local Native leader gave him ‘some small copper bells’ that Coronado called *cascabeles*, and a piece of copper that the Indian leader wore hanging from his neck. As noted, cast copper bells or crotals (*cascabeles*) were distinct, easily recognized Native trade items that probably originated from Casas Grandes from the West coast of Mexico and moved through Casas Grandes in the late prehistoric period after ca. 1200. The presence of Casas Grandes cast copper bells East of the Great Plains in central Kansas in 1541 is evidence of some degree of interaction between the American Southwest and the Eastern Woodland peoples at the time,” according to William C. Foster, *Climate and Culture Change in North America AD 900–1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 146. In Andrew White’s *Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), while he does not record that his company of English travelers brought bells with them to what became Maryland, the Yaocomico tribe with whom they interacted owned bells.

<sup>62</sup> *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska, 2006), 190–191.

<sup>63</sup> Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 213.

ventured in 1541, contains bells, termed “Clarksdale bells” after the Clarksdale Mound where they were discovered (these are sheet metal bells of copper or brass made in two hemispheres crimped together), as does the burial site at Dunn’s Creek in modern-day Florida, which includes bells dating from the sixteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Ward and Davis record that in archaeological excavations of burial sites in Upper Saratow and the Fredericks Site of North Carolina, a total of 182 European bells made of copper or brass were found as part of the Sioux people’s burials; many of these date to the seventeenth century and are of the Clarksdale variety, though some are flush-loop, meaning that they have a thin strip of metal that was used to attach the bell to surfaces.<sup>65</sup> At one site was found “a cluster of 10 flush-loop brass bells attached to a beaded leather fabric, perhaps the remnant of trousers,” which corroborates the fact that Indian peoples wore bells on their clothing.<sup>66</sup> Further East, “twenty-four large ‘copper hawkbells’ were found strung around the waist of a male burial at the Macon Trading Post (1675 to 1718).”<sup>67</sup> These types of bells, termed “Circarch bells,” were manufactured in England during the seventeenth century; they are often found in excavations near Williamsburg, Virginia.<sup>68</sup> The flush-loop variety of bell was also circulating in Virginia: “Fifty-five Flushloop bells, between 0.5 in. and 1 in. in diameter were discovered at the Patawomeke site (about 1600 to 1625 in Virginia),” while at “Albert Ibaught (1600 to 1625), three specimens were discovered, two of which were in a burial, resting against the left side of the skull. It is possible that they were ear or hair decorations,” a practice employed by other tribes.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps part of the reason that native peoples valued these bells so highly was because they sounded a connection to the spiritual world, much like the rattles did to the Tupinamba: the Ojibwa suspend hawk’s bells inside

<sup>64</sup> Brain, “Artifacts of the Adelantado,” 132–133. Marvin T. Smith, “The Rise and Fall of Coosa, A.D. 1350–1700,” in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands, A.D. 1400–1700*, ed. David S. Brose, Robert C. Mainfort Jr., C. Wesley Cowan (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 143–156, 153–154, notes that cast brass bells were also found in the burial sites of the Coosa Indians in what is now Georgia.

<sup>65</sup> H. Trawick Ward and R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont A.D. 1000 to 1700* (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: Research Laboratories of Anthropology, 1993), 429.

<sup>66</sup> Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, 333.

<sup>67</sup> Brown, “Bells,” 199.

<sup>68</sup> Brown, “Bells,” 200.

<sup>69</sup> Brown, “Bells,” 201. Brown describes these bells as originating in northern France and their prolific appearance indicates that they were a “major trade item through the Colonial period” (201).

of some of their ceremonial drums, which jingle when the drum is struck or carried. "Traditionally, the invisible sound such as that produced by the hidden bells has spiritual connotations for Indian people," which indicated that the Great Spirit was hearing the songs of the people; the bell in the center of the ceremonial drum was referred to as "the heart of the Drum."<sup>70</sup> Foreign objects of trade that transformed the New World soundscape simultaneously became a significant feature and familiar object of New World Indian culture; bells were such meaningful instruments to peoples that they were sounded on bodies in life and were buried with them in death.

Though not entirely a coincidence, yet certainly based largely on mediated accounts written by English and European travelers, bells became strongly associated with undifferentiated New World Indian peoples in the early modern English imagination. This is evident from one of the few surviving examples of a theatrical entertainment that features a (quasi) New World Indian: *The Maske of Flowers*. Performed at Whitehall for the marriage of the Earl of Somerset to Lady Francis, daughter of the Earl of Suffolke, on 12th Night, 1613, the anonymous *Maske of Flowers* opens with two antimasques, or "anticke-Maskes," as they are termed in the text. These two antimasques, one of song and the other of dance, were meant to resolve the contention that "wine was more worthy then Tobacco, and did more cheere and relieue the spirits of man" (A4r).<sup>71</sup> Silenus, the representative of wine in the antimasques, supposedly asserted this to Kawasha, who held that tobacco was the worthier element. As Olivia Bloechl explains, "Kawasha was a version of the eastern Algonquian deity 'Kiwasa,' depicted in copper-cut in Theodor de Bry's edition of Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* of 1590."<sup>72</sup> To commence the antimasque of song, Silenus rides in on an ass, led by a satyr; from the opposite side enters Kawasha, "riding upon a Kowle-staffe, couered with a foote-cloth of pide stuffe, borne upon two Indians shoulders attired like Floridians"; Kawasha has on his head a "Night-cap of red cloth of gold," on top of which sits a "Chimney" (B3). Each of the two was preceded by a Sergeant. Kawasha's sergeant "carried on his shoulder a great Tobacco Pipe, as bigge as a Caliuier" (B3). Besides

<sup>70</sup> Vennum, *Ojibwa Dance Drum*, 161.

<sup>71</sup> Anon, *The Maske of Flowers* (London, 1613) will be cited parenthetically.

<sup>72</sup> Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118.



the visual paraphernalia associated with tobacco, Kawasha was also associated with the New World through his clothing: in addition to wearing large “Pendants” as earrings, he is adorned with a “glasse chain about his necke, his body and legges of Oliue-colour stuffe, made close like the skinne, bases of Tobacco-colour stuffe cut like Tobacco Leaues, sprinkled with orcedure, in his hand an Indian Bow and Arrowes” (B3). While lavish indeed, as Gavin Hollis notes, Indian characters in English productions “blur distinctions between Indians and other categories of difference—a reminder that the ‘Indian’ was a composite figure in the English imaginary.”<sup>73</sup> The sound of Kawasha was fabricated as well, but had one detail that may have resonated with English conceptions of the New World Indian.

Not only does his appearance and accoutrements suggest Kawasha’s (mostly) New World Indian alterity, the sounds that accompany his song also signal his otherness. While Silenus’s singers are enumerated as “a Miller, a Wine Cooper, and Vintners boy and a Brewer,” Kawasha’s include “a Skipper, a Fencer, a Pedler, a Barber”—the implication, of course, being that members of these professions are lured by their respective vice. In the singing contest, Silenus and Kawasha alternate verses, each lauding his substance, while the singers all join together in the choruses between the verses.<sup>74</sup> Both ensembles are described as having “frumpled over” their music, which suggests the effects of the wine and tobacco on the instrumentalists accompanying the singers; this sonic confusion is recapitulated also through the changing meter, which Bloechl argues “mimicked the effects of wine and tobacco” and could even implicate the audience in feeling disoriented at unfamiliarity with the particular metrical changes, especially if the music deliberately doesn’t follow expected patterns.<sup>75</sup> Even within the structure of ordered music, disorder is sounded in the antimasque.

While the performance methods might not vary to great degree between the chorus that accompanies Silenus and that accompanying

<sup>73</sup> Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 168.

<sup>74</sup> The music that both parties sing is included in the 1614 printed version in four-part harmony, unlike the five songs sung in the actual masque, which were not printed. According to this text, James I enjoyed the antimasques so much that, “The Maske ended, it pleased his Maiestie to call for the Anticke-Maske of Song and Daunce, which was againe presented” (C4).

<sup>75</sup> Bloechl, *Native American Song*, 120.

Kawasha, Kawasha's musical ensemble is described as different from that of Silenus's band. Silenus's instrumentalists include "a Taber and a Pipe, a base Violin, a treble Violin a Sagbut, a Mandora"; Kawasha's, "[h]is musicke, a Bobtaile, a blinde Harper, and his boy, a base Violin, a tenor-Cornet, a Sagbut" (B4). The "base [bass] Violin" and "Sagbut" are common to both, but the timbre of the other instruments differs between the tabor and pipe, treble violin, and mandora (similar to the lute and very popular in France) for Silenus, while Kawasha's broken consort consists instead of a "Bobtaile," harp, and tenor Cornet. While the sonic "meanings" of these various instruments cannot be fully recovered in our own cultural moment, some observations might be made. First, the tabor and pipe were played at English festival gatherings, like morris dances, and often by the figure of the Clown or Fool, as in the well-known woodcut of Richard Tarlton playing the tabor drum and long pipe. In an unusual twist, Ariel performs on the tabor and pipe in 3.2 of *The Tempest* for the drunken Stefano, Trinculo, and Caliban, which resonates with the connection between the tabor and pipe's music and wine suggested by Silenus's band. The "Bobtaile" presents more of a conundrum<sup>76</sup>; it is not listed in any musical catalogues or inventories that survive from the period, and the *OED* definition concurrent with the date of the masque defines a "bobtail" as "The tail (of a horse) cut short," which doesn't explain the sonic dimension clearly invoked by the bobtaile's inclusion in a list of instruments. It seems more probable that the instrument in question is a homophone of the fool's "bauble," a staff carried by fools at court or clowns on stage that, like his hood, often was decorated with bells.<sup>77</sup> While there was certainly not a "standard" Fool's uniform, bells were commonly featured on the points of the hood, and sometimes on the hems of coats, around the

<sup>76</sup> According to a "Mr. Prendergast," cited in F. Cunningham Woods's "A Brief Survey of the Dances Popular in England during the Eighteenth Century," in *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (22nd Session) (1896): 89–109, 109, "In the Masque there is a novel instrument I could never make out, called the 'Bobtail'; no answer is provided to his question in the "Discussion" included in Woods's "Brief Survey."

<sup>77</sup> An Interregnum play might also hint at a connection between bells and baubles: "in Thomas Jordan's masque *Fancy's Festivals* [1657], the character Fancy drops 'a bundle of Masking toys'.... A poet, finding the fallen objects, details what he picks up: first the props, 'Ribons, Bells, bawbles, Masks, and dancing shooes.'" Cited in Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 201. The third definition the *OED* gives for "bauble" is "A showy trinket or ornament such as would please a child, a piece of finery of little worth, a pretty trifle, a gewgaw."

collar, and even on the tips of their shoes.<sup>78</sup> As Satis Coleman notes, “in Shakespeare’s day the ‘fools’ wore bells upon their clothing, and their wands had bells fastened to them.”<sup>79</sup> And, while not all of the fools’ baubles had bells on them, images from the medieval and Renaissance periods depict bells on the baubles, as in Fig. 2, which shows bells on a fool’s bauble in a fifteenth-century breviary; several baubles with bells on them,

**Fig. 2** Detail from “David and the Fool” showing the Fool holding a bauble with bells on it in the *Breviary of John the Fearless* (France [Paris], between 1413 and 1419). By kind permission of The British Library Board. Harley 2897, f. 42v



<sup>78</sup>George Withers’s *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1635), depicts a fool wearing a hood with three bells on it: two on either of the points and one at the top of his head (Book 4, page 211). Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1552), cited in Peter Whitfield’s *Mapping Shakespeare’s World* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2015), 131, shows four bells on the points of the hood and on the tips of the shoes.

<sup>79</sup>Satis Coleman, *Bells: Their History, Legends, Making and Uses* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1928), 390.

which date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are still extant.<sup>80</sup> Correlative to the tabor drum in Silenus's band, the bauble, or "Bobtaile," could be shaken in time (or out of time, as the case may have been) as a rhythmic instrument, especially since the other instruments in Kawasha's broken consort were not conventionally rhythmic instruments. Because these bells were associated with the soundscape of the New World, the inclusion of the "Bobtaile" might indicate a moment where sounds of New World Indian otherness are domestically produced for an English audience, even as they simultaneously and uncannily appear and sound on the English fool's bauble.

\* \* \*

### UNCANNY PLEASURE VIBRATIONS

While "delight" is the emotion repeatedly associated with bells in the travel narratives—and seems to have been aligned also with the pleasures of New World tobacco in *The Maske of Flowers*—the question of textual and Anglo-European cultural mediation arises. It is clear that the New World Indians enjoyed these bells and incorporated them into their cultural practices, but the European writer repeatedly omits his own relationship to these instruments in his accounts of the "delight" of others. But traces of his own attachment to these bells are perceptible. On October 21, while on the island of Isabela—so named by Columbus—he records in his logbook of his second voyage another incident of presenting bells as gifts. After the inhabitants of the island saw Columbus and his crew, they ran away from them, but later "a few of the men approached us and one of them came quite close. I gave him hawk's bells and some small glass beads, and he was very pleased and happy. In order to foster this friendship and ask for something from them, I asked them for water, and after I had returned to the ship they came down to the beach with their gourds full and gave it to

<sup>80</sup>One is held by the Louvre (93-006353; OA389) and has at least seven crotal bells attached to the fabric collar of the "marotte"; two with a similar design and six crotal bells upon each are held by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (T1294 vor der Restaurierung Aufn. 1972 and T 1381). The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust held a child's rattle similar to the Fool's bauble and has "four copper alloy bells": "Baby's Rattle: Object 33." Entry by Elizabeth Sharrett, *Shakespeare in 100 Objects* (6 February 2012), <https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/shakespeare-100-objects-babys-rattle/>, accessed June 15, 2018.

us with delight.”<sup>81</sup> Again, the bells are given in order to cultivate trade relationships and bonds of trust with the native people, yet their effects are much more profound than that: the sounds of these bells are said to provoke pleasure and happiness in the recipient of the bells, and in turn, his happiness seems to result in generosity along with “delight” from the people.

What evidence suggests that the man who received the bells felt delight? Nothing recorded in the text corroborates this report of the man’s happiness, and all we have to rely on is Columbus’s interpretation that “he was very pleased and happy.” Stephen Greenblatt promotes a skeptical reading of such moments as these when he argues that “it is, I think, a theoretical mistake and a practical blunder to collapse the distinction between representation and reality, but at the same time we cannot keep them isolated from one another.”<sup>82</sup> While we can’t know for certain what the man’s “actual” reaction to the bells was, Columbus’s statement does tell us a great deal about his perception of what the sound of jingling bells could do: he clearly thought and/or desired his readers to think that the gift of these bells provoked a definite response in the recipient and listener. Specifically, this result was “delight” or “happiness”—emotionally charged terms meant to indicate an affective reaction to hearing this supposedly pleasing sound. Surely Columbus or his men shook the bells to demonstrate their purpose to the Indians while also sounding European otherness in a foreign space, like Best’s account describes Frobisher ringing the bells to lure the Inuit.

Another question is salient here: is it possible to locate the delight of a sound to one particular person or group of people? Put another way, can Columbus or other travel writers be detached and objective when claiming that the man experienced pleasure from these bells? As discussed above, European travel writers often accuse the native peoples of fetishizing trinkets, suggesting that the natives have an infantile desire for or attachment to objects that the more sophisticated Europeans do not experience. But the prolific amounts of bells in English culture suggest that the English and Europeans outsourced or displaced their desires onto the native peoples and used the supposed desires of the indigenous cultures to mask their own; this was especially the case in a culture that had been vacillating between competing Catholic and Protestant conceptions of ritual objects of worship for

<sup>81</sup> *The Four Voyages*, trans. Cohen, 71.

<sup>82</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 7.

generations.<sup>83</sup> Whether or not the man who received the bell from Columbus actually felt pleasure at hearing or owning this material object, we do know that Columbus, at the very least, imagined that he did. Columbus's interpretation or fabrication of what the man felt at possessing this bell suggests an act of Deleuzian molecular becoming, for Columbus aligns himself with that New World Indian at that particular moment of exchange, even attributing emotion to that man. Perhaps Columbus was outsourcing his pleasure at hearing the jingling of the bell, or maybe he was simply pleased to record that the man took the bell from him and brought back water, but regardless of the irrecoverable particulars of this exchange, a simple bell provided a link between two cultures in a contact zone, even as the Europeans would repeatedly exploit this connection. The vibrations from the tiny instrument jingling were enough to calibrate the two cultures on the same frequency of sound. That Columbus chose to describe this moment as a pleasurable sonic exchange certainly says more about his perception of what sound could achieve in this cross-cultural encounter than it did about the other man's reaction.

Toward the conclusion of his account documenting the second voyage of Frobisher, Dionise Settle also makes a claim about the presumed desires of the native peoples: "They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a sound."<sup>84</sup> This statement comes from a man who, along with his company, has spent his expedition searching for gold, himself delighting in things that are "bright"; Frobisher brought tons of gold ore back to England, which actually turned out to be worthless iron pyrite. Talk about misprision of objects! Although Settle attributes "delight" to the native people of Meta Incognita at their encounter with these "things," one can't help but wonder to what extent Settle is describing a delight that he himself feels at shiny, sparkly objects like (fool's) gold, or objects that "giueth a sound" like the bells their group has traded. This projected "delight" is the delight of the travel writer attempting to distance himself from, or even conflate his own delight at sounding objects with that he perceives in or ascribes to "the Indians."

John Smith's writing about the Powhatan initiation ceremony partakes of this same outsourcing of emotion. In our own cultural moment in the

<sup>83</sup> This argument echoes Alain Grosrichard's discussion with regard to sexuality and the Orient in *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, trans. Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1998).

<sup>84</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1:95.

United States of America, arguably the most familiar aphorism of cultural encounter between the English and New World Indians is the John Smith and Pocahontas relationship that has metamorphosed into romanticized American legend. Peter Hulme and Karen Robertson provide especially insightful readings of the moment where Pocahontas “saves” Smith’s life, recorded in his *Generall Historie of Virginia*, suggesting that Smith misinterpreted this ceremony that represented a cultural alliance between the Werowocomoco chief Wahunsenacawh (whom Smith calls “Chief Powhatan”) and the English Smith in a manner that did not actually threaten Smith’s life.<sup>85</sup> For one interested in sounds, however, a key moment in this dramatic account is often omitted from the story: the importance of bells to this episode.<sup>86</sup> Beside the marginalia “How Pocahontas saved his life,” we read:

having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death.<sup>87</sup>

Smith then relates Wahunsenacawh’s response to this melodramatic moment, a response we might not expect: “whereat the Emperour was contented he [Smith] should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselves.”<sup>88</sup> The reason Wahunsenacawh gives—or that Smith imagines, misinterprets, or invents that he gives—for sparing Smith’s life is so he can do foundry work for them; as Karen Robertson notes, Smith is saved “for metalworking services”—perhaps a punning reference to his surname—although his narrative never depicts him performing such activities.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1992), 140–141 and 150–152. Hulme writes, “Smith—though he was obviously unaware of it—had passed through an elaborate ritual of mock-execution whereby he allied himself with Powhatan” (150). Consult also Karen Robertson’s “Pocahontas at the Masque,” *Signs* 21.3 (1996): 551–583, esp. 564–565.

<sup>86</sup> As both Hulme and Robertson mention, it is noteworthy that Smith’s account of Pocahontas saving his life supposedly occurred in 1607, but was not included in his 1608 account, instead appearing in John Smith’s *Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624). For some, the question then becomes one of historical veracity.

<sup>87</sup> Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 101.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 101.

<sup>89</sup> Robertson, “Pocahontas at the Masque,” 564.

Hatchets, of course, hold use-value to the chief and his warriors, but Wahunsenacawh supposedly retains Smith to make delightful metallic trinkets for Pocahontas, with bells being first among the items enumerated. As is the case with Columbus and the “delightful” bells, we cannot verify the accuracy of these accounts mediated by the English and Europeans; indeed, the oral history passed down through Powhatan and Mattaponi tribespeople argues that it is impossible that Pocahontas would have even been present for this dramatic moment.<sup>90</sup> What is apparent, however, is that Smith wished to portray these bells as items of great importance by including them at a climactic point in his narrative, either because he interpreted them to be significant enough to “Powhatan” to be a reason for allowing Smith to live, or because he imagined them to be of great value to Pocahontas and her father. The bells again are presented, not to Wahunsenacawh’s people, but to the English readers of Smith’s *Generall Historie*, as objects greatly desired by the Algonquian people.

Although Smith might disagree, the “delight” these jingling bells afford is not locatable to merely one culture; as an anecdote from Humphrey Gilbert’s voyage posits, the delight at sounding bells and “Musicke” specifically is something the author imagines is shared by more than one culture. In “A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight,” the author, Edward Haies, catalogues the variety of people that made up the 260 who embarked on the journey Westward: he enumerates “Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners” as might be expected.<sup>91</sup> Haies continues his account: “Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Musike in good

<sup>90</sup>Please consult *The True Story of Pocahontas*, by Linwood “Little Bear” Custalow and Angela L. Daniel “Silver Star”; this account was written “from the Sacred History of the Mattaponi Reservation People,” orally transmitted through the *quiakros* or Powhatan priests. Of this incident, Custalow and Daniel write,

Children, male or female, were not allowed to attend [this sacred ceremony]. Children were not allowed into a religious ritual entailing priests. The *quiakros* were highly respected persons. They were regarded as being next to Ahone, the Good and Great Spirit. This must be understood in order to put these aspects into perspective. Pocahontas would not have been in the ceremony to throw herself on top of Smith to save him because the *quiakros* would not have allowed Pocahontas to be there. (19–20)

<sup>91</sup>Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:331.



variety: not omitting the least toys, as Morris dancers, Hobby horses, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible.”<sup>92</sup> Haies’s explanation here of the purpose of bringing musical elements to this space—both for “solace of our [English] people” and for the “allurement” and “delight [of] the Sauage people”—suggests that the sound of English music is enjoyable to both the English and the native peoples, pleasurably vibrating the two groups along the same frequency. In another, though slightly different iteration of the sonic uncanny, the music to accompany the “Morris dancers, Hobby horses, and Maylike conceits” is believed to provide “solace” to the English familiar with these sounds of their home, at the same time it is said to “allure” and “delight” the natives because of its unfamiliar novelty.

“Morris dancers,” likely wearing bells, are again presented as a fixture of English enjoyment. One of the most fascinating accounts of the morris bells in Hakluyt’s collection occurs during another moment in which the English present gifts to the native peoples. In “The third voyage of discovery made by Captaine Iaques Cartier, 1540. vnto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay,” one of the crew members recalls the company stopping at Hochelay, located between Hochelaga and Canada near Montreal Island, where they encounter an Iroquois chief. Terms of exchange are recorded:

the Captaine thought himselfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withal hee gaue him two Basons of Laton, and certaine hachet and kniues: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine.<sup>93</sup>

In context of Haies’s account, it is likely that the coat adorned with “small belles” was one meant for use in the morris dance, although Richard Eden records other tribes, including the Kuna in present-day Panama, gifting textiles and jewelry adorned with gold bells to the Spanish.<sup>94</sup> John Forrest

<sup>92</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:331.

<sup>93</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:152.

<sup>94</sup> According to Eden’s *Decades of the New World*, during the 1513 voyage of Pedarias Dávila in “Paria,” what is now present-day Venezuela, besides gifting the Spanish “With the golde and frankensence,” the Kuna people also bestowed “Lykewyse certeyne carpettes, coouerlettes, table clothes and hanginges made of gossampine silke fynelye wrought after a straunge diuise with plesante & variable colours, hauing golden belles & suche other span-

describes a similar coat used in a “morisk” for the 1511 Epiphany: the coat, “a confection of crimson and white sarsenet,” was, like the other morris dancers’ costumes, “weighted down with bells. The fool, in place of spangles, had twelve dozen bells attached to his coat, and he and the knights had, in addition, nine dozen bells each, attached to leather garters buckled to arms and legs.”<sup>95</sup> Forrest also observes the special sonic pleasure these bells could afford; he argues that “the sound of the bells chinking along with the motions of the performers was an intrinsic component of the choreography.”<sup>96</sup> Coats edged with bells had a quite clear and definite purpose: to make sound. The coat from Cartier’s voyage might not have been an English morris dance coat, although the similarities between the two above descriptions are remarkable. This coat and its jingling bells were a source of pleasure, not just for peoples in the New World, but for peoples on the East side of the Atlantic who enjoyed such entertainments as the morris dance.

The sound of the bells was one of the key features of the English morris dance; as the character Clod observes of the performers in Ben Jonson’s *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, “They should be Morris dancers by their gingle.”<sup>97</sup> In addition to the coats that had bells attached to their hems, dancers also wore bell garters; Forrest reports that the Tailors’ ledgers of

gles and pendautes as the Italians caule *Sonaglios*, and the Spanyardes *Cascaueles*, hanging at the purples therof” (79r). A similar—though more extravagant—presentation of bells is described in *The laste booke of Peter Martyr of Angleria*. At *Colluacana* (Culiacán in present-day Mexico), the inhabitants presented two gold chains to the king of Spain:

At the edge of this cheine, there hange .xxvii golden belles, hauynge betwene euery of them, foure iewels of precious stones inclosed in golde, at euery of the which in lyke maner hange certeyne spangels of golde. The other cheyne consisteth onely of foure golden lynkes, beset rounde about with a hundreth and two redde stones, and a hundreth threescore and twelue greene stones, with .xxvi. golden belles curiously wrought and placed in comely order.” (163v–164r)

<sup>95</sup> John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458–1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 70.

<sup>96</sup> Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 120.

<sup>97</sup> Ben Jonson, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, ed. George Watson Cole (New York: Century Co., for the Modern Language Association of America, 1931), Text C, 28, line 16. Ben Jonson mentions these bells in several of his writings: they are invoked in the 1617 Twelfth Night production of *The Vision of Delight*, which Pocahontas attended, and

1564 indicate the amount of bells allotted to morris dancers' costumes computes to 4 dozen bells per dancer.<sup>98</sup> Even in some of the earliest references to morris dancers, Forrest observes, "scarcely fewer than six per leg would suffice to produce a sound that could be heard over the musical accompaniment."<sup>99</sup> The puritanical Stubbes in his *Anatomie of Abuses* estimates that number to be greater, describing the "Lord of Mis-rule" who "chuseth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttes like to him self to waighte vppon his lordly Maiestie, and to garde his noble person ... they tye about either leg xx. or xl bels."<sup>100</sup> According to the description "*Cavaliero Kemp*" gives of himself at the start of his *Nine Daies Wonder*, he too wore bells, which are also depicted in Fig. 3: as "head-Master of Morrice-dauncers," he was also the self-described "best bel-shangles betweene Sion and mount Surrey."<sup>101</sup> While Stubbes overestimates the number of bells at twenty to forty per leg, Forrest calculates the number of bells based on the woodcut on the title page of Kemp's work: "Below the knees, covering most of his calves, he has on pads of crotal bells. Eight or nine are showing, so he may have on as many as a dozen per leg."<sup>102</sup>

New World Indians likely also wore garters with bells attached. Theodor De Bry frequently depicted New World Indians wearing similar bell garters, visually reinforcing a sonic connection between New World Indians and bells. While they do not appear, for example, in Harriot's *A breiefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, for which de Bry provided the engravings,<sup>103</sup> in the Frontispiece to *Americae pars quarta*, published only four years later, what appear to be bell garters worn around the calves and ankles of several New World Indians along the right side of the image are visible (Fig. 4). These orbs are larger than the chains of pearl and/or shell also visible in this image, and larger than those in Harriot's *Briefe and True Report*. Additionally, the Tupinamba are depicted wearing "bell-shaped

the character Gambol in *Christmas, His Masque* (1616) is dressed "like a tumbler, with a hoop and bells."

<sup>98</sup> Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 120.

<sup>99</sup> Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 55. Forrest adds, "but Moorish characters often wore bells attached to their clothes to create a general jingling, rather than a rhythmical sound specifically associated with leg motion" (55).

<sup>100</sup> Cited in Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 363.

<sup>101</sup> William Kemp, *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder* (London, 1600), 1.

<sup>102</sup> Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 241.

<sup>103</sup> De Bry's engravings here show chains of pearl (mentioned in the text), and bracelets of beads on a man's wrist. Thomas Harriot, *A breiefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (Frankfurt, 1590).

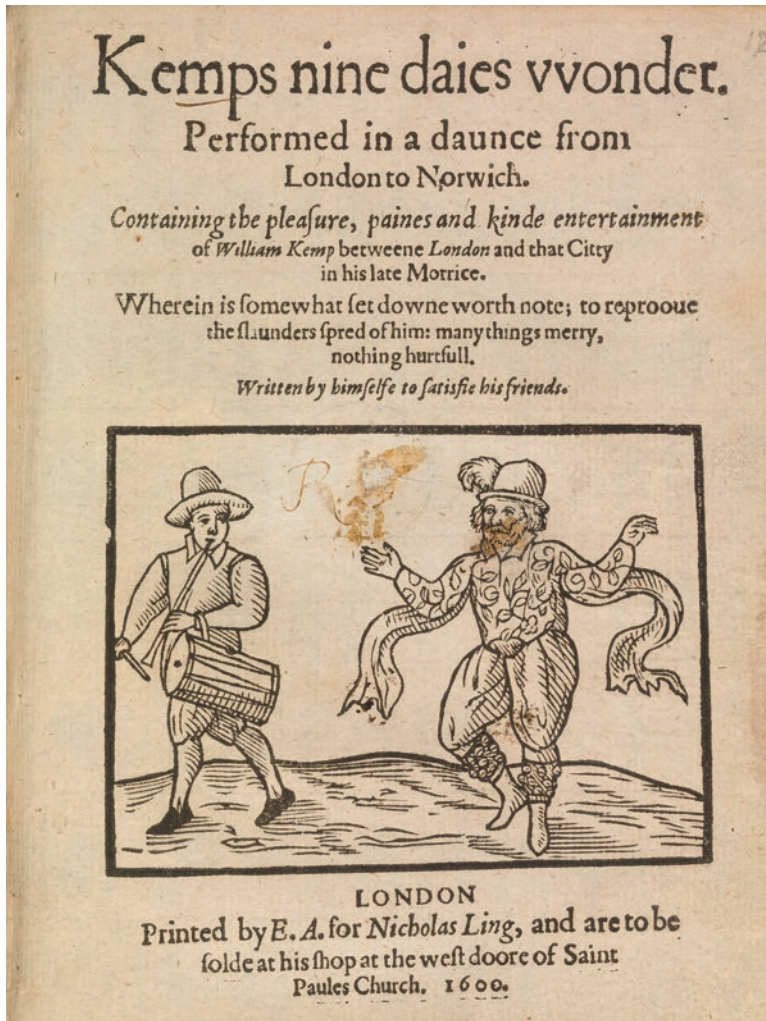


Fig. 3 Title page of William Kemp's *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder. Performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich* featuring Kemp wearing bell garters (London, 1600). Photo Bodleian Libraries. 4o L 62 (12) Art., titlepage (sig. Ai recto)





**Fig. 4** Frontispiece of Theodor de Bry's [*America Part 4*] *America. Sive, Insignis & admiranda historia de repta primium Occidentali India à Christophoro Columbo anno M.CCCCXCII* (*Americae, pars quarta*) depicting what appear to be bell garters on the New World Indian bodies. ([Frankfurt], 1594). By kind permission of the Newberry Library. VAULT Ayer 11.b9 1590 v.4



**Fig. 5** Theodor de Bry, German edition of *America, Part 12, Zwölffter Theil der Newen Welt* (Frankfurt, 1623). From the Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake at the Library of Congress. G159. B8 pt. 7b Drake Coll, sig. biiiv

rattles” in Jean de Léry’s 1578 *Histoire*; a later edition in Latin shows an even more elaborate engraving of Tupinamba wearing bells.<sup>104</sup> An engraving from the German edition of de Bry’s *America, Part 12 (Zwölffter Theil der Newen Welt, 1623, Fig. 5)* depicts Argall’s kidnapping of Pocahontas; one of the native figures wears accessories on the legs that appear quite similar to the morris dancers’ garters and bells, although all of these illustrations might

<sup>104</sup> Figure 2 from *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae*, 1609, in Kim Sloan, *A New World: England’s first view of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 226–227. Similar cone-shaped noisemakers on legs can be seen also in engravings of Tupinamba in Theodor de Bry’s *Americae tertia pars* (Frankfurt, 1605).

have more to do with the association of these bells with the New World in the Anglo-European imagination than with the reality of how the New World Indians actually used these instruments.<sup>105</sup> However, besides their appearance in printed images, oral and written accounts attest to the fact that certain New World Indians wore bells on their legs. Josephine Paterek writes that the Osage First Nations People wore “woven garters” that “often had brass bells attached to them to add to the sounds and rhythms of the dance.”<sup>106</sup> The Ojibwa people of what is today northeast Canada strung together hawk’s bells on leather straps, which were tied around the ankle and/or knee and used in ceremonial dance, a practice that continues to this day.<sup>107</sup> While depictions like de Bry’s may have amplified the importance of bells to a variety of native peoples, historical and material evidence demonstrate that the bells were used in this particular fashion by some tribes.

Perhaps ironically, other narratives indicate that certain native peoples fashioned bell garters virtually identical to those worn by English morris dancers. Though slightly later than the majority of the material discussed here, in 1700–1701, while among the Waxhaw in the Carolinas (a tribal group related to other nearby Southeastern Siouan tribes), John Lawson witnessed a ceremony commemorating the Waxhaw’s successful harvest. Inside a large lodge,

Presently in came fine Men dress’d up with Feathers, their Faces being covered with Vizards made of Gourds; round their Ancles and Knees, were hung Bells of several sorts, having Wooden Falchions in their Hands, (such as Stage-Fencers commonly use;) in this Dress they danced about an Hour, shewing many strange Gestures, and brandishing their Wooden Weapons, as if they were going to fight each other; oftentimes walking very nimbly round the Room, without making the least Noise with their Bells, (a thing I much admired at;) again, turning their Bodies, Arms and Legs, into such frightful Postures, that you would have guess’d they had been quite raving mad: At last, they cut two or three high Capers, and left the Room. In their stead, came in a parcel of Women and Girls, to the Number of Thirty odd; every one taking place according to her Degree of Stature, the tallest leading the Dance, and the least of all being plac’d last; with these they made a circular Dance, like a Ring, representing the Shape of the Fire they danced about: Many of these had great Horse-Bells about their Legs, and small Hawk’s Bells about their Necks. They had Musicians, who were two Old Men, one of whom beat a Drum, while the other rattled with a Gourd, that had Corn

<sup>105</sup> Cited in Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*, 184.

<sup>106</sup> Paterek, *Encyclopedia of American Indian Costume*, 125, 127.

<sup>107</sup> Vennum, *The Ojibwa Dance Drum*, 37, 129.

in it, to make a Noise withal: To these Instruments, they both sung a mournful Ditty; the Burthen of their Song was, in Remembrance of their former Greatness, and Numbers of their Nation, the famous Exploits of their Renowned Ancestors, and all Actions of Moment that had (in former Days) been perform'd by their Forefathers.<sup>108</sup>

As with earlier encounters, like Jean de Léry's with the Tupinamba, an element of fear at the foreign performance is conveyed; yet, the description of the Waxhaw dancing with bells around their legs likely also rang the familiar sound of the morris dance for the Englishman witnessing the ceremonial dance.

Jingling bell garters resonate with multiple cultures on both sides of the Atlantic. Michael Praetorius, who wrote an elaborate musical catalogue in 1618, *Syntagma Musicum: De Organographia*, with later illustrations appended in 1620 as the *Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia*, identifies bell garters as "American" in Plate XXXI (Fig. 6), although they are uncannily similar to the description of bell garters that were worn and that sounded in early modern England. The confusion as to the supposed provenance of these bells is replicated in Jeremy Montagu's reading of this image, as he notes that Praetorius identifies the bell pads as "American," although he states that they are "equally likely to have been African."<sup>109</sup>

While the Anglo-European travel writers might like to suggest that the New World Indians were innocent or ignorant like children through their delight in such simple items as bells, the English themselves delighted in such objects, as the vast numbers of bells on the morris dancers' costumes (still heard in morris dancing that continues in England to this day), and the bells on the bauble and Fool's garments would confirm. Ian Spink cites Richard Baxter's "reminiscences of his own Shropshire youth in the 1630s" in his *Divine Appointment of the Lord's Day Proved*: "sometimes the morrice-dancers would come into the church in all their linen and scarfs, and antic-dresses, with morrice-bells jingling at their legs."<sup>110</sup> Bells were a ubiquitous presence in the early modern English soundscape,

<sup>108</sup> John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709), 38–39.

<sup>109</sup> Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 56. As Montagu also notes, the rattle numbered 10 is also identified with multiple Indians. The image "shows a feathered gourd rattle said to be Indian, but almost certainly American Indian, probably from Brazil" (56).

<sup>110</sup> Ian Spink, *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 3.



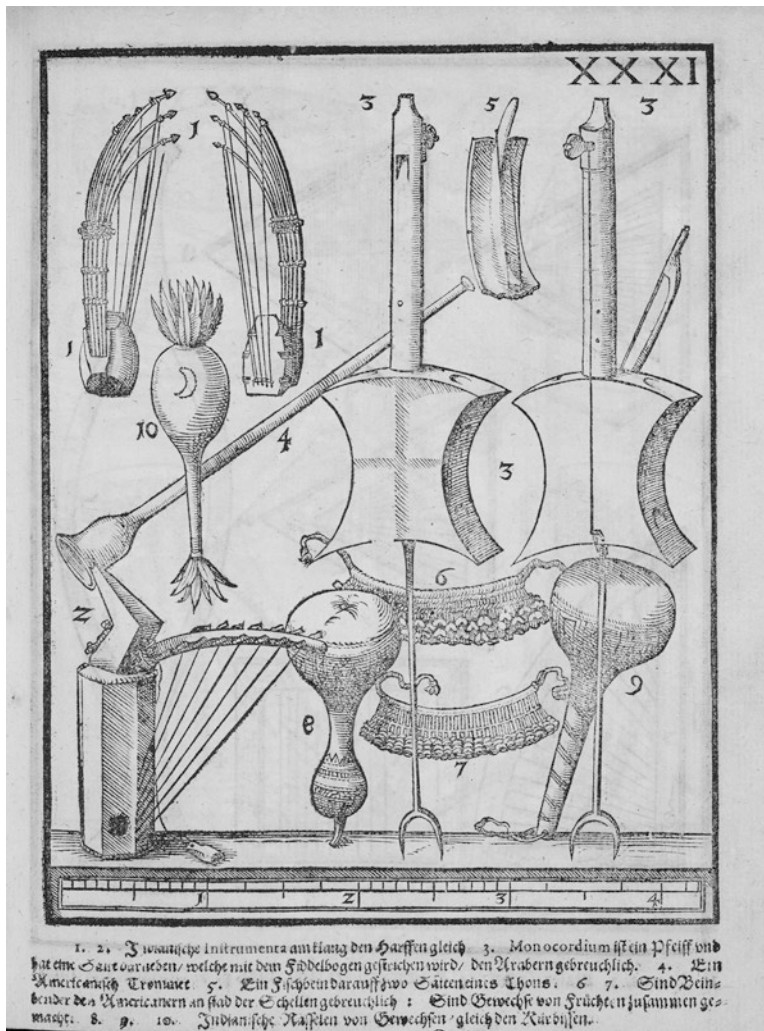


Fig. 6 This plate from Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate XXXI, features “Exotic Instruments”; the bell garter is numbered “7” and a rattle-cone garter is numbered “6.” This image also features a Tupinamba rattle (“10”) that Praetorius identifies as “Indianische.” By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710

placed on animals,<sup>111</sup> worn by fool characters in theatrical performances, as well as by court jesters; the bells' jingle would have resounded in soundscapes of both the court and public stage. Coleman notes bells were not just worn by fools or morris dancers in England: "In the fifteenth century silver bells were worn on the dress of both men and women."<sup>112</sup> The wearing of bells became fashionable in the fourteenth century and remained so well into the fifteenth century at all levels of society.<sup>113</sup> They were associated with entertainments besides the morris dances, too; James Shapiro observes that the "Stratford's wardens' accounts" during Mary's reign (1553–1558) record payments for a pageant of Saint George held on Holy Thursday and include payments for "dressing" and "bearing" a dragon, gunpowder, and "two dozen bells."<sup>114</sup> As Forrest describes, the English clamored for these bells through the seventeenth century: "morris bells, which were imported in large quantities from Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stayed stable in price for some time. Import and merchandizing rate records from 1582 to 1657 indicate that the standard price for bells was 5s per gross or 5d per dozen."<sup>115</sup> Forrest not only notes the cheap cost of these bells, but the fact that these bells "were imported in large quantities" from the continent suggests that the English greatly desired these bells, to the point that their domestic foundries could not keep up with the demand. Crotal bells in this period may have been

<sup>111</sup> Orazio Busino describes "jingling bells on harnesses that helped to clear a way for horses." Cited in Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 58.

<sup>112</sup> Coleman, *Bells*, 390. Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 123, describes the far-reaching appeal of bells: "Small bells were not only used to brighten dance music and singing, but were also applied to practically anything that moved in Elizabethan England. Tuned or untuned, small bells were applied to clothing, shoes, and horses' harnesses." Francis William Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music: Their History and Character* (London: Methuen, 1911), 190, also notes that small bells were affixed to "personal dress" for centuries.

<sup>113</sup> Refer to Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard's *Dress Accessories: c. 1150–c. 1450* (London: The Boydell Press, 2002), 336–341. Blunt writes "Examples dating from the later end of this period have been found suspended from necklaces and possibly bracelets. Prior to becoming fashionable, the wearing of bells as a dress accessory was limited to jesters, acrobats, pilgrims and priests." Rod Blunt, "Crotal Bells," <http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/pages/crotal-bells.html>. Bells also appear on the headgear of the Lancastrian kings portrayed on the Speed map of Lancashire (1611) (cited in Whitfield, *Mapping Shakespeare's World*, 170–171).

<sup>114</sup> James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 148.

<sup>115</sup> Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 262.

produced by the Reading Foundry and the Wokingham Foundry, and were almost certainly produced by the Whitechapel Foundry; the number of bell foundries in England (not all of which produced crotal bells, though many produced both large church bells and small crotal bells) reached its zenith in around the year 1700, which may also reflect the increasing demand for these jingling bells.<sup>116</sup> Archaeological projects, particularly those catalogued online through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, record that dozens of these bells dating from as early as 1100 to the 1850s have been found across England and Wales; many of the crotal bells found still have their internal sound-pea intact, meaning that these bells can still produce sound, which is remarkable because many instruments from the period don't survive in sound-able ways.<sup>117</sup> In English culture, bells echoed throughout all echelons of society, from tinkling on a hawk's straps to shaking in rhythmic concert at a morris dance, to ringing in the ears of a theater audience at court or in the public playhouses. These jingle bells resonated across class divisions and throughout the early modern English soundscape because they so greatly delighted the English.

While these bells were imported to the New World and accounts of their exchange in the travel narratives focus on the delight they bring to the native peoples, these same bells already sounded pleasurable to English ears. The English and Europeans outsourced their pleasure to the native peoples, but by doing so, the travelers are calibrated on the same pleasurable wavelength as the natives. The copper bell's jingle was part of the soundscapes of both Anglo-European and Native American cultures in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, enacting the sonic uncanny on both sides of the Atlantic. That bells act as a sonic point of cultural commonality is echoed by the Voorhees Archaearium at Historic Jamestowne. The exhibition gallery showcases these tiny copper bells as trading items possessed by the native peoples, in addition to a similar, though slightly larger bell as belonging to the colonists as part of their musical entertainments.<sup>118</sup> According to Beverly Straube, an archaeologist of the museum, there is strong evidence that these bells were not only considered precious items to the Powhatan, but also that they were kept and shaken by the

<sup>116</sup> Blunt, "Crotal Bells."

<sup>117</sup> The Portable Antiques Scheme is available at [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk), accessed June 15, 2018.

<sup>118</sup> Other artifacts on display at the museum include a trumpet mouthpiece, a shawm pirouette, several Jew's harps, and a tambourine cymbal.

English settlers as part of their musical culture—a material echo of Edward Haies’s assertion that the bells would “solace” his native countrymen and “allure” the native peoples.<sup>119</sup> Jingle bells were uncanny objects familiar and foreign to both the New World peoples and the Anglo-Europeans. Even as these bells could be heard as part of the soundscape of a “new” land, perhaps the tiny jingle reminded the settlers of their homeland; they might have even recalled a particular memory of a morris dance or song. At the same time, various New World Indian tribes chose to incorporate the bells’ foreign sound into familiar songs and dances. The sound of the bell enacts the sonic uncanny, modulating from the familiar to the foreign for English, or from the foreign to familiar for the New World Indians. Yet, the disparate cultures both experience becomings—movements toward, and affinities with, one another—as they are calibrated by both the sound and delight resonating in the jingling bells.

<sup>119</sup> Personal communication via email, August 24, 2011.



## Interlude: Intercultural Remixes

While many of the exchanges in the preceding chapters describe modes of sonic imperialism (English and European music is superior, rattles are diabolic, and bells are instruments desired by *them*, not *us*), at least one moment of uncanny intercultural singing performed by both New World Indians and the English is recorded in the archive. This remarkable episode occurred in Martin Pring's expedition to present-day Maine and New Hampshire. Pring sailed from England in 1603 in search for sassafras because Bartholomew Gosnold's 1602 expedition was so successful. He writes in *The Voyage of Martin Pring*: "We had a youth in our company that could play upon a Gitterne, in whose homely Music they tooke great delight, and would give him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinned of sixe foot long, which they use for Girdles, Fawnes skinned, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the midst of them, using many Savage gestures, singing lo, la, lo, la, la, lo: him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out upon."<sup>1</sup> The gittern music, in which the Abenaki First Nations peoples "tooke great delight" is termed "homely" in the text, for the music is certainly reminiscent of Pring's English homeland. A distant ancestor of our modern-day guitar, the gittern was quite popular as a stringed instrument

<sup>1</sup> Cited in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4 (London, 1614), 347.

to accompany vocal singing before the lute rose to prominence.<sup>2</sup> Pring reads the “delight” the people feel at hearing the young man’s music as evinced by their presentation of gifts, as well as their interaction with the music: they both dance (again, in a circle) and sing in concert with the “homely” English gittern. These performers all make music together, each culture contributing familiar music in counterpoint with foreign music, creating an uncanny remix of sounds of otherness.

It is tempting to read this moment as another iteration of sonic imperialism, in which the Abenaki would undoubtedly respond to English music with “delight,” because of its presumed musical supremacy to the rhythmic “lo, la, lo, la, la, lo” of Indian song; note that the gittern playing is termed “Music” in the text, but not the Abenaki singing. Even placing the gittern-player in the center of the ring would seem to attest to this obvious sonic superiority according to English standards: one might read the gittern-player’s position at the center as a privileged one and the native dancers moving about him as ancillary.<sup>3</sup> The Abenaki actually improvise in musical conversation with the gittern music to create an entirely different-sounding music that is a product of two cultures, not simply the accompaniment of one culture to another. This musical performance is a sonic iteration of Deleuzian becoming through vibration moving bodies in the same direction of their soundwaves; it is also a musical example of the sonic uncanny, resonating with both the familiar and the foreign to all present. As Deleuze and Guattari argue in *A Thousand Plateaus*, music is a quintessential example of becoming, and their assertion that music is a transformative force is evident in Pring’s narrative recollection.<sup>4</sup> Both the native people and the English are producing music foreign to each other simultaneously. Yet while the “homely” English gittern sounds English otherness to the New World, its chords are harmonized and rhythmically punctuated by the Abenaki singing.

<sup>2</sup>Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 98.

<sup>3</sup>Indeed, as many accounts of the native peoples of Virginia attest, it was rather common practice to dance in a circle with nothing at the center. The absence of anything at the center around which to dance actually suggests that the young gittern-player was incorporated into a traditional mode of dancing in a way that allowed all the dancers the same sonic proximity to the music.

<sup>4</sup>Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 272, write “Singing or composing, painting, writing have no other aim: to unleash these becomings. Especially music....”

The vibrations of these sounds—sung by the native people, and strummed or plucked by the gittern-player—calibrate all the performers, as well as the various listeners, on the same frequency, even as this frequency is itself an uncanny remix. Coupled with the description of the myriad gifts the “youth” received, the final line of this relation, “him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out upon” suggests that this intercultural jam-fest was not an isolated incident, but instead a recurring event that brought two foreign sounds of otherness into a shared musical familiarity.

Like the music performed in concert by the English gittern-player and the singing Abenaki, the film score to Disney’s *Pocahontas* (1995) engages in cross-cultural representations of uncanny music. Unlike director Terrence Malick’s film, *The New World* (2005), which ignores the possibility of either authentic or recreated Algonquian sounds—other than language—as necessary to the cinematic effects or the story line, Disney’s *Pocahontas* at least attempts to incorporate Algonquian music and sounds into a modern musical score, although this film has incited outrage from many members of various Native American Indian tribes.<sup>5</sup> Disney cast Russell Means, a Sioux actor and Native American activist, as Chief Powhatan, and Irene Bedard as Pocahontas (Bedard would also feature in *The New World*), instead of simply having an all-white cast perform Native American Indian roles. Although any film is a commercial venture and profit is one goal of cinematography, it is notable that Schwartz and Menken sought to engage with Indian sounds of otherness in their musical compositions, instead of abandoning Indian tonalities altogether. This is certainly not to negate or overlook the many problematic aspects of the film, which run the gamut from historically inaccurate to blatantly racist. Yet, the musical aspects of this children’s film reveal at least an effort to engage with and perform music endemic to the culture that it represents. Lyricist Stephen Schwartz writes that he researched the time period and the culture of the people he would represent through his lyrics, stating “the most significant task was to try to channel the spirit

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Linwood “Little Bear” Custalow and Angela L. Daniel, *The True Story of Pocahontas* (Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010); Cindy Dunne and Jordan Kolinski, “Reservations about Films: Disney’s Pocahontas,” *Lakota Children’s Enrichment* website, 11 September 2015, <https://lakotachildren.org/2015/09/reservations-about-films-disneys-pocahontas/>, accessed 14 July 2018; Chief Roy Crazy Horse, “The Pocahontas Myth,” [www.powhatan.org/pocc.html](http://www.powhatan.org/pocc.html), accessed 14 July 2018.

and thinking of the Algonkians of the time and place to the extent I could.”<sup>6</sup> Schwartz’s statement here deeply resonates with the process of “becoming-Indian” that Jonathan Gil Harris eloquently explains: “to understand what it means to become Indian demands attending to the agonies and the ecstasies of the migrant body’s encounters with new environments. Indeed, ‘ecstasy’ is a useful word in this context: it derives from the Greek ‘ek-stasis’, meaning standing outside oneself. We might regard ecstasy as simply an emotional state. But in its Greek usage, it is also an embodied condition: standing outside oneself means having a body that is no longer one’s body. Or rather, it means finding that one’s body has become something very different after entering into a new mode of being.”<sup>7</sup> Schwartz’s creative process describes just that kind of affinity with an Algonquian mode of being through sound. By including Algonquian music in the film score, those who experienced the film were also moved by Algonquian vibrations channeled through Schwartz.

By contrast, the opening sequence depicting Algonquian daily life in *The New World* is accompanied by the Vorspiel prelude to Wagner’s *Rheingold*; this alone is a jarring moment of sonic imperialism which postulates that the best or only way a (predominantly white, obviously) audience could engage with this moment representative of American Indian culture is through the mediation of nineteenth-century German music bursting with cultural capital. The presumption is that Algonquian musical sound is not vital to the reconstruction of the Algonquian village or people; moreover, Wagner is a much more culturally “valid” choice than an anonymous Algonquian chant that lacks the symphonic instruments and sweeping walls of sound that Malick feels is more conducive to achieving his colonizing effect. The use of Mozart’s “Piano Concerto No. 23” as a romantic theme for Smith and Pocahontas performs this same cultural imperialism which aligns the audience member with the European perspective, rather than music that might suggest an “Indian” identification. The elements in the soundscape of Malick’s film are not Algonquian voices or instruments of Pocahontas’s culture, but rather sounds from future Germanic cultures more closely aligned with Smith’s own. This is an imperialistic choice, given that this musical theme is meant to capture something of the imagined

<sup>6</sup>“Stephen Schwartz Comments on Disney’s Pocahontas,” <https://www.stephenschwartz.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Disney-Pocahontas.pdf>, accessed 14 July 2018.

<sup>7</sup>Harris, *The First Firangis: Remarkable stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & other Foreigners who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 15.



relationship between the two ethnically different characters. Sonically, the European perspective wins out in a sonic feedback loop that feeds on and disturbingly echoes only itself.

While the orchestration of the film score is similar in both *The New World* and Disney's *Pocahontas*, in that both musical scores require modern instruments of mostly European descent, composer Alan Menken, and lyricist Stephen Schwartz chose to include sounds of the Algonquian Indians. Extensive research was conducted, and as Janet Weeks reports, "The album also includes a few tracks that incorporate American Indian rhythms, instruments and chants."<sup>8</sup> The song "Steady as the Beating Drum" layers Algonquian chant in counterpoint with orchestration and English lyrics. A modern audience is able to experience Algonquian chant as the lyrics "Hega hega ya-hi-ye-hega / Ya-hi-ye-ne-he hega / Hega hega ya-hi-ye-hega / Ya-hi-ye-ne-he hega" encircle the lyrics sung in English, both commencing and concluding the piece.<sup>9</sup> The English and Algonquian even overlap each other throughout the course of the song, echoing the intercultural performance Pring describes. "Steady as the Beating Drum" is another example of the sonic uncanny in which the familiar is palimpsested with the foreign, and as the vibration blends these sounds, it becomes impossible to differentiate the two. After describing the attention Menken and Schwartz paid to Algonquian sounds in crafting their music, Weeks immediately dismisses this musical "becoming-Indian," as she asserts "but 'Pocahontas' probably will be remembered not for its use of American Indian rhythms but for one standout ballad" which she declares is "Colors of the Wind." Even if Weeks's trivializing comment is true, audience members hearing the Algonquian chant as part of the soundtrack accompanying a children's film are becoming-Indian through hearing sounds they might not even recognize as the sounds of Algonquian otherness, as this music enters their ears and vibrates the molecules inside them—just as the Shakespeare Association of America audience is becoming-Indian through hearing Scott Manning Stevens's Mohawk greeting. In that way, *Pocahontas* flagrantly *will* be remembered for its use

<sup>8</sup> Janet Weeks, "Billboard-Climbing 'Pocahontas' Album Just One of Film's Audio Products," *Los Angeles Daily News*, 19 June 1995, accessed 14 July 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Schwartz, "Comments," writes about these lyrics, stating "I don't remember what the Native American words in 'Steady as the Beating Drum' mean, but they lyrics were extensively researched.... They would be in Algonkian. They may refer to the content of the song (about continuity), or they may just be a chant I cribbed from another Algonkian song, or a combination of ones I found."

of American Indian music—viscerally, if not cognitively—which has accessed the otherness inside. Like the various travel writers considered in “New World Symphony,” we too may experience the uncanny sounds of Indian otherness, as these sounds vibrate and calibrate our bodies on the same sonic frequency.

One final note before turning our attention toward peoples who occupied the Eastern hemisphere in the early modern period: endeavoring to confirm that the Algonquian chant incorporated into “Steady as the Beating Drum” was, in fact, an Algonquian-language chant, I entered these lyrics into a Google search. Google informed me that “Hindi” was the language detected.<sup>10</sup> It seems that Columbus’s misidentification of Occidental peoples as “Indians” is an error from which the world is still not yet able to recover.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.google.com/search?q=hega+hega+ya-hi-ye-hega+ya-hi-ye-ne-he+hega+translation&coq=hega+hega&aqs=chrome.3.69i59j69i57j0l4.7574j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>, accessed 14 August 2018.



## Part II: Songs of the Orient

In his circumnavigation of the globe, Francis Drake and his crew encountered sounds of otherness of both East and West Indians throughout their voyage. “The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake” is a retelling of his 1580 journey, and is replete with encounters between the English and East and West Indians; however, these moments often characterize the Indians’ gratification at the English sounding their otherness in foreign lands.<sup>1</sup> For example, in “America,” the Indians supposedly enjoyed English music: “Yea they took such pleasure in our singing of psalms, that whensoever they reported to us, their final request was commonly this, *Gnaah*, by which they intreated that we should sing.”<sup>2</sup> Much like the “pleasure” or “delight” the indigenous peoples were supposed to have experienced at hearing small jingling bells, in Drake’s voyage, Indian “pleasure” is evident by their entreating the English to sing to them, and sing Judeo-Christian psalms no less.

Not surprisingly, this narrative records that peoples on the opposite side of the globe enjoyed English music as well. At “Terenate,” the “King” approaches a native ship and was “received in the best manner we could,

<sup>1</sup>This text is included in the collection *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (London, 1583), as the record of his second major voyage and circumnavigation of the globe. The title page states that this account was “Collected out of the Notes of Master *Francis Fletcher*, Preacher in this employment, and compared with divers others Notes that went in the same Voyage.”

<sup>2</sup> *Francis Drake Revived*, 72.

answerable unto his state"; after which, "our Ordinance thundred, which we mixed with great store of small shot, among which sound our trumpets and other instruments of musick, both of still and loud noise, wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our musick to come into the Boat, he joined his Canow to the same, & was towed at least a whole hour together, with the boat at the sterne of our Ship."<sup>3</sup> The author further states that the King was "in musicall paradise," hearing the sounds of "still and loud noise" amplified by the water.<sup>4</sup> This presentation of English music, along with the firing of weapons, was common practice in Eastern voyages; in his narrative, Thomas Dallam records that the English ship, the *Hector*, also fired shots and played trumpets at various ports of call during its Eastward journey. Not only would these objects sound English otherness in the East, but the impressive noises were used to hail the various leaders; at the same time, they demonstrated English power through their dominating sound.<sup>5</sup> Toward the end of Drake's circumnavigation account, the English again sound their otherness when they reach Java. Drake and his men go ashore and "presented the King (of whom he was joyfully and lovingly received) with his musicke."<sup>6</sup> Over the next few days, the King and his "*Raias*" visited the vessel, and were shown "all the commodities of our Ship, with our Ordnance and other Arms and Weapons," along with "musick also and all things else whereby he [Drake] might doe them pleasure, wherein they tooke exceeding great delight with admiration."<sup>7</sup> Foreign others are again represented as experiencing "delight" at English sounds.

However, this reconstructed narrative relates that the English enjoyed sounds of otherness as well. Immediately after the ascription of "exceeding great delight" to the Javanese hearing English music, the narrator recounts another episode, the final moment of cultural encounter in this voyage: "One day amongst the rest, viz. *March 21. Raia Donan* coming aboard us, in requital of our musicke which was made to him, presented our Generall with his Country musicke, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightfull."<sup>8</sup> As discussed above, the term "strange" implies the foreign, so the sounds of otherness Drake and

<sup>3</sup> *Francis Drake Revived*, 88.

<sup>4</sup> *Francis Drake Revived*, 88.

<sup>5</sup> The more practical reason for firing cannons and other weapons was that empty chambers would not pose a threat, as reloading them would take time.

<sup>6</sup> *Francis Drake Revived*, 106.

<sup>7</sup> *Francis Drake Revived*, 107.

<sup>8</sup> *Francis Drake Revived*, 107.

the crew hear are described as sounding “pleasant and delightfull.” Some critics have theorized that the sound described as both strange and delightful is the music of the Javanese gamelan.<sup>9</sup> Whatever music he may have heard, Drake and his crewmates experienced and recorded their own delight at sounding Javanese musical otherness.

English pleasure of foreign music, like Drake’s purported love of the gamelan, scandalized Puritan antitheatricalist writers like William Prynne. He lashes out against the English theater, but takes a detour through the East to do so: there is “nothing more frequent,” he exclaims, “then amorous Pastorals, or obscene lascivious Love-songs, most melodiously chanted out upon the Stage betweene each seuerall Action; both to supply that Chasme or vacant Interim which the Tying-house takes up, in changing the Actors robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing Scene: ... as likewise to please the itching eares, if not to inflame the outrageous lusts of lewde Spectators, who are oft-times ravished with these ribaldrous pleasing Ditties, and transported by them into a *Mahometan Paradise*, or extasie of uncleannesse.”<sup>10</sup> Prynne, desperate to keep the otherness of the theater outside of his English body, not only aligns the theater’s infectious touch with Islam but also perceives music as the medium by which unwanted infiltration and transformation can happen. “Itching eares” are “ravished” by “ribaldrous pleasing Ditties,” which he identifies as “amorous Pastorals, or lascivious Love-songs, most melodiously chanted out.” The effects of these musics, according to Prynne, are sensually gratifying: the ears are “pleased” and “outrageous lusts” are “inflamed.” Even more profound is the transformative power of theater music, which can “ravish” the audience and even move their bodies, transporting them “into a *Mahometan Paradise*, or extasie of uncleannesse.” As much as he disdains the theater, Prynne ironically describes how sounding otherness works in

<sup>9</sup>Writes Robert Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy: How Music Captures Our Imagination* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), 92, “To be sure, there had long been reports of this exotic harmony. As early as 1580, Sir Francis Drake, afloat off the coast of Java, had described in his ships log a king of music ‘which thou it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightfull.’ But it would be three centuries before a European could comprehend gamelan music well enough to draw upon its ideas” like Debussy did. Jourdain states that Indian music can employ thirty-five different tuning systems, while the slendro scale of Indonesian gamelan varies slightly among different orchestras: “These discrepancies are intentional, allowing every gamelan orchestra to bring a unique harmonic personality to the stage, much as an actor brings his unique style to Hamlet” (76–77).

<sup>10</sup>William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix* (London, 1632), 262.

the theater; it can imaginatively “transport” the audience to foreign spaces, and it can “ravish” bodies exposed to sounds of otherness. The text of Drake’s circumnavigation, in fact, performs this same conflation of dramatic and travel literatures: under the title, “The World Encompassed,” the narrative is described as “Offered now at last to Publique view, both for the honour of the Actor,” and especially to prompt others to follow in his heroic footsteps. Drake is rendered an “Actor,” and presented as a key player who has visited many settings throughout the world’s stage in this narrative retelling.

Unlike Drake, but like many (though certainly not all) members of the early modern English audience, Art Hickman probably never ventured to the Orient. This did not prevent him from sounding its otherness through musical composition. The title of this section, “Songs of the Orient,” echoes the title of a musical piece performed by Art Hickman’s Orchestra. The instruments in the dance band orchestra were slightly unusual for Hickman’s day—in addition to the piano, drum set, trumpet, trombone, violin, banjos, and bass, he added a family of saxophones, which, coupled with his innovative rhythms, have led many to consider his group proto-jazz, although he resisted the musical implications of this terminology. The piece opens with beats on the crash cymbal and bass drum (or other large metal tub) together; loud drum sounds are also resonant in one of the following chapters that explores the early modern dramatic constructions of Eastern otherness. Hickman’s piece also features the oboe—a descendant of the “hautboys” Shakespeare used to demarcate Eastern spaces in his plays—employed in Hickman’s composition to indicate the Orient. “Songs of the Orient” is another uncanny blend of East and West; as in Dvořák’s *New World Symphony*, Western harmonic progressions and instruments are utilized, even though they are employed in sounding a cultural otherness. While Hickman’s instruments are likely familiar to a Western orchestra (the sitar music of Ravi Shankar would join Western ensembles later in that century), their mode of performance is “Indianized”; the musical effect of “bending” the pitch, in addition to multiple grace notes or glissandos, emphasizes the way that this music is sounded as deliberately different from conventional, standard Western music. The familiar is again made foreign in sounding the uncanny otherness of “Oriental” and Indian music.

This metamorphosis of musical instruments and their sounds as they travel through and create Eastern spaces is the focus of this section. It is important to recall that “global economic power” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Jonathan Gil Harris reminds us, “was still largely

concentrated in Asian empires—Ottoman Turkey, Safavid Persian, Mughal Hindustan, Ming and then Qing China—who controlled the diverse trade networks linking them to the Spice Islands, Africa, Arabia and Europe.”<sup>11</sup> Travelers venturing from England or Europe to the East were entering a foreign space in which they were subaltern subjects, “others” belonging to a non-dominant culture. Thomas Dallam—very aware of the dangers and threats to his English body that finds itself in the Ottoman Empire—writes about the English organ he reconstructs in Istanbul, noting how the organ’s pipes become damaged during the course of the long, hot sea voyage, but also how he repairs and refashions them. Transformation occurs in the opposite direction as well: the large Eastern temple bell described in many travel narratives becomes transformed into a drum in the staging of Eastern temple otherness. The intended effect of these drums was to produce what Prynne so desperately resists: “transporting” the audience, if not exactly to “*Mahometan Paradise*,” to an Eastern temple space through loud vibrations that created an embodied experience of possession by the sounds of otherness. It was not just that these instruments experienced changes through travel or theatrical performance, but that the soundwaves of the instruments also alter those with whom these instruments come in contact. The organ and drum, though not closely related acoustically, both demonstrate the haptic, tangible properties of the soundwave: as I discuss in the first chapter of this section, the organ depended on bellows to push wind through the instrument to produce sound. This mode of sound production in which airflow is integral in order for the instrument to work echoes the way in which the soundwave, like air, forms networks of relations. The drum’s booming or “rumbling” tonality is also a sonic iteration of the soundwave, as I explore in this section’s second chapter. Disturbing the air and shaking up molecules, the drum’s timbre may be the liveliest example of my theory of soundwave vibration, especially as the drum sounds were likely somatosensorially tangible in the battles in Eastern regions, and in the wooden resonating chamber of the early modern theater.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *The First Firangis: Remarkable stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & other Foreigners who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 5. Please refer also to Shankar Raman, *Framing “India”: The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain: 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).



# An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire

*The musicians of that territory breathed fascination with the instruments of their country, especially the organ. Ear and eye were delighted, and so was the mind.*

—Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak, Akbarnama

Thomas Dallam's narrative of his journey to Istanbul is a singular account of an Englishman's travels to the Ottoman Empire. In 1599, Elizabeth I sent an automated organ to Sultan Mehmed III, leader of the Ottoman Empire. Thomas Dallam, who built the organ, accompanied it Eastward and kept a journal documenting his adventures. Dallam's manuscript remained unpublished during his lifetime, although many other travelers' tales were printed in the voluminous collections of Hakluyt (1589, 1598–1600) and Purchas (1624–1625).<sup>1</sup> This organ, or “presente,” as

<sup>1</sup> Dallam's manuscript account, “A brefe Relation of my Travell from the Royall Cittie of London towards The Straite of mariemediterranum and what hapened by the waye,” remained unknown until 1848 when it was acquired from the British Museum by the collector Henry Rhodes, according to Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 5. A short article and image of what is possibly one design of a Dallam organ appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of October 20, 1860. Dallam's manuscript account was first published in Theodore J. Bent's *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (1893), as part of the Hakluyt Society series. Some pages that specifically refer to the reconstruction of the organ



Dallam calls it in his narrative, was a necessary element in a complex set of diplomatic protocols that enabled the English Levant Company to maintain a commercial relationship with the Ottoman Empire. The new English ambassador, Henry Lello, would not be officially recognized by Mehmed until a proper gift was presented to him.<sup>2</sup> Dallam's commission was extraordinary, for the Queen had heard about Dallam's intricate automated organ and requested him to play it for her at Whitehall Palace before she decided that the offering of a clockwork organ—one of the most technologically advanced objects then in existence—would be extravagant enough to impress the leader of the world's most powerful empire.<sup>3</sup> Constructed by a builder from Lancashire, this organ, as Ian Woodfield observes, was "the most magnificent musical gift sent by any English company" to the Ottoman Sultan.<sup>4</sup> Contemporary accounts also attest to the organ's grandeur: as John Chamberlain described it to Dudley Carleton, "Here is a great and curious present going to the great Turk which no doubt wilbe much talked of, and be very scandalous among

in the garden seraglio before Dallam returns to England are—unfortunately—missing. Dallam's manuscript (BL Add MS 17480) is the source of all citations here, and the paleographic transcriptions are my own. Punctuation has been modernized and abbreviations like thorns and terminal *-es* graphs have been silently replaced with their supplied letters. Page numbers have been added by hand to the upper corner of the right-hand pages of the manuscript and are cited parenthetically in the running text.

Dallam's manuscript, like many others, has experienced change as it has traveled through time and space: his manuscript housed at the British Library is missing a few pages, shows edge wear on the remaining pages, has ink soaked through both sides of the paper, shows Dallam's own edits (including strike-throughs and carets), was bound in the nineteenth century, paginated by hand, annotated, repaired, marked with British Museum stamps and contains later writing on the flyleaves by the Library or Museum. Another alteration the manuscript has experienced has to do with Bent's 1893 edition; although he rendered Dallam's manuscript in modernized characters, the Victorian Bent sanitized Dallam's original. For example, in describing the drunk trumpeter whom Captain Parsons left behind, Dallam wrote that he was left "to piss att his pleasure all the year after" (6r). Bent also omitted Dallam's marginalia in his edition, some of which are recovered here.

<sup>2</sup>According to MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 9, "For several years, the officers of the Levant Company had been badgering Elizabeth to send a suitable present that would encourage Mehmed to reissue the capitulations permitting the English Levant Company to continue direct trade with Ottoman ports."

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth also sent, through the Levant Company, a coach as a gift to the Sultan's mother, the Valide Sultan Safiye.

<sup>4</sup>Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), 191.

other nations specially the Germans,”<sup>5</sup> and Girolamo Capello, the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople wrote to the Doge that “The present consists of an organ very cunningly designed, which serves as a clock and can play several airs by itself.”<sup>6</sup>

Dallam may have been compelled to build an extravagant organ for Elizabeth because of the instruments she already possessed: two contemporary accounts of foreign visitors to England relate Elizabeth’s love of keyboard instruments, and organs in particular. The Swiss physician, Thomas Platter, records that in his visit to Hampton Court, “We saw in addition many more costly virginals, instruments, positive organs, and organs of which Her Royal Majesty is a great lover and connoisseur.”<sup>7</sup> And the Czech aristocrat Baron Waldstein writes that during his visit to Whitehall Palace in 1600, he saw “an organ ... made of mother-of-pearl” with verses inscribed upon it that describe Elizabeth as “another Mary.”<sup>8</sup> Additionally, in a room next to the “Queen’s bed-chamber,” “there is an organ on which two persons can play duets, ... and a clock which plays tunes by striking on bells.”<sup>9</sup> Dallam’s instrument contained some remarkable features as well: it was a self-playing organ that also featured a chiming clock, was multi-timbred, and boasted several animatronics, including trumpet players and a nest of mechanical birds that sang and flapped their wings.

While the organ’s mercantile and diplomatic roles have been the focus of recent studies of Dallam’s travel narrative, this chapter considers the musical impact of an elaborate English organ in Istanbul, as well as how

<sup>5</sup>The Chamberlain quotation was cited in Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 72; it is from Queen Elizabeth’s *State Papers*, letter dated 31.1.1598/1599. “The Germans” would be scandalized by this instrument because they were skilled at crafting intricate musical clocks.

<sup>6</sup>*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, Volume 9, from the Great Britain Public Record Office (London: Her Majesty’s Printers, 1897), 375. This letter is also available in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 9, no. 814, cited in Albert Lindsay Rowland, *England and Turkey: The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1924), 148.

<sup>7</sup>Clare Williams, *Thomas Platter’s Travels in England, 1599* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), 204.

<sup>8</sup>*The Diary of Baron Waldstein: A Traveller in Elizabethan England*, trans. G. W. Groos (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 45.

<sup>9</sup>*Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 51.

the organ itself was transformed by its travels.<sup>10</sup> As a symbolic gift object, the organ ostensibly serves its purpose of pleasing the Sultan and fostering commercial relations, but the broader effects of an English musical instrument sounding at the heart of the Ottoman Empire remain to be explored. Part of the reason the organ was successful as a gift object was because of the impressive sounds of Englishness the organ makes, along with the accompanying bells and whistles that made Dallam's organ a spectacular present. Dallam himself understood that his role in this venture was to evangelize English sound in an Eastern space, and he is proud throughout his narrative that he seems to retain his unchanging English and Christian identity—one that would be described as “molar” according to Deleuze and Guattari. But while Dallam perceives himself and his organ as sounding an English and Christian identity in Istanbul, the sound of his organ is also altered by its place in the Sultan's seraglio. As suggested above, when sound is conceptualized as a vibrating wave that touches all matter present at a sonic event—like Dallam's organ's performance—networks or assemblages are formed among bodies, objects, and environments as they are attuned to the same frequency of vibration, collapsing the boundaries of an entrenched “self” opposed to an “other,” and enmeshing all within the vibratory wave of sound. Vibration also disrupts the categories of human and non-human, as soundwaves pass through various forms of matter and alter them. The word “organ” is suggestive of a body part *and* a musical instrument; at several points in his narrative, Dallam takes advantage of this punning double meaning, referring to the “organ” as if it were an animated being capable of independent action or musical performance.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Other scholars, including Gerald MacLean and Lawrence Danson, have considered this organ as an object of exchange in a gift economy. Danson writes that “presents and presentations were fundamental, long-continued structural features of the relationship between the Sultan and his own subjects and the Europeans who sought his mercantile favour”; this was especially important to England, as the English were relative latecomers to the Ottoman trade. Lawrence Danson, “The Sultan's organ: presents and self-presentation in Thomas Dallam's Diary,” *Renaissance Studies*, 23.5 (2009): 639–658, 640, 645. Other factors also required that the gift from Elizabeth be especially grand, including the fact that Henry Lello, the English ambassador, had not been formally recognized or invited to kiss the Sultan's hand because Elizabeth had not yet sent a gift. It seems that Elizabeth was waiting to find an ideal present, for she sent the organ shortly after hearing Dallam's performance at Whitehall.

<sup>11</sup> Dallam most often refers to the organ as the “presente” or “instrument” in his journal. He uses the term “organ” or “orgon” only after it is fully constructed and premieres in the seraglio: “the orgon played” and “In the tope of the orgon” (55v), “heare the orgon goo” and “the orgon wente” (56r), “lett him se me playe on the orgon” (56v), “bid me go and

The sounds of Dallam's embodied organ resonate with a new approach to cultural contact: it is not merely that the organ is an object of exchange, commercially or musically, but that the sounds of this instrument move bodies present at its performance quite literally along the same wavelength, transforming them all in the process.

Dallam's detailed narrative is unique because it not only provides a description of the organ's varied soundscape—it also depicts him working as an organ maker who travels through foreign lands, in his role as performer at the Ottoman court, and participating in the collective musical experience his instrument creates.<sup>12</sup> Like Dallam himself, the organ travels, and as it comes to occupy new spaces, its sounds create assemblages among various objects, people, and places. In the process of its sojourn and interweaving of relations, Dallam details how the organ changes and is affected by differences in climate and contact with foreign bodies, movements which are traced in this chapter. Although the organ sustained significant damage during its sea voyage, it is damage that Dallam repairs so that he may reincarnate the organ in Topkapi Palace. Dallam then offers an account of its dramatic Istanbul debut; notably, in his own account of its travels and travails, Dallam himself suspends referring to the instrument itself as an “organ” until its own dramatic textual “reveal” at the seraglio premiere. The organ's musical and mechanical innovations that create its impressive soundscape can be reconstructed from other records of historical English organs and are discussed here. What I characterize as the “sonic uncanny” occurs as both Dallam and the organ become enmeshed in networks of bodies, and the Sultan's pleasure at Dallam's playing allows Dallam access to clandestine spaces in the seraglio. Finally, we will follow Dallam back to his English homeland, although the organ may now sound a foreign resonance for him reminiscent of his travels to and metamorphoses in Istanbul.

\* \* \*

playe on the organ” (57r), “the Keaes of the organ” (58r), and “remove the organ” (62r). The title in the manuscript, “In this Book is the Account of an Organ Carryed to the Grand Seignor and Other Curious Matters,” which names the organ as such, was likely added by a later hand.

<sup>12</sup> As Jonathan Burton in *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 47, observes, “For an organ maker, Dallam is a rather extraordinary storyteller. His journal is distinguished by its distinctly literary qualities.”

## THE ORGAN'S SEA-CHANGE

Throughout Dallam's account, the organ generates a great deal of interest and curiosity that begins in England and continues throughout various locales. During its travels, the organ is dismantled, packed up, revealed, broken, repaired, tampered with, reconstructed again; and it produces a multiplicity of sounds that affect bodies, even as it metamorphoses during its journey. While early modern scholarship has turned attention to object studies, few have considered the fact that objects, especially those that travel, can and do experience change. These object transformations are significant in and of themselves, as is their transformative impact on the networks in which they circulate and which they, in turn, precipitate.<sup>13</sup> Dallam dutifully records the multiple changes the organ endures, and in this process, his writing reflects an awareness of the similarities between mutable bodies and objects. This awareness also relates to the double meaning of the word "travail": as Jonathan Gil Harris writes, "It's no accident that the word 'travel' derives from the French travail, meaning work. We may associate travel now with rest and recreation, but in pre-colonial times, it was always work—work *on* the body as much as *with* the body."<sup>14</sup>

Before it premiered in all of its glory at the Sultan's palace, the organ endured a tumultuous and lengthy sea journey. Various instruments traveled with musicians around the Renaissance world, and loss and breakage occurred frequently in such severe conditions.<sup>15</sup> Because the organ was an intricate machine that required various complex elements working together to produce sound, the likelihood of damage or malfunction was considerable. Dallam's organ succumbed to this fate on its sea voyage aboard the *Hector*. In his travel narrative, which is as much a work of critical organology (a study of musical instruments as sounding objects) as it is a travel narrative,

<sup>13</sup> Julian Yates, *Error, Misuse Failure: Object Lessons from the English Renaissance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 26, writes that "the prosthetic function of these devices as extension of the user into the world runs the risk of a parasitical interruption of the system, a turn back toward the tool"; his use of Serres's "parasite" gestures toward the third French term of parasite as an "interrupter of the system," although his reading may be supplemented with the connotation of "noise" that also resonates in the polysemous term "parasite."

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *The First Firangis: Remarkable stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & other Foreigners who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 9–10.

<sup>15</sup> Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, 16.

Dallam writes that he and his fellow travelers arrive at Constantinople on the 15th of August and unload the “presente” on the seventeenth, bringing it to Henry Lello’s house. Because the organ was so large, the ambassador arranged for a room at court tall enough for Dallam and his “Ingener” (55r), Harvie, to construct the organ before transporting it to the seraglio. When they “opened the chists” that contain the organ components, they are dismayed that their previous work in manufacturing the instrument was largely undone: “we founde that all glewinge worke was clene Decayed, by Reason that it hade layne above sixe monthes in the hould of our ship, whiche was but newly bulte, so that the extremetie of the heete in the hould of the shipe, with the workinge of the sea, and the hootnes of the cuntrie, was the cause that all glewinge fayled; lyke wise diverse of my mettle pipes weare brused & broken” (49v–50r). Dallam speaks of his organ’s travails over the past six months in terms of humoral theory when he posits that the organ was damaged due to “extremetie of heete” in the ship’s bowels, in addition to the motion of the sea and the “hootnes of the cuntrie” in which Dallam and his organ now find themselves. Punning on the word “organ” as part of the body, Dallam invokes other terms that are suggestive of bodily matter: the organ pieces were stored in “chests” for transportation, the glue-work becomes “Decayed” from the heat of its new environment, and the metal pipes are “brused and broken,” like flesh and bone battered in the cargo hold.<sup>16</sup> By collapsing the distinction between bodily and musical organ, Dallam’s description of the pipes’ deterioration suggests an overlap between categories of animate human body and inanimate object that are otherwise often fixed and separate. Indeed, as Bonnie Gordon notes—and Dallam puns—“Organ derives from the Latin organum, which means instrument, and which comes from the Greek word that means musical instrument or organ of the body,” just as in English “organ” can refer to the collection of functioning tissues in the human body and/or to the musical instrument.<sup>17</sup>

The decayed “glewinge worke” signals that the organ requires further repairs. “Glewinge worke” is an essential step in organ construction: the

<sup>16</sup>Modern knowledge of microbes suggests that it was actually dampness that caused the glue to biodeteriorate. Please refer to Sina Ebnesajjad, ed., *Handbook of Adhesives and Surface Preparation: Technology, Applications and Manufacturing* (Oxford: Elsevier Inc, 2011), 159.

<sup>17</sup>Bonnie Gordon, “Galileo’s Finger and Early Modern Critical Organology,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, PA, November 7, 2013; cited in Nina Sun Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound: Singing and Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 163, 232.

organ's chests and chambers must be made air-tight through the use of glue, which sealed the instrument so that it would correctly sound, and the joiner whom Dallam mentions in his account, Myghell Watson, was probably at least partially responsible for this important task.<sup>18</sup> When a key on the keyboard is depressed, air is funneled through the corresponding pipe or set of pipes to generate particular pitches. The air flow is controlled by compression of air sacks, or bellows, which force air through channels and into the wind-chest, where it is then distributed to flow through the open pipes. One hinged wooden valve or pallet corresponds to each key on the keyboard; when a key is played, the pallet opens and wind enters the particular channel, and if the stop is pulled out, the hole in the slide matches up with the hole under the pipe and that pipe will sound.<sup>19</sup> Glue was used liberally to ensure that air did not leak from the instrument; air pressure had to remain constant for the air to flow properly to the pipes, and wedge bellows (like those used to stoke a fire) that were likely controlled by weighted levers were employed to regulate airflow in Dallam's organ.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Writes Bicknell in *History of the English Organ*, 20, "the constructional technology of the organ, whether its case or its soundboard, relies on the sort of simple joinery found in early mediaeval furniture—chests and caskets." Glue was used regularly in the construction of instruments, but was not a foolproof adhesive: Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6, writes, "That no medieval lute survives may be due to the fragility of ribbed construction, and the instability of glue in the often cold and wet conditions of Europe."

<sup>19</sup>Please refer also to "Two Pre-Reformation Organ Soundboards: Towards an Understanding of the Form of Early Organs and Their Position Within Some Suffolk Churches" by Timothy Easton and Stephen Bicknell, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 38.3 (1995): 268–295, for information about and wonderful images of sixteenth-century organs. The Wetheringsett soundboard was transformed into a door.

<sup>20</sup>Richard Kassel, "The Positive Organ," in *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Douglas E. Bush and Richard Kassel (New York: Routledge, 2006), 331. In *The History of the English Organ*, 1, Bicknell describes the process by which the bellows worked: "[a]n organ would have two or more such bellows. One would be lifted by a handle or a rope on a pulley; a weight on the top would make it fall and would provide a reasonably constant pressure. Before it had collapsed completely the next bellows would be lifted." Stanley Mayes records the description of the bellows in *The Illustrated London News*:

There shall be placed in the lower part of the instrument three several strong, forcible and artificial bellows, with a very strong, sufficient motion of wheels and pinions, very well wrought, and sufficient to drive and move the bellows at all times from time to time, for the space of six hours together, whensoever the wheels and pinions shall be applied to such purpose; and that there shall be contained within the said instrument a board called a sound-board, with certain instruments or engines called his barrels and keys, and five whole stops of pipes, viz. one open principal, unison recorded, octavo principal, and a flute, besides a shaking stop, a drum and a nightingale.

Please refer to *An Organ for the Sultan* (London: Putnam, 1956), 79.

The pneumatic mechanism suggests another affinity between musical organ and living human body, and the Greek word “pneuma” may be translated as both “breath” and “air.”<sup>21</sup> Giving breath to the organ animated it in a way that aligned the organ with the human body, as both depend on vivified air to function properly; furthermore, in early modern geohumoral thought, breath or wind was perceived as simultaneously internal and external to bodies, and able to influence the passions.<sup>22</sup> The glue-work on Dallam’s organ was largely completed before its journey, but its deterioration during the voyage meant that Dallam’s organ might not sound at all (or would not sound the way he intended) because the vital air supply might escape from the fissures in the organ and not properly reach the pipes.

The pipes would also sound differently than they did at Whitehall since they are “bruised and broken”; were they to be played upon, they would signal their metamorphosis, sounding out of tune, in a different timbre, or perhaps not sounding at all in their damaged state. Pipes were either open or stopped, flue or reed: from this matrix an entire symphony of timbres could be produced. However, several common irritants could prevent the pipes from sounding—not to mention the physical damage incurred during a tumultuous sea journey: for example, the German composer and organologist Michael Praetorius writes,

Sometimes one encounters a flue or reed pipe that has become entirely mute. This can easily happen when a fly or a bit of dust has become lodged in the lip or, in a reed, between the tongue and shallot. When this obstacle is removed, the pipe will speak without further ado. Likewise, it is not

<sup>21</sup> As Gail Kern Paster argues in *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), 9, breath or wind exterior to the body has the capacity to move the passions within the body. She cites the work of Shigehise Kuriyama, who observes that the Greek *pneuma* is “the word for both breath and wind” and this reflects “the ancient Greek understanding of human breath’s relation to the wind and of that relation’s affective significance” that was also familiar to early moderns through humoral theory. Paster perceives early moderns’ “interest in the wind” as “an instance of the pneumatic character of early modern culture, perhaps especially of early modern affective practice. I want to call this relation of inner and outer—evident not only in the wind but in other physical phenomena—a premodern ecology of the passions.”

<sup>22</sup> Works by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Francis Bacon, Robert Burton and Marsilio Ficino all describe the connection between the soul and music as predicated on vivified air. Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 9, states that early moderns’ “interest in the wind is an instance of the pneumatic character of early modern culture, perhaps especially of early modern affective practice.”



uncommon for saltpeter, rust, or some other grime to attack pipes, especially the little brass tongues in reed pipes. This can be removed by scraping/filing the tongues. One must be careful, however, not to scrape/file the tongues until they are too stiff or too weak; if they are too stiff, the wind cannot force them into vibration, and if they are too weak, [the wind] presses against them too forcefully and drives them hard against the shallots, preventing them from speaking at all.<sup>23</sup>

Praetorius records that even when pipes are fully functional, fluctuations of temperature in the organ's environment can cause the pitch of the pipes to change drastically.<sup>24</sup> Prior to their voyage, the pipes were probably made by Dallam himself—a task expected of a member of the Blacksmith's Guild, as Dallam was—and this process necessitated precision since the size and shape of the pipes determined their pitch. Pipe making entails several steps: pipe metal (an alloy of tin and lead) is cast in sheets, after which pieces are cut from the sheet, beaten into shape using a former or mandrel, and finally soldered together. Pipe metal was deliberately soft, so that alterations could easily be made through cutting or bending the metal.<sup>25</sup> As the inventory Dallam records at the beginning of his narrative indicates, Dallam came prepared, bringing almost forty pounds of tin in

<sup>23</sup>Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Parts II–V, with Index*, trans. Quentin Faulkner (Lincoln, Nebraska: Zea Books, 2014), 150.

<sup>24</sup>About open reed stops, Praetorius in *De Organographia*, trans. Faulkner, 143, writes, “Such Posaunes, however, must be tuned by bending the top of the resonator up or down, and that indeed makes them unstable (*Regalia mobilia*). Their going out of tune is not the result of the tuning wire (with which a regal must be tuned) shifting up or down, as some believe, since it is impossible for the tuning wire to shift up or down of its own accord. Rather it is due to the thin brass tongue that curves outward in warm weather, due to the heat (one can observe this with paper or thin wood, as well). This widens the distance between the tongue and shallot, and so the pitch drops. In cold weather, on the other hand, the tongue curves inward, moving nearer the shallot; thus the distance becomes smaller, and the pitch of all the pipes rises. Anyone who deals with organs and regals experiences this daily.”

<sup>25</sup>Dallam was a member of the Blacksmith's Guild because knowledge of metallurgy was required in order to fashion the organ pipes; this skill demands precision and a talented ear. According to Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 10, “As pipe metal is soft and can easily be bent or cut with a knife, adjustments are physically quite easy to make, though requiring great skill of hand, eye, and ear.” The techniques for changing the pitch of pipes include “manipulation of the upper and lower lips, the languid and the foot-hole, chamfering the upper lip, nicking the languid and/or lower lip, [and] introducing slots of various dimensions near the top of the pipe” (Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 10). Fine tuning of the pipes is achieved through various techniques, including flattening the pipes by making them longer

the form of bars and spoons, in case the pipes required repair or reconstruction.<sup>26</sup> He likely used these provisions to mend the broken pipes, if not also for an exchange commodity, while in Istanbul.

Dallam probably had a fairly substantial number of pipes to work on: Stephen Bicknell writes that some of the defining features particular to the English organs include the range of its pitch, which is controlled by “the long forty-six-note keyboard, C-a,” with a fully chromatic bass, at a time when the rest of northern Europe was happy with thirty-eight or forty-one notes for most organs.<sup>27</sup> This could be another reason Elizabeth was so eager to send an instrument, since its wider compass of pitches compared with other organs could attest to its uniqueness and sonic grandeur, and thus, her own majesty. Although we are not entirely certain about this organ in particular, other organs built by Dallam and his sons in England are described as transposing with duplication of chorus registers, meaning that the chorus notes consisted of cylindrical open metal pipes, each key on the organ playing a number of pipes at different pitches at once.<sup>28</sup> This might include ranks (sets of pipes) pitched at the fifth as well as the unison or octave (Fig. 1).

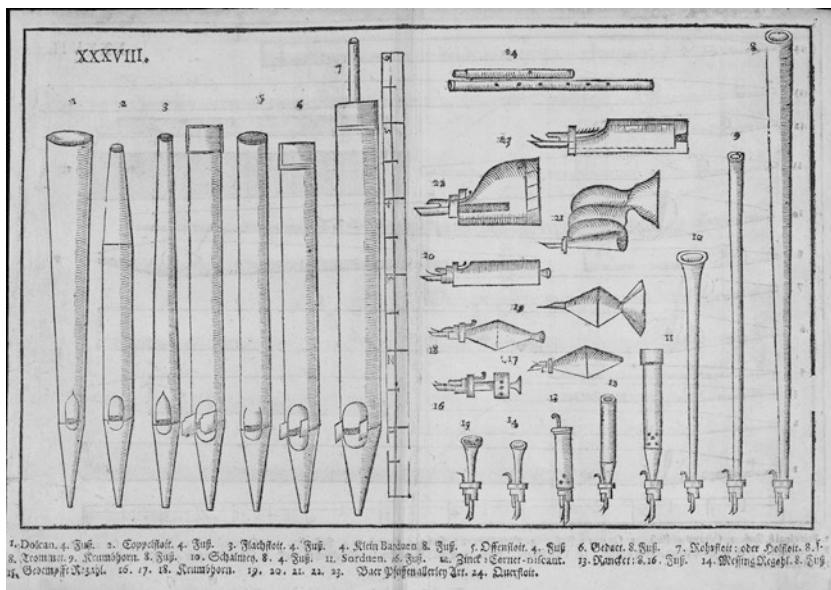
Like Dallam, Praetorius, who published a treatise on the organ and other musical instruments, recognizes the similarities between organ and human body. Though through different written forms—one a travel diary, and the other a published, erudite musicological monograph—both Dallam and Praetorius engage in the practice of organology, the study of musical instruments that encompasses the material construction, historical

and sharpening by making them shorter; closing the end of the pipe also makes it flatter, while flaring it makes it sharper.

<sup>26</sup> Dallam's itemized list enumerates “a grose of tin spownes” and “30 pounds of tin in bares” (2v) which was likely brought in case Dallam needed to remake, refashion, or retune some of the organ pipes that were conveyed across the sea. Tin was also an important export commodity that was exchanged between England and the Ottomans. Consult Daniel Vitkus, “‘The Common Market of All the World’: English Theater, the Global System, and the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period,” *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700* (2008): 19–38, especially 20–21; and Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 50.

<sup>27</sup> Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 40.

<sup>28</sup> According to MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 3, Dallam, though born in Lancashire, moved to London and became a Freeman of the Blacksmiths' Guild before he sailed for Istanbul.



**Fig. 1** Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate XXXVIII. Various Organ Pipes. By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710

and social functions, and performance of musical instruments.<sup>29</sup> Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia*, first published in 1618 but including a series of woodcuts as part of the *Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* in 1620—several of which are featured throughout this book—in fact amplifies Dallam's trope of organ-as-human body. In discussing organ pipes, Praetorius writes, "For the pipes actually represent the human throat, through which humans direct their breath to form the sound of their voice. One might indeed say that the organ is an artfully constructed living being, which, as it were, speaks and sings by means of wind and human hands."<sup>30</sup> As proof of his argument that the organ is the quintessential instrument, Praetorius claims, "all of the organ's many parts

<sup>29</sup> Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 163.

<sup>30</sup> *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia*, trans. Faulkner, 86–87.

exhibit a wealth of artistry and careful construction, not only in their inner and outer form (which seems almost alive), but in the variety of sounds, loud and soft, produced by all the pipes, both large and small, when the keys and stops are used well. This artistry is likewise evident in the operation of the bellows, that produce a constant, stable supply of wind, surpassing all other instruments, that have to be sounded by human breath.”<sup>31</sup> Praetorius further elaborates on the human qualities of the organ as a network of interrelated parts:

Thus the organ in its grandeur is quite fittingly compared to the human body, that is controlled in its actions by the soul. For just as the organ attracts and pleases the sense of sight, and fills and melts the sense of hearing with its sweet, lovely sound (by means of wind, which is as it were the soul of the organ), so also the human being whose sweet eloquence communicates the hidden, inner meaning of words is the one others look to. Furthermore, the bellows represent the lungs, the pipes the throat, the keyboards correspond to the teeth; the one who makes the organ sound represents the tongue, and if he plays deftly and sweetly, he is as it were a most elegant speaker.<sup>32</sup>

For Praetorius, the pneumatic foundation of the organ is what aligns it with a human body, as the breath—the Greek *pneuma* or the Latin *anima*—actually animates the instrument. This animism of a musical instrument was likely even more profoundly tangible in Dallam’s organ, for it was designed to play music by itself and included moving machinery.

Although described in beautiful metaphor by Praetorius, Dallam’s organ demonstrates the many points of failure in this network of multiple moving parts, some of which have become “bruised and broken.” The organ’s damaged state provokes a dismayed reaction in the Englishmen’s first sight of the corrupted glue and the fractured pipes: “When our Imbassader, Mr. Wyllyam Aldridge, and other jentilmen, se in what case it was in, theye weare all amayzed, & sayde that it was not worthe iid” (50r), records Dallam.<sup>33</sup> Their language makes clear the severity of the degeneration the

<sup>31</sup> *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia*, trans. Faulkner, 84–85.

<sup>32</sup> *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia*, trans. Faulkner, 87.

<sup>33</sup> Lello condescendingly advises Dallam, “Lett not your worke be anythinge the more carelesly looked unto, & at your cominge home our martchantes shall give yow thankses, yf it give the grand sinyor contente this one daye. I car not yf it be on after the nexte, yf it doo not please him at the firste sight, & performe not those things which it is Toulde him that it

organ endured at sea, for the Levant Company members were afraid that Elizabeth had chosen to send a costly gift that was now practically worthless. But Dallam works quickly, confident in his abilities to restore the organ. Although he mentions nothing in his account about his method of building or mending the organ, Dallam must have repaired the problems enumerated above since the organ later performs to Dallam's—and the Sultan's—satisfaction. He likely hammered out dents in the pipes, re-soldered them, perhaps fashioned some new pipes, and sealed the fissures in the organ with glue, while also re-assembling the entire instrument. Through the process of reconstruction, instead of merely being “restored” to its condition before it ventured overseas, the organ has evolved as a result of this new work, transformed by both travel and travail. After Lello voices his concerns, “I tould him,” retorts Dallam, “that he needed not to Doubte that thare should be any faulte ether in me or my worke, for he hade sene the triall of my care & skill, in makinge that perfickte & good, which was thought to be uncurable, & in somthinges better than it was when her maiestie sawe it in the banketinge house at whyte hale” (54v). Even Lello revised his opinion of the instrument after Dallam refurbished it, writing that the organ, “although at first here thought to be of small esteeme, yet now beinge sett up in my howse by the oppinion of such as have seene itt is thought [the Sultan] will highly esteeme the same, if any of his people can mantayne the use thereof.”<sup>34</sup> While particulars are left to the imagination, Dallam writes that the damaged organ was not only refurbished, but “in somthinges better”—perhaps the joints are tighter-sealed, the appearance more opulent, the range of pitches broader or better tuned, or even the timbre of the pipes more pleasing—than when Elizabeth initially encountered the instrument and chose to send it to Mehmed. In stating that he fixes parts of the organ “thought to be uncurable,” Dallam once again uses somatic language: like “broken,” “bruised,” and “decayed,” “uncurable” suggests embodied illness.<sup>35</sup>

Dallam remedies the “uncurable” and completes his work by August 30, just over a month after the organ was unloaded from the *Hector*. He and the organ receive a stream of visitors desiring to see the present, whose reputation has preceded it: Dallam records that the King of Fez “satt by me halfe a daye” when he was assembling the organ in Constantinople on the

can Dow, he will cause it to be puled downe that he may trample it under his feete. & than shall we have not sute grantede, but all our charge wilbe loste” (54v).

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Lello to Robert Cecil of 8 September 1599 (National Archives SP 97/4/45), cited in Woodfield, *English Musicians*, 194–195.

<sup>35</sup> *OED* “uncurable” 1.a, 1.b.

23rd of August, and returned again on the 27th to watch Dallam work (50r). Finally, "The 4 day [of September] the grande sinyores secretarie, caled the Cappagaw, came to se our Instrument. The 7th day, the Gebustaniebashaw came to se..." (51r).<sup>36</sup> After the organ had been inspected by so many, it was dismantled for transportation to Topkapi palace on the eighth of September, and on the eleventh, Dallam recalls "we Carried our instrumente over the water [the Hellespont] to the Grand Sinyors Courte, Called the surralya, and thare in his moste statlyeste house I began to sett it up" (51v). The instrument functions like his golden ticket for entry into parts of the Sultan's palace where supposedly no Englishman had ventured. The organ and its sounds function as a "quasi-object," which, according to Julian Yates, is an object that "actively constitute[s] social relations"; Yates's definition is especially relevant for Dallam's organ, as quasi-objects "are not mute witnesses to events in the life of the subject," nor "decorative additions or 'background' to the social stage."<sup>37</sup> As a quasi-object, Dallam's organ loudly takes center stage for its recital at the Sultan's seraglio, at the crux of international relations between England and Istanbul.

\* \* \*

### THE ISTANBUL DEBUT OF DALLAM'S AUTOMATED, MULTI-DIRECTIONAL, AND CLOCKWORK ORGAN

On the 24th of September, the English ambassador instructs Dallam to "make the Instrumente as perfitt as possibly I could," since the "grand sinyor," Sultan Mehmed III, was preparing to receive the organ (53v). On the

<sup>36</sup> "The grande sinyor" is the phrase Dallam uses repeatedly to refer to the Sultan. The Sultan's "secretarie," which Dallam terms "the Cappagaw," is Dallam's phonetic rendering of *kapıcı*, or gatekeeper. "Gebustaniebashaw" seems to be Dallam's version of *bostancıbaşı*, the chief gardener or head of the palace guard.

Dallam's first mention of the organ in his manuscript records a similar experience. While in Algiers, the ruler wishes to behold the reputedly remarkable gift on its way to the Sultan: "The Kinge, sent worde to our captaine, that he should come vnto him & bringe with hime, the presente which he had to carrie unto the grand sinyor, so our captaine wente vnto him & told the kinge That the presente which he carried to the grand sinyor was not only a thinge of greate substance & charge, but also it was Defficulthe curivs, & would ask a longe time to put it together, & make it fitt to be sene" (18r-19r). The way that Dallam characterizes the organ attests to Dallam's importance, for he writes that the Captain terms the organ "a thinge of great substance and charge" in addition to being "Defficulthe curivs" to assemble.

<sup>37</sup> Julian Yates, *Error, Misuse Failure*, 26.

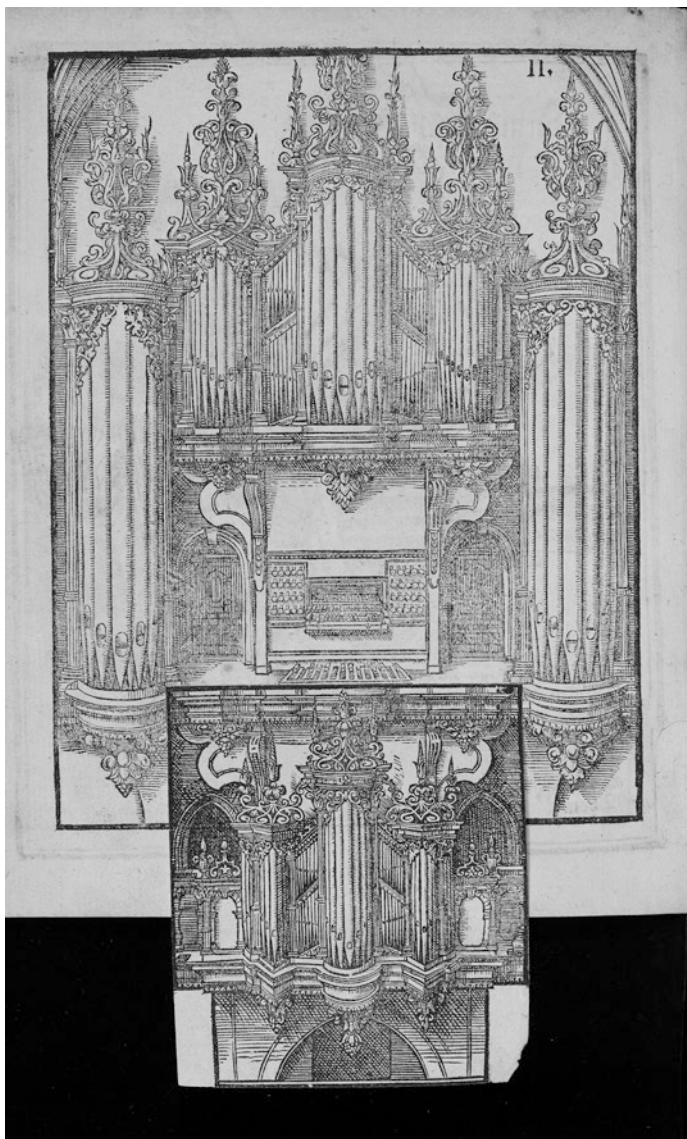
25th, Dallam, along with “my mate harvie, who was the Ingener, Mr. Rowland buckett the paynter, & myghell watson the Joyner” (55r) all go to the seraglio, their company reminiscent of certain members of the “rude mechanicals” in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.<sup>38</sup> They are preceded by a procession of Lello, English gentlemen, and merchants; Dallam sports his “faire clooke, of a Franche greene” (55r). The jemoglans, or members of the sultan’s household troops, tell Dallam that he must leave the house, since the Sultan was expected to arrive there presently; Dallam recalls the Sultan’s eagerness to accept the gift, stating, “It was almost halfe a myle betwyxte the water & that house, but the grand sinyor, haveinge a desire to se his presente, came thether wythe marvalus greate speed” (55r–55v). Dallam relies on his keen sense of hearing to describe what happens next: “I, & my company that was with me, beinge put forthe, & the Dore locked after us, I hard another Dore open, & upon a sodon a wonderfull noyse of people,” which he enumerates at about four hundred, who “at the firste sighte of the presente, with greate admiration, did make a wonderinge noyes” (55v). The sight of the organ prompts sounds that Dallam interprets as both “wonderfull” and “wonderinge.” Nicholas Thistlethwaite describes the organs that the Dallam family built in England as possessing cases “often of considerable splendor with embossed front pipes, painted woodwork, and a wealth of mannerist detail,” which could explain the audience’s noisy admiration in response to the organ’s opulent appearance.<sup>39</sup> The painter, Rowland Buckett, likely used his artistry to decorate the exterior of the organ (Fig. 2).

The reader of Dallam’s narrative is aligned with the Sultan, the Turkish people, and the other cosmopolitans at the court, for Dallam withholds from his readers a complete description of the organ that has traveled overseas and undergone reconstruction until it is fully assembled and on display before the Sultan: he even suspends use of the term “organ” until this moment, referring to it instead as the “instrument” or “presente” until its dramatic unveiling. After the reader has been given piecemeal information about the damaged parts of the organ, assured that it is now “in somthinges better” than it was in its original state, and “hears” Dallam’s description of the sounds of wonder, the stage is set for the dramatic presentation of the instrument. The Sultan commands silence, which Dallam presumably hears, then the concert begins:

<sup>38</sup>Specifically, their occupations echo those of Quince the carpenter and Snug the joiner; someone, possibly Dallam himself, also must have taken on the job of Flute the bellows-mender in order for the organ to sound. Please refer to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* 1.2.0sd.

<sup>39</sup>From *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Bush and Kassel, 176.





**Fig. 2** Although not a representation of the Dallam organ, this image of a Renaissance organ provides a correlative example of the ornate appearance of the instrument. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate II. Organ. By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710



The presente began to salute the grand sinyor; for when I lefte it I did alow a quarter of an houre for his cominge thether. firste the clocke strouke 22; than The chime of 16 bels went of, & played a songe of 4 partes. that beinge done, tow personagis which stood upon to cornders of the seconde storie houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there hands did lifte them to there heads, & sounded a tantarra. Than the mvsicke went of, and the orgon played a song of 5 partes twyse over. In the tope of the orgon, being 16 foute hie did stande a holly bushe full of blacke birds & thrushis, which at the end of the mvsick did singe & shake there wynges. Divers other motions thare was which the grand sinyor wondered at. (55v)

This single instrument performs a diverse soundscape in its impressive solo recital: first, the clock strikes the hour, after which bells chime and play a song of four parts. Then two automatons playing trumpets perform a tantara, a brass fanfare or reveille. The organ concludes with what Dallam describes as the “mvsicke,” consisting of the organ performing a song in five voices or parts twice, before its mechanical birds sing and flutter their wings. The “Divers other motions” likely include “the 7 planets everie one to appear at his minat houlding in his hande what he did signifie” mentioned in Dallam’s marginalia.<sup>40</sup> In describing its multi-timbred and animated performance, Dallam characterizes the organ as possessing human-like agency, especially as it “salutes” the Sultan. Programmed to sound without human interface, the organ also acts as a solo, rather than an accompaniment, instrument, performing a multitude of different timbres, melodies, and harmonies.<sup>41</sup> An example of the type of music Dallam may have programmed his organ to perform is audible in the sound recording accessible via QR Code 1.

<sup>40</sup> Easton and Bicknell, “Two Pre-Reformation Organ Soundboards,” 271, describe a similar mechanism on an organ of the period—“a toy such as a *Zimbelstern* (a rotating star with a bell on each point which jingled when it moved) or a Saracen’s head”—being activated by depressing one of the keys on the keyboard.

<sup>41</sup> Dallam altered the manner in which his organ functioned to suit the needs of the Sultan and the space in which his organ would sound. Nicholas Thistlethwaite in “England” from *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Bush and Kassel, 176, writes that the other organs built by Dallam and his sons in England were “to be used in ensemble with a choir or instrumentalists.” Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 80, also concurs, writing that the organ often functioned “as a complement to the choir, rather than as a principal or solo instrument.” Dallam alters the purpose of the organ given to the Sultan, however, making it the solo and virtuoso performer.



### QR Code 1 Organ

Experts on organ construction and history can provide clues about the advanced engineering of this instrument, a pinnacle of technological achievement—musical or otherwise—in Dallam's day.<sup>42</sup> In addition to the

<sup>42</sup> As Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 73, notes, "Dallam's diary leaves us completely in the dark about the organ itself or about his work as its builder; we would know nothing more if it was not for the fact that a contemporary description of what is clearly the same instrument (or at least a proposal for it) surfaced in 1860." Although its authenticity has been questioned, it is accepted by Bicknell and MacLean (who includes an image of it in his book), even though the account of the organ's movements differ somewhat. The proposal includes verbiage that describes the bellows and soundboard (and corroborate my reading of it in this essay), but also states that the organ cost 550 pounds, and that the stops include "one open principal, unison recorder, octavo principal, and a flute, besides a shaking stop, a drum and a nightingale" (73). Bicknell explains, "Presumably the stops may be interpreted as two unisons (principal, recorder) and two octaves (octavo principal, flute), though the flute may possibly have been at unison pitch also. The 'shaking stop' is a tremulant, the nightingale is a small organ pipe mounted upside down in a bowl of water, where it would twitter convincingly" (73). "Little is known about specifications" of organs in England during the Renaissance; one of the few extant records comes from Dallam, who built the organ from the Cathedral Church of Worcester in 1613, according to Blanch Gangwere, *Music History During the Renaissance Period, 1425–1520: A Documented Chronology* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 473, although Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 74, states that the organ for King's College, Cambridge, that Dallam built in 1605–1606 has surviving records as well. From this document and other sources, scholars note that "The principal was a five foot pipe which sounded approximately a-flat at modern pitch" and some organs had two ranks of principals, one louder than the other; consult, for example, Gangwere, *Music History*, 473. There were also no reeds or mixtures during this period, and pedals were not introduced to the English organ until 1720 according to Gangwere, *Music History*, 473. Gangwere also notes that the pitch of the instrument during this period was different than today's Western conventional system of pitch, as "the pitch was nominally a fourth above vocal pitch which was a minor third higher relative to our own nominal pitch." So, the organist either read a score that was pitched a fourth lower or a fifth higher than the vocal parts, or he transposed the musical notation of vocal parts, using a system of clef substitution.

standard elements described above (such as bellows and pipes), Dallam's organ also included a passing strike clock bell, chime bells, trumpet fanfare, and bird songs, the sounds of which were all created through the combination of several mechanical devices. These mechanisms produced sounds that variously indicate the passage of time, the presence of royalty, the performance of music, and imitation of nature. Dallam's description of a "chime of 16 bells" that "played a songe of 4 partes" specifies that the bells were pitched, since they could play homophonic or polyphonic music. These "bells" were likely a glockenspiel, a keyboard percussion instrument consisting of metal disks that make sounds when struck by a hammer activated by a pneumatic mechanism. The two "silver trumpets" sounding a tantara as they are lifted to the mouths of two "personagis" create a sonic and visual effect. The automaton paradoxically suggest the human and mechanical, their animate movements ("houldinge tow silver trumpets in there hands, did lifte them to there heads") created by automated means, in turn prompted by the lung-like flow of wind through the organ. Trumpets were sometimes featured as an entire rank in organs; these two silver trumpets were likely pitched at the same interval as trumpets playing a tantara. One imagines that the mouthpiece of the trumpet aligned with the mouth of the homunculus, forcing the air through the pipe; alternately, the two figures may have been for visual display only, while the trumpet sounded from elsewhere within or on the organ.<sup>43</sup> While trumpets were military instruments and used as signaling devices aboard ships (Dallam records the misadventures of the trumpeters he meets aboard the *Hector*), trumpet fanfare also suggested the sounds of regality, appropriate for a Sultan or Queen.

"Organs were tuned in just temperament," writes Gangwere, 473, which means that the builders had to deal with the problem of "wolf notes," or wolf tones, so-called because their overtones create "beats" or discernible quavering of the pitch such that it sounds like the howling of the animal after which it is named. Separate keys were made for d-sharp and e-flat, as well as for g-sharp and a-flat to avoid this sound.

<sup>43</sup> John Bate provides instructions and an illustration for how to make "a figure of a man" "be made to sound a trumpet" in *The mysteryes of nature, and art contained in foure severall tretises* (London, 1634), 21–22. A pipe hidden inside the trumpeter connects to the mouth of the trumpet, and the water and air pressure emanating from sources below the figure causes the trumpet to sound. While modern trumpets have valves, these likely did not; the tantara that is performed was probably rhythmic in nature, perhaps with the two trumpets sounding at the unison, octave, or even at the interval of a fourth or fifth. This is not to say that valveless trumpets were always relegated to a single pitch, as gifted human performers were skilled at manipulating their embouchures to produce a wide range of pitches.

Dallam's catalogue of sounds that comprise the organ's soundscape is specific: it is only after the clock "strouke 22," the "chime of 16 bells" and plays a "songe of 4 partes," and the "tantarra" sounds that what Dallam calls the "musicke" is finally heard. The "songe of 5 partes" that the organ self-plays twice is probably closest to what contemporary audiences consider "conventional" organ music: a homophonic or polyphonic piece sounded by the pipes of the organ. The organ's autonomous performance of this music occurs as a rotating pinned cylinder turns and the pins pluck the organ's key action into operation, causing the air to flow through the pipes and vibrate to produce pitches. Dallam would have "programmed" the cylinder with pins corresponding to pitches of the particular "song of 5 partes." Although Dallam doesn't record the titles of the pieces his organ performed, the designation "a songe of 5 partes" suggests a piece written by an English or Continental composer, or perhaps composed by Dallam himself.<sup>44</sup>

The conclusion to the concert—the singing of the mechanical birds in the holly bush crowning the organ—was also achieved using the organ's pipes. The song of the "black birds and thrushis" was created by a special sound-effect stop called the "Nightingale," in which the ends of the pipes

<sup>44</sup> Surviving examples of keyboard music from the period include *The Mulliner Book* and *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, as well as other keyboard collections including *Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book* and *My Ladye Nevells booke of virginal music*; modern editions are *Early Tudor Organ Music* (*Early English Church Music* series, vols. 6 and 10), *The Mulliner Book* (*Musica Britannica* vol. 1), *Tudor Keyboard Music* (*Musica Britannica* vol. 64), and Robin Langley, *Early English Organ Music: An Anthology from Tudor and Stuart Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). *The Mulliner Book* was compiled by Thomas Mulliner and contains music by Thomas Tallis, his teacher, as well as an array of various styles of music, including motets, anthems, part-songs, dance music, and fantasias, among others. Pieces from these collections might also provide suggestions about what particular pieces Dallam programmed the organ to play. Kassel, *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, 346, writes that "The fifteenth-century solo organ piece developed into the voluntary, originally an improvised piece, which could take the form of a free fantasia, a piece based on a chant melody (*cantus firmus*), or a polyphonic, imitative piece similar to the *ricercar*, a new Continental instrumental genre of the sixteenth century that evolved into the fugues of Johann Sebastian Bach and others. The first significant manuscript of English organ music (British Library MS Add.29996; mid-sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth centuries) contains liturgical organ pieces by many composers, including William Byrd." Other composers of English organ music include John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Peter Philips, Thomas Tomkins, and Christopher Tye. For more information about organ repertoire, please refer to Edward E. Lowinsky, "English Organ Music of the Renaissance—I," *The Musical Quarterly*, 39.3 (July 1953): 373–395; and Geoffrey Cox, "English Organ Music to c.1700," *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 190–203.

were placed in a bowl of water or oil.<sup>45</sup> This produces a sound imitating the warbling of birds and is a technique dating from at least 1450.<sup>46</sup> As Dallam's holly bush is "full" of these birds native to England and other parts of Europe, he probably included many Nightingale stops to sonically represent multiple birds. The mechanical birds that conclude the organ's concert are ostensibly sounds indicative of an English soundscape that Dallam chooses to replicate for the Sultan.<sup>47</sup> In early modern European thought, birdsong was believed to have played a significant role in the evolution of human musical production; around the same time, artificial and mechanical instruments were gaining traction to an extent that suggested their superiority over natural sounds.<sup>48</sup> Documentary records indicate that mechanical birds were present on an English organ that predates Dallam, and they may have been a familiar component of English organs by the time Dallam constructed his.<sup>49</sup> Mechanical birds that sing and move also feature in an account of Paradise found in John Mandeville's *Travels*, which suggests an Eastern tonality palimpsested onto an English-built instrument.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Kassel, *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, 68.

<sup>46</sup> John Bate, in *The mysteries of nature, and art contained in foure severall tretises*, 20–21, provides instructions for creating mechanical birds that drink water and make sounds through the use of a reed placed in the artificial bird.

<sup>47</sup> Artificial nightingale songs were heard in the early modern theater, too: the broken whistle found at the Rose excavation corroborates this point. "The bird whistle, generally made of clay, could imitate the sounds of various species, notably nightingale, quail, turtle-dove and cuckoo" note Christopher R. Wilson and Michaela Calore, *Music in Shakespeare: A Dictionary* (London: Continuum, 2005), 469.

<sup>48</sup> Refer to Linda Phyllis Austern's "Nature, Culture, Myth, and the Musician in Early Modern England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 51.1 (1998): 1–47.

<sup>49</sup> What Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 27, describes as "a list of possessions forming the subject of a dispute between Robert Colyns ('wyerseller') and Thomas Broune ('organmaker') in 1514–1515" includes mention of "Itm. Ii swages with branches and byrdes" among other more-expected organ items, like organ cases and metal for pipes. According to Bicknell, this workshop includes "Five organs of various sizes [which] are under construction, with bellows, keys, soundboards and cases mentioned." Since the organ referenced in this dispute dates from almost a century earlier, birds may have become a standard feature of English organs by the time Dallam constructed his.

<sup>50</sup> *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. C.W.R.D. Moseley (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 171. On the isle of Mulstorak or Malazgirt, in addition to gold and riches, there is a castle built by Hasan ben Sabbah and inside the castle walls exist a beautiful garden and orchard with flowing fountains, along with "different kinds of birds, worked by mechanical means, which seemed quite alive as they sang and fluttered," among other animals in this "Paradise" (171). Perhaps Dallam intended to produce a concert that combined English

Even as the Dallam organ likely performed English sound, the organ was associated with many parts of Europe in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. The Portuguese gifted organs to Eastern potentates beginning in the fifteenth century<sup>51</sup>; the Russia Company was the first of the English companies to send a keyboard instrument abroad as a gift in 1569.<sup>52</sup> In the *Akbarnama*, portions of which chronicle Akbar's reign, his vizier, Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak actually records the reaction to the gift of an organ in 1579 from the Portuguese to the Mughal Emperor: "The musicians of that territory breathed fascination with the instruments of their country, especially the organ. Ear and eye were delighted, and so was the mind."<sup>53</sup> Organs journeyed with European travelers to China, Africa, India, Japan, and Russia between the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, as gifts for foreign potentates or for use by missionaries.<sup>54</sup> The Dallam organ, however, was the first organ sent to the Ottoman Empire by an English trading company. What might surprise us more about this organ, however, is that some of its components—the automatism, birdsong, and animatronics in particular—were features of an invention known as a "water organ" that was extant in the Greco-Roman era, the Byzantine Empire, and the Abassiad caliphate in the tenth century before it reached Europe and England.<sup>55</sup> While no evidence survives to suggest that Dallam was directly aware of these predecessors to his mechanical organ as he does

song with the mechanical birds of the East. The birds of Dallam's organ are described as English birds—black birds or thrushes, but their mechanical nature aligns them with the imagined Orient of Mandeville's travels.

<sup>51</sup>Woodfield, "The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520–1620," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115.1 (1990): 33–62, 34.

<sup>52</sup>Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, 187.

<sup>53</sup>Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, 199–200, citing Henry Beveridge, *The Akbarnama of Abu-L-Fazl (ASB, Biblioteca Indica, new series*, vol. 138, part 3; Calcutta, 1910–1939), 322–323.

<sup>54</sup>Woodfield, "The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520–1620," 34–39.

<sup>55</sup>According to Kassel, this automatic instrument was first recorded in the third century BCE and used a regulated flow of water to turn a cylinder, like the one in Dallam's organ. Some of the other features of Dallam's organ are apparent in Kassel's description as well; as he writes in *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, 323, "the water organ's interest lay in its automatism and its attempts at the imitation of nature, in both the aural and physical senses. Early examples in the Greco-Roman era, the Byzantine Empire, and the Baghdad-based Abassiad caliphate (tenth century) imitated birdsong and other sounds; the movement of the figurines were gradually integrated into the mechanisms." By the late medieval era, water organs had reached Italy; they then spread to other European countries, and were documented in England by the sixteenth century.

not cite any sources of influence, it is remarkable that these earlier instruments also incorporate automatism, figural motion, and birdsong, but even more notable that these instruments surfaced in the East prior to Dallam's construction of the organ for the Sultan. Whether Dallam was aware of it or not, these water organs that were precursors to his mechanical organ featured strong Eastern overtones. As Stanley Mayes notes, "certainly organ-making was introduced into Western Europe from Constantinople in the eighth century ... it is strange that eight and a half centuries later an English sovereign should find an organ the most original and unusual present to send to Constantinople."<sup>56</sup> Even as Dallam imagines his organ as evangelizing an English sound, the organ was an instrument that was strongly associated with many parts of Europe during his lifetime, and had an Eastern past. Like other instruments considered in this study, the organ does not have a single unified ethnic or spatial origin for its sound, even as much as its creator might desire it to.

While Dallam's organ was originally made in England and out of English materials so that it would arguably trumpet England's achievements in Istanbul, this simplistic reading disavows the transformations the organ underwent along its journey. Through the reapplication of the glue, mending of the pipes, and overall reconstruction, the protean organ is "in somthings better" than before, and it also bears traces of its new home in the seraglio. The organ's familiar "English" parts—even as they are restored—have experienced alterations that incorporate its foreign environment. If casein or animal glue was used for repairs and to seal the organ's case, it had to be created on site in Istanbul; the water or oil in the Nightingale stop was likely locally sourced as well, and the wind and water or oil resonating through the pipes to create the birds' warbling produce a now-hybrid sound through their vibrations; finally, the wind upon which the organ depends to produce its various sounds is not English, but Turkish air. As discussed above, the system of pressurized air in the organ is likened to human lungs in Praetorius's *De Organographia*, and breath or air from outside the body has the capacity to change the bodily states of both human bodies and organ bodies. This "English" instrument is altered as air passes through the pipes, still sounding the English sounds Dallam constructed, but within a pneumatic framework that is now predominantly Turkish. Air or wind is shared between the organ and human bodies,

<sup>56</sup> Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan* (London: Putnam, 1956), 185–186.

mutually affecting one another: it circulates among the natives of Istanbul, those visiting, and those who have converted, all of whom are present at this concert.

Like the shared air moving between human bodies and the organ, the vibrating soundwaves produced by the organ generate an assemblage among subjects and objects in the seraglio as they pass through all matter present for the concert. At this sonic event, soundwaves emanating from the organ calibrate everything on the same frequency of vibration, producing the sonic uncanny. The binary differences between the categories of familiar and foreign, self and other, and human and mechanical are undone when these various forms of matter are enmeshed in the same forcefield of sound. A network created through sound revises many notions of positionality or mimicry discussed in many postcolonial and critical race theories, as sound instead aligns all selves and others through calibration on the same sonic frequency. The model of the sonic assemblage created by uncanny sound is a vital concept for reconsidering the importance of music and sound to cross-cultural encounter. It does not depend on musical knowledge or terminology for those who experience it, but rather on presence at a sonic event that undoes the idea of an entrenched subject—or a musical instrument—that remains invariable or intransigent. In this case, the vibrating sonic uncanny is created by the sound of an instrument that has itself become uncanny through a combination of hybrid familiar and foreign elements. Turkish, English, self, other, human, and mechanical bodies are all synthesized, as well as transformed, by the vibration of sounds from the automated organ. The same organ-generated soundwaves touch the Sultan, his servants, other cosmopolitan visitors in the seraglio, and even reach Dallam's body, listening outside the doors of Topkapı Palace.

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### BODILY AND MUSICAL ORGANS: UNCANNY ASSEMBLAGES

This connective musical experience must have pleased the Sultan, for after the organ's performance concludes, Mehmed calls for an encore. The "Coppagawe," or gatekeeper, seeks out Dallam, who informs him that the organ will play of its own volition four times in twenty-four hours; the organ will also perform any time he touched a small pin that activated it.



After the clock struck the hour, the organ played again, and “Than [*sic*] the grand sinyor sayed it was good” (56r). This approval is corroborated by an account of the Sultan’s reaction to the organ recorded in Mustapha bin Ibrahim Safi’s *Zubdetu’t-tevarih*, which states that the Sultan “examined and scrutinized that unique wonder and listened, astonished, to the voices and sounds of those persons and likenesses, and for each he marvelled at what mankind is capable of.”<sup>57</sup> Not only did Mehmed approve, but according to Dallam, “He satt verrie neare vnto it, ryghte before the Keaes, wheare a man should playe on it by hande. He asked whye those Keaes did move when the orgon wente & nothinge did tuche them” (56r). The Sultan’s comment recalled in Dallam’s narrative provides readers with the remarkable fact that a manual (a keyboard, or moving “Keaes” as they are termed in the text) is a feature of this mechanical, self-playing organ, which was not always the case in other examples of these instruments.<sup>58</sup> Fascinated by the animism of the organ and watching the keys in motion, the Sultan observes that the organ moves independently of visible human interaction. The Sultan asks his gatekeeper if anyone could play the instrument, and the gatekeeper answers that the man “that came with it coulede, & he is heare without the dore” (56r). The presence of keys meant that the organ could be played manually by someone skilled, like Dallam himself. Waiting outside of the chamber, Dallam hears and records the Sultan’s response: “Fetche him hether, cothe the grand sinyor, and let me se how he dothe it” (56r–56v). After consulting his dragoman, Dallam eventually agrees to an impromptu performance.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Cited in MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, xi. Mustapha bin Ibrahim Safi, *Zubdetu’t-tevarih* (Beyazit Devlet Library, Veliyyüddin Efendi Yazmalari, nr. 2428, f. 32–34) trans. Geoffrey Lewis.

<sup>58</sup> Kassel, *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, 322.

<sup>59</sup> The sight that greets Dallam upon his entry he describes as “verrie wonderfull unto me”; he enters the seraglio upon the Sultan’s right hand and was as close as sixteen paces from him (56v). He writes that the Sultan “satt in greate state, yeat the sighte of him was nothinge in Comparrisone of the traine that stood behinde him, the sighte whereof did make me almost to thinke that I was in another worlde” (56v). With eyes “daslinge” at the sight of about four hundred of the Sultan’s servants, including two hundred pages, one hundred mute men, and one hundred “Dwarffs,” Dallam observes the scene for about fifteen minutes, and recalls, “I did moste of all wonder, at those dumb men, for they lett me understande by there perfitt sins [*signs*], all thinges that they had sene the presente dow by its motions” (57r). Dallam’s fascination with Deaf people and their sign language reiterates an important aspect of sounding otherness, for unlike other studies of sonic phenomena that relegate sound to only the ear, Dallam’s writing reveals that people who were non-hearing were also involved in this

The Sultan asks his “Coppagaw” to bid Dallam play, but Dallam—advised by Lello in matters of court protocol largely based on Orientalist fears—is overly frightened of the Sultan and refuses<sup>60</sup>:

Than the Coppagaw cam vnto me, & touke my cloake from about me & laye it Doune upon the Carpites & bid me go and playe on the organ; but I refused to do so, because the grand sinyor satt so neare the place wheare I should playe that I could not com at it, but I muste needs turne my backe Towardes him & touche his Kne with my britchis, which no man, in paine of deathe, myghte dow, saving only the Coppagaw. So he smyled & lett me stand a litle. Than the grand sinyor spoake againe, and the Coppagaw, with a merrie countenance, bid me go with a good curridge, & thruste me on. (57r–57v)

Keenly aware of the intimate bodily proximity to the Sultan that his playing of the organ would require, Dallam fears for his life since the Sultan is seated at the organ precisely where the organist should sit. Dallam is paradoxically trapped, for in order to please the Sultan by performing on the organ, he believes he would die as a consequence of touching the Sultan's body as he approached and played the instrument. Dallam describes his interaction with the Sultan, after he is “thruste on”: “When I cam verrie neare the grand sinyor, I bowed my heade as low as my kne, not moving my cape, & turned my backe righte towards him, & touched his kne with my britchis” (57v).<sup>61</sup> Of course, Dallam is not immediately beheaded as he brushes his backside against the Sultan's knee in order to reach the keyboard, and instead begins to play music as the Sultan requested. In order to touch the organ's keys, Dallam had to alter his bodily orientation with the organ; he writes, “I stood thar playinge suche thinge as I could untille the cloke strouck” (57v). Usually, the organist would sit at the keyboard

important sonic event as much as those who could hear, because the vibrations of the sound-waves touch their bodies. In addition to viewing all the amazing things that the organ performed, they might have felt the vibrations in the lower register of this instrument that connected all bodies in the seraglio through its sounds.

<sup>60</sup> According to Dallam's transcription of what he calls “The Imbassadors spetche vnto me in Love; after he had given me my charge” (54r), Lello tells Dallam not to look at the Sultan. Lello claims that after he delivers his letters of embassy, “I shalbe presently ledd awaye, goinge backwardes as longe as I can se him, and in payne of my heade I muste not turne my backe upon him, and Therefore yow muste not Louke to have a sighte of him” (54v).

<sup>61</sup> As MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 41, notes, this was “the first and most intimate direct encounter between an ordinary Englishman and an Ottoman emperor.”

of the organ, but since the Sultan seems to have occupied the seat in front of the organ, Dallam had to stand.<sup>62</sup>

In his journal account, Dallam elaborates how his spatial and tactile relationship to the Sultan became even more intense while he was playing: “He satt so Righte behind me that he could not se what I did; tharfore he stood up, & his Coppagaw Removed his Chaire to one side, wher he myghte se my hands; but, in his Rising from his chaire, he gave me a thruste forwards, which he could not otherwise dow, he satt so neare me; but I thought he had bene drawing his sorde to cut of my heade” (57v). The Sultan’s eagerness to watch Dallam’s hands perform the music, and perhaps make certain that it was really Dallam playing the instrument this time and not just pantomiming over the moving keys, overrides the social convention that would prevent the Sultan from coming into bodily contact with a foreigner, and one of lower social status. The Englishman’s behavior continues to please the audience members: he bows after concluding his performance when the clock strikes, and walks backwards from the Sultan to avoid turning his back on Mehmed for fear of death, causing the audience to laugh at the ludicrous nature of his misinformed behavior. Dallam’s manual performance and the organ’s autonomous performance precipitated bodily contact with the Sultan, in stark contrast to the experience of the English ambassador, Henry Lello, left waiting outside the door. Although Dallam’s journal does not disclose what particular pieces of music he played, he probably engaged in some manner of improvisation

<sup>62</sup> In his journal, Dallam himself describes the relationship that his body has to musical instruments. According to his list of “Nessecaries for my voyege into Turkie” that opens his account, Dallam paid 1.15.0 for “a paire of virginals” which was second only to the expense of his more costly “sute of Carsaye” at 1.18.0 (2r). A necessary and comparatively costly object Dallam procured for his voyage, the virginals (a single instrument, though referred to as a “pair”) are a tabletop keyboard instrument very popular in Renaissance England that required a similar playing technique as the organ, although sounding a different timbre as the strings were plucked by a quill to produce pitches. While it is tempting to surmise that Dallam was certain to have music for his and his companions’ entertainment during the voyage, he states that the purpose of these instruments was “for my exerisze by the waye”—more so to keep up his keyboard fingering technique, it seems (5r). Dallam describes his relationship with the virginals as one where the musical instrument allows his body exercise, and that through mental and physical practice Dallam can retain his keyboarding abilities over the course of the long journey. John Sanderson, a servant of the Levant Company, also brought musical entertainment with him in the form of a lute. Woodfield in *English Musicians*, 77, cites that “In 1600 he wrote from Constantinople to a friend in Venice asking him to supply ‘40 to 50 knotts of the best lut strings’—evidence of his continuing interest.”

based on music familiar to him, especially since his body found itself in the strange position of standing as opposed to the more familiar posture of sitting at the instrument. Dallam recalls that after receiving a gift of forty-five pieces of gold from the Sultan, he was “not a little Joyfull of my good suckses” (58r). Lello remained outside for two hours while the Sultan enjoyed this present; according to Dallam, the Sultan was scheduled to go to “another place whear he should deliver his Imbassege & Letteres” and so Lello’s recognition was again postponed, even though the Sultan was clearly pleased by the gift of the organ (58r). The power of the organ’s music to bend the ear of the leader of the Ottoman Empire for that length of time attests to Dallam’s triumph at creating this musical gift that did indeed delight the Sultan, as it performed by itself and as Dallam played upon it.

Dallam reports that he returned to the seraglio several days later due to some changes the organ experienced in Topkapi Palace:

The laste of September I was sente for againe to the surralia to sett som things in good order againe, which they had altered, & those tow Jemoglans which kepte that house made me verrie kindly welcome, and asked me yf I would be contented to staye with them always, & I should not wante anything, but have all the contente that I could desier. I answered them that I had a wife and Childrin in Inghlande, who did expecte my Returne. Than they asked me how long I had been married, & how many children I hade. Thoughe in deed I had nether wife nor children, yeat to excuse my selfe I made them that Answere. (59r–59v)

As Ian Woodfield notes, although Dallam may not have been informed of this practice, he may have heard from his fellow travelers or the English officials and merchants that “in some places, European musicians were required to undergo circumcision and renounce their Christian faith” and it was often customary for musicians to be sent as part of the presentation of a musical instrument.<sup>63</sup> This explains the Ottomans’ desire to keep Dallam along with the organ, although no records indicate that the Levant Company had contracted Dallam to remain in Istanbul. Lello’s letter cited above suggests that the Levant Company had not formally engaged Dallam to remain in Istanbul as the organ player or servicer, since Lello writes that he hopes the Sultan’s “people can mantayne the use” of the

<sup>63</sup>Woodfield, *English Musicians*, 186.

organ themselves, instead of relying on Dallam. Seeking to maintain his English identity and secure his passage home, Dallam invents a wife and children to corroborate his pressing need to return to England, besides his rejection of “all the contente that [he] could desier.” As Nabil Matar observes, “To have been among the Muslims did not necessarily mean that the English/British/Christian identity had been preserved. Rather, it had been tested, and there was no foregone certainty that it would have passed the test successfully.”<sup>64</sup> Dallam seems keenly aware of this fact and is eager to keep his English/British/Christian identity intact.

The enticements to remain in Istanbul continue, however, and Dallam does take pleasure in an exceptional privilege while he is at the Sultan’s court, for on the 12th, 14th, and 15th of October, Dallam is invited “to no other end but to show [him] the grand sinyors privie Chamberes, his gould & silver, his chairs of estate” (60r); Dallam also sits in one of these chairs and draws the Sultan’s sword from its sheath. He is even permitted to look upon the Sultan’s harem; Lawrence Danson calls this “the most elusive gift that westerners for over 300 years would fantasize the East could offer,” especially as records indicate no other Englishman was allowed this opportunity. Even before the organ’s performance, Dallam recounts his presence within important spaces. He claims that he dined in the seraglio for an entire month, even though it only took him four or five days to reconstruct the organ in Topkapi Palace.<sup>65</sup> This is one of the few facts Dallam repeats, later stating “The 15th, I finished my worke in the surraliao, & I wente once everie daye to se it, & dinede Thare almoste everie Daye for the space of a monthe; which no Christian everr did in there memorie that wente awaye a Christian” (53r). Dallam clearly enjoys the high status and privilege that his organ allows him, including his mobility within these important Eastern spaces, for, as Danson states, “Among the many sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century travellers’ narratives, in Hakluyt, Purchas, or elsewhere, Dallam’s is remarkable for its intimate access to the veiled interior of the Ottoman state”—privileges that were certainly not offered to Lello.<sup>66</sup> Even as he enjoys mobility through these spaces, Dallam is proud of the fact that he retains his singular

<sup>64</sup> Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 72.

<sup>65</sup> 52v.

<sup>66</sup> Lawrence Danson, “The Sultan’s organ: presents and self-presentation in Thomas Dallam’s Diary,” *Renaissance Studies*, 23.5 (2009): 639–658, 657, 653.

Christian identity; as his dining at the seraglio might suggest, however, the East gets inside of Dallam's body through the food he consumes and that is converted into fuel for his body. Dallam enjoys the culinary delights of otherness at the seraglio—especially the grapes: “for the space of a monthe, I Dined everie day in the Surralia, & we had everie day grapes after our meate” (52v).

Although enmeshed in Turkish networks through his access to the veiled spaces of the seraglio, Dallam packs his bags, eager to return to England, if not to his fictional wife and children. The next day, the *Hector* prepares to leave but a messenger from the seraglio arrives with a command from the Sultan that the ship must remain because if “the workman that sett vp the presente in the surralia would not be perswaded to stay be hind the shipe, the ship muste staye vntill he had Removed the presente vnto another place” (61v). Dallam becomes furious when he is told that the ship must depart without him: “but when my lord [Lello] tould me, that I muste be contented to staye & Lette the ship goo, than was I in a wonderfull perplexatie, & in my furie I to tould my lorde that, that was now com to pass, which I ever feared, & that was that he in the end would betray me, and turne me over into the Turkes hands, whear I should Live a slavishe Life, & never companie againe with Christians” (62r). Dallam dreads the modifications he and his body might be forced to endure if he remains in Istanbul. Surrounded by Christians who have turned Turk and enticed by others to do the same, Dallam clings desperately to his segmented Christian and English identity, fearing that he will not “companie againe with Christians” like himself. But the lines between Christian and Turk are easily blurred throughout the Orient.<sup>67</sup> Mary Fuller observes that Dallam's text is replete with “converts—English Turks, Dutch Turks, dragomen, and adjemoglans.”<sup>68</sup> While in harbor in Algiers—a part of Ottoman Africa and a burgeoning metropolis in Dallam's account—early in his journey, Dallam notes “Thar be a greate number of Turks that be, but Reneid cristians of all nations” (18r).<sup>69</sup> Among the four hundred people present in the seraglio that Dallam sees, the two hundred pages are all Christians who have turned Turk, as Dallam acknowledges: “Those 200

<sup>67</sup> Please refer to Daniel Vitkus's work on conversion in *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

<sup>68</sup> Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Narratives of Travel to America 1576–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 66.

<sup>69</sup> Consult Nabil Matar's discussion of “Reneid Christians” in his *Islam in Britain: 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35.

weare all verrie proper men, and Christians borne" (57r). His own dragoman, or interpreter, was "a Turke, but a Cornishe man borne," perhaps almost a little too uncannily close to Dallam's own threatened English identity (64r). When Dallam does secure a passage to England, the dragoman who conveys Dallam and his company on their way home is similarly described as "an Inglishe man, borne in Chorlaye in Lancashier; his name Finche. He was also in religion a perfit Turke, but he was our trustie frende" (66v). Although Dallam counts Finche a "trustie frende" who clearly enjoyed employment and privileges in the Ottoman Empire, Dallam's writing reveals an anxiety about losing his Christian companions and leaving what he calls "a slavishe Life" if left behind in Istanbul.

Dallam worries that his fears of Turkish enslavement and conversion are about to come to fruition, and that he is going to be abandoned in this foreign space where he does not wish to remain, even though he has enjoyed exceptional privileges while residing there. Despite Dallam's concerns, Lello consoles Dallam and bids him return to the seraglio. Dallam is instructed that the organ should be moved to a garden kiosk "made for a bancketinge house ... where the grand sinyor doth use to meet his Conquebines twyse in the weeke" (63v). Dallam begins once more the task of reconstructing the organ before he bids it a final farewell. On the 12th of November, Dallam visits the Walls of Constantinople ("Andranople gate") and sees camels, then returns to the city to view monuments. But Dallam contracts a cold and a "burninge fever," causing him to become "in greate dainger of my Life," he recalls (65r). While Dallam seeks to retain his English and Christian identities, pretending that the foreign environment doesn't alter him, he, like his organ, undergoes changes in this foreign space. Just as the organ succumbs to the heat and humidity of the foreign space, Dallam becomes ill as his body has Eastern forces act upon it. His experience resonates with Harris's description of enmeshed, embodied existence: "My body is clearly not an unchanging unit. It isn't even a unit. That word suggests something self-contained and neatly divided from what is outside it. My body is, rather, an extension of the larger environment that I work in, against and with. As my environment changes, so does my body."<sup>70</sup> Even in this foreign environment, soon Dallam recovers and he hears that there was a group ready to go to England that "weare all Desierus to haue my company" (65r). Whether Dallam realizes it or not (and his pun-laden writing would suggest that at some level, he does), the organ is an uncanny

<sup>70</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *First Firangis*, 1.

reflection of his own body in Istanbul, changed by the very air that passes through it, and even Dallam's sounding of English otherness in Istanbul enmeshes him in a forcefield of bodies and objects of others. Although Lello entreats him not to return to England, Dallam is convinced he would die if he stayed behind, although it is unclear whether his trepidation results from his illness, his resistance to conversion, both possibilities, or other imagined threats. To his relief, Dallam does leave Turkey for home, traveling via Greece and Zante before reuniting with the *Hector*. On his journey by foot, Dallam and his assembled company travel to Zante and are quarantined. They wait forty-six days before a ship comes to take them to England; serendipitously, the *Hector* arrives.

After months at sea, Dallam's homecoming to England is signaled by sound: "Than we wente a shore at Dover, & our trompetes soundinge all the way before us Into the towne, wheare we made our selves as merrie as we Could, beinge verrie glad that we weare once againe upon Inglish ground" (78r). "Verrie glad" he has returned home, Dallam is also relieved that he maintains his Christian and "Inglish" identity and was not forced to convert during the course of his journey. But the trumpet sound announcing the *Hector*'s return to England has become polysemous in Dallam's text, and its tones are indicative of the reflective sonic uncanny. The trumpets' signal of the ship's arrival in England echoes the sounds of the two silver trumpets atop his organ in Istanbul. Even as Dallam arrives back in England, the once-familiar trumpet sound carries echoic traces of his journey to and from the Ottoman Empire, sounding that space uncannily in the trumpets' announcement of his return home.

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### NETWORKS OF AN EPHEMERAL ORGAN

Unlike Dallam, the organ constructed for Mehmed remained in Istanbul and the conclusion to its story relates the final transformation of the instrument. In just a few short years after its journey, construction, and multiple reconstructions, the Istanbul organ would cease to exist, destroyed by Mehmed's son, Ahmed. The *Zubdetu't-tevarih* gives an account of this demolition:



Exceedingly valuable and precious though the clock was, as has been described, he showed it no respect but took a heavy battleaxe into his hand that routed the enemy, and in accordance with the Words of Truth ‘he smashed them into fragments,’ like Ibrahim the Friend of God he destroyed that assembly and razed those idolatrous images to the ground. To the men of the Bostancis he then gave an order as irrevocable as a decree of God, and they burnt them as in the Words of Truth: ‘we shall burn it, then reduce it to dust and scatter it into the sea.’<sup>71</sup>

The organ was destroyed precisely because of its animated attributes—“those idolatrous images.” According to the *Zubdetu’t-tevarih*, “the existence of pictures and likenesses and an assembly of such entities was against the sacred law and reason, and reviled by God and man; it could not be accepted.”<sup>72</sup> Like the Biblical Abraham, Ahmed destroys idols, which in the case of this “clock,” both move and make sound. These “assemblies” of objects (“pictures and likenesses”) that are uncannily similar to human bodies create anxiety for Ahmed; the anthropomorphic qualities of the organ which Dallam describes and which delighted Mehmed are “idolatrous” to Ahmed because of the religious belief stated in the *Hadith* that the creation of living forms is unique to God alone. For Ahmed, the annihilation of the English organ on religious grounds was coupled with a decline in diplomatic relations with England after James I assumed the throne. But it was not only Muslim potentates who destroyed musical “idols”: during the English Civil War, many English organs, including several built by Dallam, “were destroyed in the name of religious piety; only this time by Christian zealots.”<sup>73</sup> Splintered into “fragments” by blunt force, burned to dust, and scattered into the sea, the intricate Dallam

<sup>71</sup> Cited in MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, xii. Mustapha bin Ibrahim Safi, *Zubdetu’t-tevarih*, translated by Geoffrey Lewis.

<sup>72</sup> Cited in MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, xii. Mustapha bin Ibrahim Safi, *Zubdetu’t-tevarih*, translated by Geoffrey Lewis.

<sup>73</sup> MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 6. Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, 20, describes the destruction of church organs, stating “in 1653 the Lower House of Convocation had failed by only one vote to pass a resolution calling for the removal of all church organs. In the next few years more than a hundred organs were taken down and the pipes sold to make pewter dishes.” The pipes from the Oxford, Magdalen College organ, which were moved to Tewkesbury Abbey, may be Dallam’s originals (Kassel, *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, 135). Part of the case of the organ at King’s College in Cambridge is believed to be Dallam’s original.

organ now exists only in the minds of readers of his narrative, metamorphosed from physical object to imaginary one.

While the English organ does not survive in Istanbul, echoes of Istanbul may have resonated in England after Dallam's return. Dallam's successful venture to the Ottoman Empire resulted in important commissions for him in England, including constructing and/or maintaining organs at King's College Cambridge, St. George's Chapel at Windsor, Worcester Cathedral, Norwich Cathedral, Eton College, Oxford, Durham, Westminster Abbey, and the royal chapels, among others.<sup>74</sup> Stephen Bicknell suspects there might be further resonances of Istanbul in England, for Dallam was employed by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury and Elizabeth's Secretary of State, to work on his extravagant organ (at the exorbitant price of £1084-6s-4d.) at the newly constructed Hatfield House in 1611; it may have been an "automatic clockwork organ" as well.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, the "painter" Dallam names in his account who processes with him to present the organ to the Sultan is Rowland Buckett, who was also employed by Cecil as a decorative artist at Hatfield House. Having collaborated before, the two may have reminisced about their travels to and adventures in Istanbul while constructing this new organ.<sup>76</sup>

Additional early modern texts from England allude to the Ottoman organ, incorporating it into new networks, some of which postdate its physical destruction. As Samuel Chew argues, Dallam's homecoming "gave point to an allusion in a play of the same year: 'Thy brother's like the instrument the Merchants sent over to the great Turke: You need not play upon him, hee'll make musicke of himself, and hee bee once set

<sup>74</sup> Ian Spink, *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 22, notes that "Of these, the instruments at Worcester and Durham were destroyed during the Civil War, but the case at least of the King's College organ remains." Wilson and Calore, *Music in Shakespeare: A Dictionary*, 320, write that "The organ Dallam installed in Worcester Cathedral in 1613 is one of the very few pre-Restoration organs for which we have details. It comprised eight stops in the Great case and five in the Chaire. After Worcester, Dallam worked on organs for Eton College Chapel (1613–1614), the chapel of the Palace of Holyrood House, Edinburgh (1616), Wells Cathedral (1620), All Saints, Wakefield (1620), Durham Cathedral (1621–1622), and Bristol Cathedral (1629)," and that Dallam "worked on the organ in Westminster Abbey" in 1606–1607.

<sup>75</sup> Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 77.

<sup>76</sup> Dallam was also called upon in 1616 to build a two-manual (or double) organ for the chapel at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh in conjunction with Inigo Jones's "complete refitting of the chapel" according to Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 80.

going.”<sup>77</sup> Here, the animatronic or embodied nature of the organ is again stressed in these lines from Act 3 of *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*, a play penned by John Marston in 1600. Belarius’s “ingenious instrument” (4.2.187) in Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline* may be another reference to the automated organ.<sup>78</sup> Although Dallam’s famous Ottoman organ was destroyed by Mehmed’s son Ahmed, it still had ephemeral histories attached to it through its survival in Dallam’s own writing and by its acknowledgment in theatrical productions.

As these textual afterlives demonstrate, the organ Dallam constructed was a dynamic, automated musical instrument that fascinated audiences in England, and for a time, in Istanbul. In addition to being a requisite gift object necessary to maintain English-Ottoman diplomatic and trade relationships, the mechanical organ straddled the categories of human and non-human through its automated performance, animated motions, and reliance on air to produce these effects. The changes Dallam records that his organ undergoes during its travels and performance reiterates Yates’s argument that objects are subject to breakage, alteration, destruction, and transformation as they move through space and time. Travel impacts

<sup>77</sup> Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England During the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 170.

<sup>78</sup> “My ingenious instrument!” exclaims Belarius as he hears “Solemn music,” “Hark, Polydore, it sounds. But what occasion / Hath Cadwal now to give it motion? Hark!” (4.2.184sd–7). Chew, *Crescent and Rose*, 170, speculates that Shakespeare “had in mind some such instrument as Dallam’s organ which made music by itself when once set going.” Louis Elson, *Shakespeare in Music* (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1901), 53, also identifies a resonance with the Dallam organ in *The Tempest*, where Alonso comments, “the thunder, / That deep and dreadful organ pipe, pronounced / The name of Prosper. It did bass my trespass” (3.3.98–100). Elson posits that “This simple sentence contains more than might appear at first sight. It shows how all things transmuted themselves into poetry in that most receptive and assimilative mind. In 1605, Thomas Dallam set up, in King’s College, Cambridge, the first complete two-manual organ of England. In it were some tremendous pedal pipes, still used (we believe) in the deepest register of the instrument. All England, or at least the musical part of it, was interested in this great instrument. According to Furnivall, ‘The Tempest’ was written very soon thereafter, and consequently we find the ‘deep and dreadful organ pipe’ preserved to posterity in a still more imperishable play” (53). While the organ pipes were not the same ones from Dallam’s time, even in 1901 when Elson was writing, these two organ references in Shakespeare’s plays, when considered together, become more plausible in relation to the English Dallam organ, although the Marston play is the only literary text of the three to refer specifically to the Istanbul organ.

bodies—human and mechanical—in Dallam's account. The organ's sounds also impact bodies present at its performance. The diverse soundscape of a chiming clock, bells, pipe-organ music, and birdsong that the organ performs unleashes soundwaves that pass through all forms of matter in the reverberating seraglio. Dallam's organ created an uncanny experience through sound in Istanbul, where the familiar and the foreign became blended through sound's vibratory wave. As this chapter has demonstrated, uncanny sound offers a new framework to consider cross-cultural interactions of the early modern period. Sound need not only be interpreted through the categories of Western musical theory, mimicry, or colonization projects; when conceptualized as a vibrating wave calibrating bodies on the same frequency, sound opens up other possibilities for exploring and theorizing intercultural encounters.

# “Drums Rumble Within”: Embodied Experiences of Temples in the East and on the London Stage

*The Naubatt Conna or place where his drummes are beating in the  
Amcasse, over against the place where hee sits, which att some tymes of  
the daye are stricken upp 20 or 25 together which makes such a noyse  
that the place seems to shake with it they being of them 4 foote diameter.*  
Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*

Travelers to the East recorded numerous encounters in which alien sounds impact and infiltrate visiting European bodies. Peter Mundy, an Englishman employed by the East India Company, recalls one such instance in Shah Jahan’s castle at Agra.<sup>1</sup> Mundy’s description of the Emperor’s large drums “shaking” the “Naubatt Conna,” or music gallery—the space of which includes his English body—exemplifies how sounds can be experienced by the human body as palpable, haptic vibrations. The “noyse” of this ensemble also enacts the sonic uncanny to Mundy through its vibrations, making the foreign sounds of the drums familiar as the soundwaves literally “shake” all matter in its proximity: drums, bodies, and—as Mundy describes—the structure itself. This shaking of Agra is echoed in the “rumbling” tangible in the early modern English theater. Plays that stage Eastern locales frequently invoke, if not audibly perform, loud noises—particularly sounds of

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Richard Carnac Temple, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), 2:210.

drums and thunder. In Robert Greene's *Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, drums again function as an uncanny instrument. In this play, they sound familiar martial order in battle scenes and accompany the crowning of regents; however, they are also employed as "rumbling" instruments in order to stage discordant otherness in an Islamic "temple." Yet, in other travel narratives and in William Davenant's *Temple of Love*, Hindu temples were interpreted by English and European travelers as quasi-Christian spaces because they often featured bells—a familiar sonic and visual signifier of Christianity. Thus, these encounters with resonant Eastern instruments were not always rendered in terms that suggested fright at otherness, but sometimes entailed recognition of a familiar instrument in a foreign context.

While theatrical productions and travel narratives both explore sounds of Eastern otherness, they do so in imprecise ways. That is, Greene may not have consulted narratives like Mundy's (which was published decades after the play was probably first performed anyway) for specific details about Eastern temples and their sounds; rather, Greene extrapolated and devised sounds that could create the atmosphere of otherness on the London stage. Greene's play sounds the otherness of the Eastern temple via the kettledrum that, probably unbeknownst to Greene, already had Eastern associations even as it was part of the English soundscape; like many musical instruments, the kettledrum was imported to Europe and England from the East. Although the large bells mentioned in narrative accounts of the East were also a feature of the English soundscape, and were employed in the theater as well, their sonic association with familiar Christian worship made them unsuitable to indicate the alterity of religious difference in the way that the powerful, even deafening, sound of the kettledrum could. As the Portuguese explorer Fernão Lopes de Castanheda pointed out, the form and sound of the bells he noticed in a Hindu temple corroborated his belief that he and his fellow Portuguese had entered a Christian temple. The producers of staged temples did not want to foster this same correlative conclusion; instead, they utilized a drum sound to convey a totally different and frightening otherness through its loud, vibrating noise, rather than the large church bell that echoed the familiar tones of Christianity.

This experience of "shaking" or "rumbling" that Greene sought to create was theorized by early moderns as the socio-musical concept of "discord": these are sounds, though sometimes made by musical instruments, which are decidedly unmusical noises of disorder. As we shall hear, this term

echoes throughout travel narrative records, as well as in stagings of otherness in dramatic entertainments like William Davenant’s *Temple of Love*. What constitutes “discord,” however, is not universal; as the numerous examples from the travel archive demonstrate, “discord” to one culture is mellifluous to another. Regardless of whether the sound is one of “concord” or “discord” to different listeners, or even changing through time like L  ry’s experience of Tupinamba singing as first “frightening” because he perceives it as discordance then “ravishing” as he recognizes the music’s “harmony,” the undulating vibratory wave of sound vacillates between familiar and foreign, and self and other. This creates an assemblage through the wave—whatever the listeners’ reactions to or perceptions of the sounds might be. As Steve Goodman observes, “Vibrations always exceed the actual entities that emit them.”<sup>2</sup> Travel writers often express fear in response to this doubly sonic and haptic experience that was especially tangible in the drum; dramatic productions like *Alphonsus* simulate these sensations through the production of sounds that are staged to induce embodied reactions of fright or surprise in conjunction with the performance of radical alterity. The uncanny wave of sound passing through bodies and matter attunes the body to the same tonality, once foreign though made familiar. Even when rendered as frightening otherness, the sounds of otherness still become part of the English body, whether experienced in a mosque in India or in a Hindu temple staged at the theater in London.

Travelers to the East from England and Europe visited both Hindu temples (termed “mandirs” or “pagodas”) and Muslim mosques (or “masjids”); they even noted when structures, like the Sancta Sophia Mosque in Constantinople, were converted from Hindu to Islam. While the travel archive generally demonstrates a clear differentiation between the sonic dimensions of Hindu and Muslim religious rituals, the theater stages Islam in ways that often echoes the sonic and haptic experience of the Hindu temple, collapsing the distinctions between the two “pagan” religions in the performance of otherness. Specifically, the sounds that incite fear in Hindu temples were approximated in theatrical production, but were also intended to sound the otherness of Islam. In many dramatic entertainments, but especially in *Alphonsus* and *The Temple of Love*, Hinduism is recuperated as near-Christian, while Islam is denigrated as idolatrous. This chapter explores the role of sound in numerous conversions that take place

<sup>2</sup> Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2010), 82.

in Eastern temples, whether they are Hindu pagodas, Muslim mosques, or some pseudo-fictional combination of the two fashioned for the London stage. The sounds of Eastern otherness can instantly shift from familiar tones of order to foreign noises of discord (and vice versa), and the loud, disordered sounds of alterity often exceed the sense of hearing and perceptibly bleed into the sense of touch.

\* \* \*

### SOUNDING DISCORD

Peter Mundy experiences discord at several junctures during his Eastern journeys. Like the shaking from the drums at Agra, he recalls the “discordant” sound of the gong he hears (and probably also feels) in Sumatra: “Another Copper Instrument called a gung, wheron they strike with a little wooden Clubbe, and although it bee butt a small Instrument, not much More then 1 Foote over and ½ Foot Deepe, yet it maketh a Deepe hollow humming sound Resembling thatt of a great bell: all the aforesaid musicke Discordantt, Clamorous and full of Noise.”<sup>3</sup> Mundy here (perhaps unwittingly) invokes the sonic uncanny through his description of the “gung,” for while the “Noise” of the gong is “Discordantt” and “Clamorous,” and his description suggests again that the vibrations of the gong are palpable through its “humming sound” and being “full of Noise,” it is at the same time a familiar enough sound “Resembling thatt of a great bell.” The *OED* defines “discordant” as “not in accord, not harmoniously connected or related; at variance; disagreeing, differing; incongruous.”<sup>4</sup> “Discordant” certainly indicates dissonance, or clash of sound, and is the opposite of harmony, but the concept of harmony is itself culturally mediated and can alter as one’s sonic pallet changes, much as Léry’s did while he was hearing Tupinamba singing. As Mundy’s description implies, and acoustic theory also posits, a sound that is discordant also produces audible and perceptible “waves” that conflict with one another; these are discernable in the soundbyte representative of the sonic uncanny that I include in the Introduction. The discord the travel writers identify is partly a haptic manifestation of these tangible waves; the travelers can perceive, even feel, the soundwaves as vibrations passing through their flesh.

<sup>3</sup> Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 3.273.

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, “discordant,” *adj.* and *n.* 1.a.



In contrast to discord as related to senses of sound and touch, one of the most well-known examples of the concept of Western musical harmony or concord is one that is proffered by Shakespeare's Lorenzo in *The Merchant of Venice*. On the bank near Portia's house, he invites Jessica to "sit and let the sounds of music / Creep in our ears. Soft stillness and the night / Become the touches of sweet harmony" (5.1.55–57). He then explains his understanding of the music of the spheres:

There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st  
But in his motion like an angel sings,  
Still choiring to the young-eyed cherubim.  
Such harmony is in immortal souls,  
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay  
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it. (5.1.60–65)

According to Lorenzo, divine harmony is extant, but not perceptible by mortal ears clad in "this muddy vesture of decay." Lorenzo advances a theory of music that is based solely on harmony and its counterpart, concord, when he states that there is no "man" "so stockish, hard, and full of rage / But music for the time doth change his nature" (5.1.81–82). While Lorenzo's statement that music can "change" the listener's "nature" echoes the concepts of musical assemblages and becomings that are fundamental to this study, he claims that *only* concord has the capacity to properly affect the hearer:

The man that hath no music in himself,  
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,  
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;  
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,  
And his affections dark as Erebus.  
Let no such man be trusted! Mark the music. (5.1.83–88)

Music is here characterized by the "concord of sweet sounds" and is universally understood to "move" the hearer; one with dull and unmovable spirits, who is outside of Lorenzo's schema, is said to be "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils," and should not be trusted. This description is leveled at Lorenzo's father-in-law, Shylock, who had earlier entreated Jessica to "stop my house's ears—I mean my casements. / Let not the sound of shallow fopp'ry enter / My sober house" (2.5.33–35). Yet Lorenzo, with his theory of music that does not account for discord, ironically occupies

the same position as Shylock: his ears, and by extension, body, are also closed to the sounds of what he perceives to be “discordant” otherness, as much as the ears of Shylock’s house are closed to the sounds of Christian celebration, which is discordant otherness to him. One suspects that either character would have a reaction similar to that of Peter Mundy, or even John Smith, who recognize alterity in the sounds of otherness with which they did not wish to identify, and which they attempt to keep far-removed, outside of their bodies. Yet these writers and characters demonstrate that, for all their desires to close their ears, vibratory sounds of otherness still assault bodies and invade them. As Mundy’s description of the gong implies, “Discordantt” sounds can be “Deepe, hollow,” and “humming,” and their waves of dissonance are more physiologically perceptible than the harmonious sounds of concord; this echoes his characterization of the drum sounds at Agra that “makes such a noyse that the place seems to shake with it.” As Lorenzo doesn’t recognize himself, but reminds us nonetheless, discord is a culturally mediated phenomenon, in the ear of the “beholder,” so to speak.

*The Temple of Love*, written by William Davenant and designed by Inigo Jones, is one example of a masque that experiments with the sound of discord in the performance of otherness. Performed at the Banqueting house at Whitehall, this masque featured Queen Henrietta Maria playing the lead role of “Indamora, Queen of Narsinga,” who is instrumental in reestablishing the “Temple of Chaste Love” in the only masque from the period set in India (A2r).<sup>5</sup> Her name, “Indamora,” indicates a love for India, while “Narsinga” is a name for the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.<sup>6</sup> Vijayanagar had fallen to the Mughals only a few years before Davenant wrote his masque. As Richmond Barbour observes, the setting of the masque reflected cultural interest at the time: “In 1635, when King Charles contemplated imperial designs in the East, and the Earl of Denbigh had returned from an embassy to Persia and India, the court beheld an elaborate oriental fantasy composed by Inigo Jones and William Davenant, *The Temple of Love*.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>William Davenant and Inigo Jones, *The Temple of Love* (London, 1634) will be cited parenthetically unless otherwise noted.

<sup>6</sup>Amrita Sen, “Playing an Indian Queen: Neoplatonism, Ethnography, and *The Temple of Love*,” in *Indography: Writing the “Indian” in Early Modern England*, ed. Jonathan Gil Harris (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 209–222, 210.

<sup>7</sup>Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 87.

Prior to Indamora's appearance, the stage is set with a lavish proscenium arch, decorated with "Indian Trophies" including a white Elephant and a Camel, and it also features several "Indian" bodies.<sup>8</sup> Divine Poesie descends to the stage while singing, and is joined, physically and musically, by Poets. They all lament that Magi have enticed "the noblest youth" to "their false Temple," but are hopeful that "*Indamora* with her beauties light, / The truer Temple shall restore to sight."<sup>9</sup> The Magicians then enter and conjure "Spirits," representative of the four elements, who perform an antimasque in an attempt to "hinder Destinie"—specifically, the arrival of Indamora and the restoration of the Temple of Love (B3r). The magicians attempt to corrupt the Persian youths who had set out to find the Indian queen, but the women of Indamora's train eventually arrive and banish the evil magicians.

Like Jonson's *Masque of Queens* that also includes an antimasque presenting strange sounds of discord accompanying the witches, *The Temple of Love* stages an "Antimasque of the Spirits" conjured by magicians, who are "enemies to chaste Love" (B3v, A2r). The antimasque begins with a séance, then dance, of spirits who are later joined by "a Moderne Divell," and his "factious followers" (Cr). The Modern Devil is described as "a sworn enemy of Poesie, Musick, and all ingenious Arts, but a great friend to murmuring, libeling, and all seeds of discord" (Cr). Although no details about the musical accompaniment to the antimasque are preserved in the text, the suggestive word "discord" follows established practices of incorporating sounds of nonmusical otherness, intended to orchestrate a soundscape opposite of the ordered, measured, and harmonious structure that is celebrated at the establishment of the masque proper. Order is signaled in *The Temple of Love* when the true temple is restored by Sunesis and Thelema "having paid their Ceremonies by moving in harmonically and numerous figures"; "harmonically," of course, is antithetical to the earlier-mentioned "discord" (A2v). As in European accounts of Indian music, the "false Temple" is a place where "discord" reigns and resounds.

Yet the false temple is not populated with Brahmans, the Hindu priestly caste, but rather with "Magicians"; instead, the "Brachmani" in this masque attend Indamora and, through their singing, aid in the re-establishment

<sup>8</sup> Axel Stähler, "Between Tiger and Unicorn: The Temple of Love," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998): 176–197.

<sup>9</sup> The quoted material in this sentence is from *The Works of Sr. William Davenant* (London, 1673), 385; the 1634 version cited otherwise is missing this passage.

of the Temple of Chaste Love (A2v). This transposition is odd, given that the Brahmans, or Hindu priests, were sometimes accused in the travel narratives of worshipping the devil when they weren't understood as practicing a strange form of Christianity. The liminal status they occupied between devil worship and Christianity, foreign and familiar, is clarified by Amrita Sen, who argues that the representation of Indianness here entails a combination of fact and fiction. As Sen explains, "writing the 'Indian' in early modern England was often contradictory, oscillating between abstraction and specificity, metaphor and fact."<sup>10</sup> This oscillation is one that also occurs between the familiar and foreign, as those categories shift throughout the space of the temple. Moreover, it involves the recovery of Hinduism under the rubric of familiar Greek terms; even the word "temple" as a translation of the Hindi or Sanskrit "mandir" assumes a homology between Hindu and Greco-Roman. *The Temple of Love* is thus an "Indian" temple with Greek undertones staged in a London theater, and even featuring elements of New World Indians palimpsested onto figures associated with East India.<sup>11</sup>

After a dance performed by "three Indians of quality," who appear in "several strange habits, and their dance as strange," and then a dance of "noble Persian youths," the scene changes into "a new and strange prospect," that of an "Indian Landschape" (C2r). A "Barque of a gracious Antique designe, adorn'd with Sculpture finishing in Scrolwes, that on the poepe had for Ornament a great Masque head of a Sea-God" sails in with the familiar figure Orpheus—representative of divine order and harmony achieved through music—seated in the center (C2v). This uncanny vision, at once familiar and foreign, is accompanied by music that is also uncanny: Orpheus, "playing one straine" upon his harp, "was answered with the voyces and instruments of the *Brachmani* joyn'd with the Priests of the Temple of Love" (C2v). The "Brachmani" sounds are thus domesticated—dare I say "harmonized"?—within a classical Greek framework.

Sounds of otherness have become the familiar sounds of neo-Platonic ideals of order, as the Brahmans' music is recuperated through Orphic

<sup>10</sup> Sen, "Playing an Indian Queen," 210–211.

<sup>11</sup> As Virginia Mason Vaughan notes in "'Salvages and Men of Ind': English Theatrical Representations of American Indians, 1590–1690," in *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492–1700*, ed. Rachel Doggett (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 114–124, 117, Davenant's *Temple of Love* reflects English confusion about the world beyond its shores; it conflates characteristics associated with New World natives (especially feathers) with the flora and fauna of East India."

call-and-answer music. While Sen also recognizes the Brahmans as representative of the uncanny, the singing “Indianized” bodies enact uncanny song on two levels: the Brahmans’ foreign song answers the strains of the familiar figure Orpheus, representative of the pinnacle of musical achievement deriving from Greco-Roman tradition; on the other hand, the harmonious music that represents order was sung by bodies that were likely visually coded as foreign. They sing several songs, the lyrics of which were reproduced in Davenant’s text. The first describes the virtues of Indamora, and the second heralds the arrival of Indamora and the Masquers for the ensuing masque proper. *The Temple of Love* posits that the Temple space is one of discord, but can also be a space of uncanny concord. The music of alterity performed by the Brahmans and Orpheus resounds as pleasing harmony, even as it was likely music composed by an English musician or musicians, and sung by English performers dressed as Indians. Furthermore, unlike many of the Eastern-coded temple spaces, this foreign temple is one emblematic of love—and, as Indamora’s name implies, love for Indians—rather than fear, which was often the emotional response incited by staged representations of Indian temple spaces, and experienced also by travelers who entered Eastern temples.

\* \* \*

### TEMPLE CONVERSIONS

Travelers venturing to the East who found themselves in foreign temples were expecting to find the lost Christian churches of Prester John in the Orient; according to tradition, the apostle Thomas traveled Eastward to what is present-day India to disseminate Christianity, and Prester John became the ruler of this resultant Christian population situated in a predominantly Muslim and “pagan” Orient. Marco Polo wrote about Syrian Christians in southern India, as well as about Thomas’s tomb located at Maabar on the Eastern Coromandel Coast.<sup>12</sup> The Christian community in India was also popularized by *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which states that “This Emperor Prester John is a Christian, and so is the greater part of his land, even if they do not have all the articles of the faith as clearly as we do. Nevertheless they believe in God as Father, Son and Holy

<sup>12</sup> *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Ronald Latham (London: Penguin, 1958), 274.

Ghost; they are a very devout people.”<sup>13</sup> An excerpt from *Purchas his Pilgrimage* demonstrates the endurance of European assumption that there were Christian churches in China: “*Mathaus Riccius* learned of certaine Mogore-strangers, that in the Xensian Prouince, the North part of China, in a place called Xucheo, there are white men with long beards, which use Bells, and worship *Isa*, that is Jesus and *Marie*, and honor the *Crucifix*. Their Priests were married, and cured diseases without medicines. The former part of his report agreeth iustly with that of *Carnalim*, before mentioned in the eighth Chapter, touching Cathay, which Geographers place next hereunto.”<sup>14</sup> Here, the use of “Bells” is linked with the worship of “*Isa*”; this term—an approximation of the Arabic word for “Jesus”—in addition to the bells, provides evidence of Asian Christianity. Because bells were such strong signifiers of Christian religion in the West, their presence in India and China allowed Europeans to assume that the worship practices of certain Eastern peoples were distorted, but still valid, versions of their own Christianity.

Ricci’s experience of Goa as a Portuguese stronghold occurred some eighty years after the initial arrival of the Portuguese in Goa for economic and religious reasons. Vasco da Gama captained the first successful European venture to India, arriving at Calicut in 1498, and gaining commercial access to the lucrative spice trade. One of the accounts of Vasco da Gama’s voyage is the *Roteiro da Viagem*, written by a member of da Gama’s cohort. The author recalls their visit to a “church” in Calicut:

The body of the church is as large as a monastery, all built of hewn stone and covered with tiles. At the main entrance rises a pillar of bronze as high as a mast, on the top of which was perched a bird, apparently a cock.... In the centre of the body of the church rose a chapel, all built of hewn stone, with a bronze door sufficiently wide of a man to pass, and stone steps leading up to it. Within this sanctuary stood a small image which they said represented Our Lady. Along the walls, by the main entrance, hung seven small bells. In this church the captain-major said his prayers and we with him.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. C.W.R.D. Moseley (London: Penguin, 2005), 168.

<sup>14</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1614), 378.

<sup>15</sup> *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco Da Gama, 1497–1499*, ed. and trans. E. G. Ravenstein (London: Hakluyt Society, 1898), 52–54.

While the author lists evidence that the Portuguese had found a Christian church, Sanjay Subrahmanyam explains, "the bird's figure on the *stambha* outside suggests moreover that it was a Vaishnava temple"; however, the Portuguese were expecting to encounter Eastern Christians, so "they were thus willing to see in any structure that was not obviously a mosque, a church of some sort."<sup>16</sup> In addition to the image inside the "church" that supposedly represents "Our Lady," "seven small bells" hang near the entrance to the church, and echo the appearance of bells as a key feature denoting Christian houses of worship.<sup>17</sup> While the building is mediated by thick description and the small image is explained by the fact that the Brahmins "said" it represents "Our Lady," the bells are silent and paid so little narrative attention that they are almost inconspicuous; this may explain why they are not mentioned in other Portuguese retellings about this particular temple visit. But the bells provide corroborating proof that the Portuguese need to confirm that they have found a lost Christian church of Prester John; the lack of description of the bells actually suggests that the Portuguese encountered a homely sign of Christianity that didn't need further textual elaboration because it signified familiarity. The use of this sonic marker in foreign "Christian" worship ostensibly echoes the prominence of the bell in European Christian churches.

Although the text of the "Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama" included in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* does not mention bells in the temple at Calicut, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses* also records the presence of the bells in this Eastern "church."<sup>18</sup> At Calicut, da Gama and about twelve crew members are paraded through the city before they are led to the "Church":

From this place which I have made mention of, the Catuall did carrie him unto a certain Pagode of their Idolls, into which when they were entred, he told him that the same was a Church of great devotion, which the Captaine

<sup>16</sup>Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco Da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 132, 133.

<sup>17</sup>According to Ravenstein, *First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, 54, "These bells are struck by the Brahmins when they enter the temple, but must not be touched by people of inferior castes."

<sup>18</sup>Castanheda's *Historia* was dedicated to King John of Portugal. It was translated by Nicholas Lichfield and printed by Thomas East in London in 1582 as *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales*; Lichfield dedicated his version of the text to Francis Drake.

generall beleueed to be true, & to be some church of the Christians, & therefore he gaue the more credit thereunto, the rather for that he saw yt over the principall dore thereof, there hanged seuen little bells, & afore the same was a pillour made of wier, the which was as high as the mast of a ship, upon the top thereof there stooode a wether cock, made likewise of wier. This church was as great as a good Monestary, and was made all of free stone, and couered or bouted over with bricke, which gaue an outward shewe, as thought within side it shoulde be verye faire workmanshippe. Our Captaine was very glad to see the same, for that he thought himself to be among Christians, and entering within this Church with the Catuall, they were received by certain men.<sup>19</sup>

Once again, the bells provide concrete evidence that the explorers are in a Christian church, for as Castanheda explains, da Gama's belief that he was approaching "some church of the Christians" was authorized by the fact that "he saw yt over the principall dore thereof, there hanged seuen little bells."

But in Castanheda's retelling, da Gama's certainty is contrasted with his fellow travelers' reservations. While da Gama "thought himself to be among Christians," the decisively different worship practices in Calicut caused some of the Portuguese to rethink their assumption. After the company was besprinkled with "Holy water" and "Holy Ashes" of Calicut, they entered the Church and saw "many Images painted vpon the wal, where of some there wer that had great teeth, which appeared to be so monstrous that they were of an inch of length without their mouth. Others ther wer that had foure armes, & therewith wer so ill fauoured, that they seemed to be very diuells, that which sight made our men stand in doubt, whether the same wer a Church of Christians or no."<sup>20</sup> One of the men expressed his doubts after an Image was identified as the Virgin Mary:

they made a signe to the Image, naming the same our Lady, giving therby to understand that it was hir Image. The Captain generall supposing the same to be true, fell vpon his knees, with the rest of the company making their praiers: but one whose name was Iohn de Sala, being in doubt whether the same church wer of christians or not, for that he saw so monstrous Images painted on the wals, as he fel on his knees said, If this be the diuel, I worship god. The Captaine Generall that heard him say so, looking vpon him laughing.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Lichefield, *First Booke*, 42.

<sup>20</sup> Lichefield, *First Booke*, 44.

<sup>21</sup> Lichefield, *First Booke*, 44–45.



Portuguese laughter erupted in the space of the Indian "church" and echoed off the sacred temple walls, as fears of their presence in a diabolic space abated.

Despite evidence to the contrary noted by John de Sala, da Gama was unwilling or unable to renounce the assumption that the Portuguese were in a Christian space. As Glenn J. Ames argues, the Portuguese were inclined to provide Indians with every opportunity to demonstrate they were practicing a "strange or lapsed" form of Christianity; they were also seeking allies against Islam.<sup>22</sup> For da Gama and his men, the encounter with an Indian "church," complete with bell, was an uncanny experience. The sight (though, not sound) of the bell, signaled a familiar Christian house of worship, but they were greeted inside with a foreign otherness—like the "Holy Water" and "Holy Ashes" of Calicut—that came in close contact with their own bodies. In addition to the "logical" alliance against Islam that Ames identifies, it was likely easier for the Portuguese to conceptualize the foreign difference they experienced under the rubric of familiar Christianity, allowing them to retain their Christian identity without the threat of permeating religious difference. In other instances, however, the bells were still aligned with Christianity even as they were recognized as being employed in non-Christian forms of worship. For example, the Dutch merchant, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten relates that at a Hindu Pagoda, "they rung a little Bell, which they had gotten of the Christians," to assemble worshippers.<sup>23</sup> Apparently the practice of incorporating larger "Christian" bells into ritual practice in India was not unusual: Portuguese bells hang at Bhimashankar Temple and at the Shiva temple in Baneshwar.<sup>24</sup>

Although the travel writers misunderstood the significance of the bells in Hindu temples, bells are integral to Hindu worship; they are rung to

<sup>22</sup> In "Serving God, Mammon, or Both?: Religious *Vis-à-vis* Economic Priorities in the Portuguese *Estado Da India*, c. 1600–1700," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86.2 (2001): 193–216, Glenn J. Ames, 194, adds, "Da Gama, after viewing the temples and icons of Malabar for three months was still willing to consider the inhabitants Christian. The great travelers Pires, Barbosa, and Castanheda all found elements in Hinduism that either paralleled Christianity or suggested that it had once been a Christian sect lapsed under the pressure of Islam."

<sup>23</sup> Cited in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), 83.

<sup>24</sup> In Baneshwar hang two large bells that Chimaji Appa collected after he emerged victorious against the Portuguese from Vasai Fort at the battle of Bassien in 1739; these are described in Harish Kapadia, *Trek the Sahyadris* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing, 2004), 62.

commence the religious service, or pooja, as well as at points throughout the ceremony. The Sanskrit word for bell is “Ghantā” or “Ghanti,” and this term can refer both to the larger bells that hang from the temple roofs, and to the smaller handbells.<sup>25</sup> Satis Coleman notes that the sound of the bells serve many purposes in the Hindu temple, as they “call the attention of the gods” when they are sounded by worshippers.<sup>26</sup> Besides turning the ears of gods and human to worship, the sonority and timbre of the ringing bell is significant: Hindus believe that the bell sounds the name of the deity by making the tone “Om.”<sup>27</sup> The ringing of the bell that invokes the deity is not only a sonic representation of the deity, but also it sounds the very name of God. This divine sounding, moreover, enmeshes bodies of the worshippers in the vibratory sound of the bell, especially as the chant accompanying the bell’s ringing describes the process of the bell’s sounds resonating inside and outside of the body. Ringing the holy bell that calls the deity’s name actually vibrates bodies and temples with that holiness, and the bell’s vibrations are believed to drive out evil forces.

<sup>25</sup>The *Grove Music Dictionary* states that “The suspended bell with interior clapper is an essential element of the Hindu shrine: hung at the gateway of small open shrines or, in the large temples, in the foyer leading to the inner sanctum, it is rung by each approaching worshipper to invoke the deity. In the larger temples they can be very large.” Alastair Dick, “Ghanta,” *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.51700>, accessed 15 June 2018.

<sup>26</sup>Satis Coleman, *Bells: Their History, Legends, Making and Uses* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1928), 335.

<sup>27</sup>Radhika Krishnakumar and Swamini Vimalananda in *Indian Culture* (Mumbai: Chinmaya Mission, 2004), 44–46, write that “The ringing of the bell produces what is regarded as an auspicious sound. It produces the sound *Om*, the universal name of the Lord. There should be auspiciousness within and without, to gain the vision of the Lord who is all-auspiciousness.... As we start the daily ritualistic worship (pooja) we ring the bell chanting

*Agamaarthamtu devaanaam  
gamanaarthamtu rakshasaam  
Kurve ghantaaravam tatra  
devataahvaahma lakshanam*  
I ring this bell indicating  
the invocation of divinity,  
So that virtuous and noble forces  
enter (my home and heart);  
And the demonic and evil forces  
From within and without, depart.

Both Hindu and English or European bodies are vibrated by this sound, as Peter Mundy relates. During his travels in South China, Mundy also encounters a "Pagoda or China Church" with a bell:

Wee went to a Pagode of theirs, a reasonable handsome building and well tyled. On the chiefe place of the Altar sate an Image of a Woman of More then Ordinary biggnesse, having on her head an ornament somewhat Resembling an Imperiall Crowne. Nextt withoutt her, off from the Altar, stood 2 greatt statues of Mandareenes with Fannes in their hands, without them 2 other Images of Mandareene, and outermost of all 2 evill Favoured ugly Feindlyke Figures. Of each of these there stood of each side one like a guard a good space [?between] the 2 ranckes. Before the altar their burned a lampe and there stood Divers Frames, like greatt standing Cuppes of 4 or 5 Fotte hight, whereon they burne incense, pevetts, etts., perfumes, with many small Candles sticking in sundry places. There hung a bell within the said pagoda of aboutt 4 or 5 hundred-waght, off Cast Iron (or perhaps some other mixture with itt), on which they strike on the outt side with a little wooden Clubbe; it resembled our Europe bells, but not soe broad brymmed.<sup>28</sup>

As is often the case with Mundy's writing, his descriptions of sonic otherness are an uncanny blend of the familiar via simile and the utterly foreign; while certain statues are characterized as "evill Favoured ugly Feindlyke Figures" that suggest the diabolic and the various scents of incense and perfumes are ethnographically described without comment, the huge bell is compared and contrasted with "our Europe bells." For Mundy, the bell in this temple is at once familiar like the "Europe bells," though differentiated by the fact that they are "not soe broad brymmed." The French gem merchant, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, also describes the pagodas in India; near Bezwada (present-day Vijayawada in southeast India), where "all the people are idolators," with the exception of a few "Muhammadans," there is a square, domed pagoda with an idol in the center.<sup>29</sup> He writes of the idol, "its head is covered by a triple crown, from whence proceed four horns, and it has the face of a man turned toward the East. The pilgrims who come for devotion to these pagodas, when entering, join their hands together and carry them to their foreheads, then they approach the idol waving them and repeating many times (the words) *Ram, Ram, i.e.* God,

<sup>28</sup> Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 3.190–191.

<sup>29</sup> Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. V. Ball (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), 262.

God. When they are close they sound a bell thrice, which is suspended from the idol itself, of which they have previously smeared different parts of the face and body with various colours.”<sup>30</sup> Here the bell is directly connected to “the idol itself,” which is kept inside the resonant space of the pagoda, its sounds calibrating the idol and the bodies who ring the bell on the same frequency.

Although the English and European travel writers are sometimes confused or ambivalent about the bells they encounter, Hinduism did not present the threat of transmuting religious otherness that Islam did. Amrita Sen writes that “the perceived nonviolent nature of the Gentiles or Hindus, and their priestly sect, stand in opposition to the Moor,” especially as the Hindus did not actively seek to convert Christians, while the Muslims are described as constantly converting Christians throughout the travel narratives.<sup>31</sup> Hindu sounds, especially the ringing of a large bell, are understood as recuperable within a familiar framework largely because of the initially perceived similarity between the Hindu and Christian worship. Another factor was the “time” of Hinduism: as Edward Terry and others note, the Hindu religion predated Islam in India. As an older religion, the age of Hinduism aligned it more closely with the time of classical Greece in the early modern English imagination, just as the sounds of the Brahmans are aligned with Orpheus’s music in *The Temple of Love*. The differences between the two religions were tangible to early modern travelers; writers including Ralph Fitch differentiate between Muslims and “Gentiles,” his term for Hindus.<sup>32</sup> However, while capable of distinguishing between the two groups of peoples, Fitch didn’t always choose to do so: Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean point out that, “In recording his travels in the Mughal Empire, for instance, Ralph Fitch formally distinguished Muslims from Hindus—or ‘Moors and Gentiles’—but regularly collapsed the distinctions into generalization such as the following: ‘Here be manie Moors and Gentiles. They have a very strange order among them, they worshippe a cow, and esteeme much of the cowes dought to paint the walles of their houses.’ Clearly aware that Muslims and Hindus are not the same, Fitch had no interest in understanding the differences between them, but was rather intent on blending both into a common ‘they’ who occupy a shared ‘strange order’ in which religious

<sup>30</sup> Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 263.

<sup>31</sup> Sen, “Playing an Indian Queen,” 215.

<sup>32</sup> Edward Terry also uses this terminology.

practices are clearly idolatrous and smelly if not distinctly bestial."<sup>33</sup> As with the various tribes of "New World" peoples collected under the capacious and imprecise—and deeply offensive—term "savage," Fitch uses "they" to collapse distinctions between Hindus and Muslims. Like Fitch, Edward Terry informs his readers of the relationship between the Hindus and Muslims: "the inhabitants of Indostan, they were anciently Gentiles, or notorious idolaters, called in generall Hindoos; but ever since they were subdued by Tamberlaine, have beene mixed with Mahometans."<sup>34</sup> However, Terry performs the same kind of conflation when he then describes "Indian" music; it is unclear whether he is hearing Hindu or Muslim music (or even some combination), but regardless, he does not like it: "They delight much in musicke, and have many stringed and wind instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord"; "discord" is once again the sonic marker of East Indian alterity.<sup>35</sup>

When religious differences were accurately recognized by the travel writers, one obvious disparity was the fact that while Hindu temples—interpreted as Christian churches—were visited frequently, Islamic mosques were often forbidden spaces for Christian travelers. Richard Wragge records that he sees a mosque near the Sultan's seraglio, but not that he enters it.<sup>36</sup> Fynes Moryson also describes the gorgeous exteriors of several mosques at Constantinople and the contents of the sepulchers, but not the interior of the houses of worship.<sup>37</sup> In addition to the fact that Christians were forbidden to enter mosques,<sup>38</sup> the English and European Christian bodies likely deliberately kept themselves separate from the space of infectious Muslim worship, especially as Islam and Christianity were

<sup>33</sup> Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 194; quotation from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 3:286.

<sup>34</sup> Cited in William Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels in India: 1583–1619* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1968), 307.

<sup>35</sup> Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 309.

<sup>36</sup> Cited in Kenneth Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 54.

<sup>37</sup> Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient*, 140.

<sup>38</sup> Besides the strong evidence that suggests many Christian visitors to the East shunned Islam, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 301, states that in the Mosques, "They suffer not a Christian to enter therein: and yet will they enter into the Churches of the Christians to heare the Church-musicke," which reflects the attitude that Christian music was so superior that Muslim ears were drawn to hear it.

perceived as competing against one another, even while sharing a similar Abrahamic ancestry.<sup>39</sup>

Yet, several Muslim mosques were known to early moderns, made familiar to English readers through translations of travel narratives largely written by French writers, like Pierre d'Avity, Nicholas de Nicolay, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, John Chardin, and Francois Bernier, who engaged in the Eastern jewel trade.<sup>40</sup> While Christians were prohibited from entering practicing mosques, travel writers describe strategies to avoid this road-block. Vincent le Blanc records that at Mecca, "The Christians are not admitted into the Mosque, they view it onely through the gate in disguise, you are not sooner entred but you see *Mahomets* Tomb upon your left hand."<sup>41</sup> Disguise, or becoming-Muslim through wearing appropriate-looking clothing, was one solution; bribing the guards was another tactic. Jean Dumont practiced this strategy, stating that "[t]he Keeper of the Temple was easily brib'd to permit me to satisfie my Curiosity with a distinct view of all the Curiosities I have describ'd," although sometimes the presumed caprice of guards prevented bribery from working.<sup>42</sup> Dumont also describes the dangers to Greek Christians and Jews at the Sancta Sophia Mosque in Constantinople: "Tis true, indeed, they are expresly forbidden to grant that favour to *Christians*; and the permission which is sometimes given to *Franks*, is only an effect of their Indulgence:

<sup>39</sup> Even the histrionic Thomas Coryate turns the sounds of the Islamic faith, the proclamation of Mahomet, against that very faith in his Christianized rendition; according to Edward Terry, cited in Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 315, Coryate "got up into a turret, over against the priest, and contradicted him thus in a loude voice: *La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Elm-Alla*: No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God; and further added that Mahomet was an impostor; which bold attempt in many other places of Asia, where Mahomet is more zealously professed, had forfeited his life with as much torture as tyrannie could invent."

<sup>40</sup> Pierre d'Avity, *The estates, empires, & principalities of the world*, translated into English in 1615 by Edward Grimestone. Nicholas de Nicolay, *The navigations, peregrinations and voyages made into Turkie* (London, 1585), 53. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who traveled extensively in India in the mid- to late-1600s, describes the mosque of the Great Mughal in Jahanabad as gilded, appearing as a structure of "massive gold" (*Travels in India*, 101). John Chardin visited an abandoned mosque near Tauris (*The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies*. London, 1686), 356. And, Francois Bernier, the Frenchman who was a physician to Aurangzeb, likewise notes the "noble appearance of the building" in his account of the Jama Masjid at Delhi. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668*, ed. A. Constable (Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1891), 279.

<sup>41</sup> Vincent le Blanc, *The World Surveyed* (London: 1660), 17.

<sup>42</sup> Jean Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant* (London, 1696), 154.

For if a *Greek* or *Iew* were found in the *Mosque*, he wou'd either be immediately put to Death, or constrain'd to save his Life by renouncing his Religion."<sup>43</sup> According to Dumont, the danger of forced conversions keeps Christian and Jewish bodies out of the mosques. These kinds of threats, often associated with Islam, coupled with the fact that mosques were off-limits to Christians, explain why they were staged with multisensory effects in the early modern period—the theater allowed a virtual experience of the interior of Eastern temple spaces.

The splendid architecture of the Sancta Sophia Mosque was noted by many, including Guillaume-Joseph Grelot in *A Late Voyage to Constantinople*. While his eyes were pleased by the temple, his ears were decisively not. Grelot writes, "Upon great Festivals and during Bairam, you shall have a whole consort of these Cryers all in one Gallery baulling their *Alla Hechers* in different tones, like so many Cats upon the Tiles; which to the *Turks*, that know no better, sounds more pleasantly than the *Scotch* Bagg-pipes to a Foot Company."<sup>44</sup> The Turks do not possess the refined ear that Grelot does; he equates their enjoyment of sounds to mewling cats and loud bagpipes. As Jean Dumont notes in his thorough description of the pharaonic architecture of the Sancta Sophia Mosque in Constantinople, it was a converted temple:

At the four Corners of the Building where the Vault begins to be round, the *four Beasts* mention'd in the *Apocalyps*, are painted in *Mosaick*; only the *Turks* have disfigur'd their Faces, as they have also done to an Image of *Our Saviour*, which is over the principal Door, represented after the *Greek* Fashion, upon a Throne, with his Hand lifted, and two of his Fingers stretch'd out, to bless a *Saint*, who lies prostrate before him, with his Face on the Ground, the *Virgin* appearing on the other side. Over the same Door there is also a *Basso-Relievo*, representing the *Holy Ghost* in the form of a *Dove*, which the *Turks* have not in the least disfigur'd. The Tomb of

<sup>43</sup>Dumont, *New Voyage*, 154.

<sup>44</sup>Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople* (London, 1683), 186. Grelot, 187, notes the piercing volume, recalling "Now though it is impossible their Cryers should make such a noise with their throats as the Bells with their Clappers, yet in regard there are no Coaches at *Constantinople*, and few of those Trades that deafen the eares, their Voices being clear and strong may be heard a great way, even to the mo[s]t remote Quarters of the City, and into the Fields adjoining, where I have heard them my self at a good considerable distance." Thomas Herbert also describes the loud vocalizations in *Some years travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique* (London, 1638), 256–257.

*Constantine* remains also intire, which the *Turks* hold in great Veneration; as well as the Stone on which the *Virgin* wash'd *Our Saviour's* Linnen.<sup>45</sup>

Elements “after the Greek fashion,” were palimpsested with newer “Turkish” alterations that disturbed the European visitors. The Sancta Sophia Mosque was an Eastern Orthodox Church converted into a mosque in 1453 when Constantinople was conquered by the Ottomans under Sultan Mehmed II. The building was altered in conjunction with its new religious affiliation, and it was the first imperial mosque of Istanbul.<sup>46</sup> Robert Baron’s 1647 play, *Mirza a Tragedie, Really Acted in Persia*, also describes the conversion of Sancta Sophia to a “*Mahometan Mosque*” in the notes that accompany the third act.<sup>47</sup> The transformation of the Sancta Sophia mosque paralleled the fear that Christian travelers had of “turning Turk,” both as it was represented in the travel narratives and as it was staged repeatedly in the early modern theater.<sup>48</sup> The Christian body—edifice or human—believed itself to be seriously threatened by conversion to Islam. The conversion of the church of Sancta Sophia to a Muslim Mosque, like the conversion of Hindu temple spaces recorded in the travel archive, may have inspired playwrights to conflate various religions in the staging of temples.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Dumont, *New Voyage*, 154–155.

<sup>46</sup> Please refer to Gulru Necipoğlu’s *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).

<sup>47</sup> Robert Baron, *Mirza a Tragedie, Really Acted in Persia* (London, 1655), 211–212.

<sup>48</sup> Consult Nabil Matar’s “‘Turning Turk’: Conversion to Islam in English Renaissance Thought,” *Durham University Journal* 86 (1994): 33–41; Daniel Vitkus’s *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Matthew Dimmock’s *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005).

<sup>49</sup> Travelers observed that many Muslim temples in Turkey and India were converted structures. In addition to the mosque at Tauris, Tavernier, *Collections of Travels through Turkey into Persia* (London, 1684), 23, notes that “[t]here is another Mosquee, which was formerly a Church dedicated to St. *John* Baptist, where they say one of his Hands was preserv’d a long time.” Although he conflates the Hindu pagoda with the Muslim mosque, Ball, 153, states that Tavernier is referring to the Jami Masjid built by Muhammad Kuli in 1518 (Quli-Qutbul-Mulk). Tavernier surmises “it will be the grandest in all India if it should be completed.” A few Muslim mosques were converted Hindu temples; as William Finch observes, much of Muslim India had a Hindu past (“all India hath been Gentiles” formerly; cited in Foster, *Early Voyages*, 170). Although he gets some of the names confused, Finch writes that in Mandu “stands a goodly meskite”; although a grand structure, it “was taken, partly by force, partly by treason” (Foster, *Early Voyages*, 141). Archaeological evidence confirms the fact that many temples were co-opted by the Muslims. For a comprehensive (and perhaps, con-



Remarkably, however, the sounds of the two religions were typically not conflated: bells were often associated with Hindus or “Gentiles,” but not with Muslims. This fact is echoed in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, where the terms “*Sophian Temple*” and “*Meschit*” are used interchangeably when describing the alterations Sancta Sophia sustained: “The Turkes, when they turkefied it, threw downe the Altars, turned the Bells into great Ordinance, and either tooke away the Images, or put out their eies, for (say they) God, and not walls and pictures, is to be adored.”<sup>50</sup> Muslims did not use bells in worship, as this anecdote makes clear. Furthermore, these bells have been weaponized, transformed from musical instruments into “great Ordinance.” This practice is mentioned in Robert Wilson’s *Three Ladies of London* (c.1581), one of the earliest plays to feature a “Turke” on stage. The Jewish merchant, Mercadorus, enumerates his list of commodities traded overseas, which include “Leather, Tallow, Beefe, Bacon, Belmettle, and euery thing”; Mercadorus’s “Belmettle” is likewise used to “make ordinance.”<sup>51</sup> Matthew Dimmock notes, “most obviously ‘prohibited’ by the provisions of the papal Bull amongst these goods is ‘Belmettle’, a conspicuous by-product of the Reformation ... that the English were described as exporting to the Ottomans” in various diplomatic reports.<sup>52</sup> S. A. Skilliter provides further insight into the practice, stating “Bells, because of their association with Christianity, have always been forbidden in Islamic communities, and broken ones such as these, to be made into cannon for use against blasphemers, would seem to be the ideal export from one idol-destroyer to another.”<sup>53</sup> Metal that resounded with reverberations emanating from Christian churches was transformed into explosive weaponry that produced the sounds of warfare.

Whether or not they were transformed into ordinance, bells were not sounded in Muslim mosques, a fact observed in several travel writings, including Edward Terry’s narrative. Terry records in his 1622 observations, included in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, that at the “Masquits,” “the Moolaas ascend certain times of the day and proclaime their prophet Mahomet thus in Arabian: *La Alla illa Alla, Mahomet Resul-Alla*; that is:

troversial) overview, please refer to Arun Shourie and Sita Ram Goel’s *Hindu Temples, What Happened to Them: A Preliminary Survey* (Columbia: South Asia Books, 1990).

<sup>50</sup> Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 298.

<sup>51</sup> Robert Wilson, *Three Ladies of London* (London, 1590), B3v.

<sup>52</sup> Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 98.

<sup>53</sup> S. A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 75.

No God but one God, and Mahomet the ambassador of God. This in stead of bells (which they endure not in their temples) put the most religious in minde of their devotion.”<sup>54</sup> The association of bells with Christian, rather than Muslim, worship is noted also by Bajazeth in Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*: “Now will the Christian Miscreants be glad, / Ringing with joy their superstitious bells / And making bonfires for my overthrow.”<sup>55</sup> More likely than a concern for accuracy in theatrical production, however, was the fact that the bell was a too-familiar feature of the English or European soundscape to suggest Islamic—or even “Indian”—alterity.

Although bells were among the casualties of the Protestant Reformation in England, they still rang strong; as Christopher Marsh notes, “The ringing of church bells was one of the most familiar and compelling sounds to be heard in early modern England. ... the bells that were destroyed by zealous reformers were heavily outnumbered by new additions.”<sup>56</sup> The German traveler Paul Hentzner described the English as “vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells; so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise.”<sup>57</sup> Despite the Reformation, bells were so prominent in England that the country earned the sobriquet “the ringing island.” Bells marked festival, temporal, seasonal, and life events in the soundscape of England.

As a visual and sonic sign that provides false positives for Europeans in quest of Eastern Christianity, the bell is an instrument that creates confusion by its uncanny nature, since it is interpreted visually and sonically as a familiar sign, but a sign that ultimately points to a foreign otherness. But why wasn’t foreign otherness represented sonically in theatrical entertainments by the use of this perfectly uncanny instrument?<sup>58</sup> After all, certain

<sup>54</sup> Foster, *Early Voyages*, 315.

<sup>55</sup> Part I, 3.3.236–238. Citations to *Tamburlaine, Part I* are from *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. David Bevington (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002).

<sup>56</sup> Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 454.

<sup>57</sup> Cited in David Klein, *Milestones to Shakespeare: A Study of the Dramatic Forms and Pageantry* (Westport: Twayne Publishing, 1970), 106.

<sup>58</sup> One notable example is William Percy’s *Mahomet and His Heaven*, which may not have actually been staged, according to Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 56. When Epimenide enters heaven, Belpheghor, the “Porter of Heaven,” exclaims: “Let down the Portcullis, / knaves, call together the warders up all, Ring all the Belles in the skies a / Toxen.” (4.4.7–9). A “toxen”

theaters did have a large bell among their inventories. Irwin Smith, for example, states that the indoor Blackfriars Theatre owned a bell that sounded alarums, and was rung in the roof rafters.<sup>59</sup> An “alarum bell” was also likely employed at court and in the early modern public theater; John Fletcher’s *Island Princess*, for example, calls for that kind of bell to sound twice.<sup>60</sup> Bells were multipurpose and multisignifying instruments in the contact zones of foreign spaces, as well as in theatrical productions; in fact, there were several different kinds of bells that were sounded in the theater; Henslowe’s inventory includes “ii stepells, & i chime of belles, & i beacon.”<sup>61</sup> Katherine Hunt argues that “a ‘steple’ was a large bell that approximated the rich sound of a tower bell, and a ‘becon’ was a bell specifically for alarm.”<sup>62</sup> So, while an acting company might have had access to bells that would approximate, or at the very least sonically signify the sound of church bells (like the bells of St. Paul’s mentioned in both *Twelfth Night* and *Shoemaker’s Holiday*), they were not often used in the theater to signify alterity because they sounded too familiar. That is, the more familiar sound of the bell that was used to approximate sounds endemic to the English soundscape would not have sounded radical alterity necessary to stage Islamic otherness. Even as the Hindu Pagoda bell did not signify in quite the way European travelers expected, it was interpreted as evidence of an almost-familiar Christian religion through the tones of the bell that rang familiar. The sounds of Islam, however, did not.

\* \* \*

or “tocsin” is a loud peal of bells, here associated with a Muslim heaven. *William Percy’s Mahomet and His Heaven: A Critical Edition*, ed. Matthew Dimmock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

<sup>59</sup> Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse: its History and its Design* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 419–420, notes that “a great bell that served as an alarm bell” was used in *Alphonsus of Germany*, *The Cardinal*, *The Island Princess*, *A Wife for a Month*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Mayor of Quinborough*.

<sup>60</sup> John Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, in *Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.1.1sd and 2.3.31sd.

<sup>61</sup> Cited in Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage: 1574–1642*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 187. Please refer also to Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 219–220.

<sup>62</sup> Katherine Hunt, “Jangling Bells Inside and Outside the Playhouse,” in *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, ed. Bill Barclay and David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 71–83, esp. 76–77.

## THUNDERING TURKISH DRUMS

While the sight and sound of the bell was interpreted as a sign of possible Christianity, the sounds of Islamic otherness—often represented in the travel narratives by the loud noises of ordnance or war-drums—were repudiated because they induced a frightening otherness in non-native hearers. The noise of both ordnance and drums resound throughout *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), a compilation penned by a man who “never left Britain or learned Turkish.”<sup>63</sup> One of the greatest sourcebooks the English had for information about the “Turks”—a term, which MacLean and Matar observe was conflated with both Islamic religion and Ottoman imperialism<sup>64</sup>—was Richard Knolles’s “best-selling and much reprinted” volume, the product of twelve years spent researching the chronicle histories.<sup>65</sup> Sounds described as “Thunder” or “thundering” appear at least sixty-eight times in the text, and often in conjunction with descriptions of ordnance: to cite one particularly vivid example, at Guletta,

The great ordinance in manner of a great earthquake so terribly roared and thundered, that the earth seemed not onely to tremble and quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in sunder and swallow them vp: and the sea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to rise aloft, and to rage and fome as if it had been in a great storme: at which time the aire became thicke, and the skie darkened with the smoke of the great artillerie: from the breake of the day vntill noone the roaring cannon and culuering neuer ceased.<sup>66</sup>

Similarly, at Tripolis, “The Bassa was no sooner set downe, but all the ordinance of the fleet was discharged with such a noise and thundering, that it seemed the heauens and skies did shake.”<sup>67</sup> Describing Mahomet’s siege of Scodra, Knolles writes, “the great ordinance continually thun-

<sup>63</sup> Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, 17.

<sup>64</sup> MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 32. Also, “After the loss of Byzantine Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman forces of Mehmed II, Muslims generally became known as ‘Turks’ regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, while fears that the invincible Ottoman armies threatened to overwhelm Europe spread like the plague,” according to Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1.

<sup>65</sup> MacLean, *Looking East*, 56.

<sup>66</sup> Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), 660.

<sup>67</sup> Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 755.

dred, churches and houses came ratling downe, yea the heauie countenance of the ayre it selfe seemed to bewaile the miserie of the poore Christians: besides, the noise of trumpets, drums, and other instruments of warre, with the horrible crie of the hellish Turkes, was so great and hideous, that it seemed as if heauen and earth should haue gone together: nothing was to be heard but the verie terrour of the eare.”<sup>68</sup> Knolles frequently mentions the “trumpets and drums” as “instruments of war” throughout his text, which produce exceptionally loud noises.<sup>69</sup> In this, he may have been inspired by John Mandeville—who himself borrowed from Odoric—in associating the sounds of large drums called *nakers* with fear experienced in Eastern locales, a connection Mandeville draws in his description of passing through the Vale Perilous. Knolles writes that during the Great Siege of Malta, at the assault on Fort Saint Michael, “The thundering of the great ordinance, the noise of the small shot, with the clattering of armour, and noise of trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, with the crie of men on both sides, was so confused and great, as if heauen and earth should haue beene confounded together.”<sup>70</sup> These textual descriptions characterize the soundscape of Turkish war in terms that include “roaring,” “ratling,” and “thundering,” meant to express the overwhelmingly loud sounds of weaponry and drums.

However, another set of words that accompanies these descriptions of forceful sound is tactile in nature: “tremble,” “quake,” and “shakes.” These terms imply a visceral component, which indicates that these sounds are so penetrative that they not only “terrorize the ear,” but are also experienced by those present as physically tangible vibrations that shake the air, “heaven,” and all matter—including bodies present—at the battles. The use of loud sounds described in Knolles’s text is resonant with Steve Goodman’s theory of “sonic warfare”: Goodman describes the modern practice of “attacking with sound instead of munitions,” but this strategy was, according to Knolles, a tactic used by “Turkish” others, especially in the combined assault via sound and munitions in warfare.<sup>71</sup> Yet, Knolles’s text echoes the reports of various travel writers. In a particularly sensory account of the way that sonic vibrations affect bodies and environments,

<sup>68</sup> Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 422–423.

<sup>69</sup> Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 195.

<sup>70</sup> Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 810.

<sup>71</sup> Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2010), 19.

Nicholas de Nicolay writes that at Tripoli, “The Bascha was no sooner set down, but al the ordinance of the gallies, foists & galliots of the army (being in al 140. besides the great gallion and 2. Mahumetz) was discharged, with such a noise & thundring, that it seemed the heauens & skies did shake”—Knolles may have cribbed de Nicolay’s description of the “thundring” ordnance that “shakes” the skies and realms beyond in his own *Generall Historie*.<sup>72</sup> In his retellings, Knolles’s noisy text highlights the deafening sounds of cannons, along with the loud sounds of instruments and the metaphoric resonance of thunder: these three sounds represent the loudest sounds that would have been produced in the early modern period, before industrialization and electronic amplification of sound, and were sounds wielded by Oriental others to induce “terror” in those who encounter them.

Travelers of the peripatetic variety, rather than just those of the armchair persuasion like Knolles, also record their experiences of the dominating sounds of otherness—often sensed in percussion instruments—throughout their travels in the Orient and Near East. Peter Mundy is one of the only English travel writers to link the sound of the drum with Hindu worship. At Benares on his way to Agra, Mundy observes a censuring ceremony: “I went into their Dewra [*deura*] or Church, where within a raile was an Image [of Kali] as black as a Cole, resembling a woman apparrelled in Silke, etts. Before it stood a Bramman burning incense to it, using certaine Gestures. Without stood the musick, *vizt.*, a kettle drum, 5 or 6 beateing on brasse platters, another bloweing in a great sea shell [*sankh*, conch] like a Triton, altogether makeinge a Tirrible noyse. This they continued whilest hee within made Incense, I say all theis were within the raile.”<sup>73</sup> Akin to the “Tirrible noyse” Mundy identifies, Thomas Herbert describes the deafening loudness of the drums as an unpleasant experience: when he and his company prepare to enter Larr (Lar in present-day Pakistan), Herbert recalls that “neere the Citie a *Persian*, out of a Poetique fury thundred vs a speech of welcome, and thereupon the Kettle-drums and other their lingling Instruments stroue to deafe vs.” As they enter Spawhawn (Isfahan in Persia, the capital city that flourished under the Safavid dynasty), Herbert again records the noises he experiences, which include the sound of the crowds shouting coupled with “aboue fortie Kettle-drummes and Tabrets.”<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> de Nicolay, *Navigations*, 27.

<sup>73</sup> Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 2.175.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of some Yeares Travaile* (London, 1634), 67.

Edward Terry writes that the "eastern armies" are noted for their sounds: "The musicke they have when they goe to battell is from kittle-drums and long winde instruments."<sup>75</sup> Even the sounds of "Oriental" Christian worship were accompanied by loud, strange noises, as William Lithgow observes in the Easter celebration at Christ's Tomb Church: six thousand people "compassed the Chappell of the holy Graue nine times; holding in their hands, burning Candles, made in the beginning pittifull and lamentable regréetings, but in the ending, there were touking of Kettle-drummes, sounding of horne-trumpets, and other instruments, dauncing, leaping, and running about the sepulchre, with an intolerable tumult, as if they were all mad, or distracted of their wits."<sup>76</sup> These narrative accounts record the unpleasant sensation of experiencing sound so loud it becomes tangible as vibration, especially poignant when produced by foreign others. Jonathan Burton observes, "at a time when England had no standing army and feared Spanish invasion, texts describing the cruelty and barbarism of the warlike Turks controvert themselves with praise of the Turks' enviable military discipline," and—I would argue—both fear and admiration of their mechanisms for sonic warfare.<sup>77</sup> As in Knolles's representations, these narrative accounts frame the sounds of otherness as thunderous, assaulting not only the ears in terrifying ways, but also sending palpable vibrations indicative of a frightening otherness coursing through European bodies that can't escape the encompassing noise of these sounds.

Even in the musical treatise *Syntagma Musicum: De Organographia*, Praetorius expresses disgust at the music of "Mahomet," stating, "There are in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Greece no surviving traces of any ancient instrument, since Mahomet, in establishing his tyrannical regime, fiendish religion, and degraded inhuman barbarism, forbade throughout his whole domain not only the liberal arts, servants of civilized society, but anything at all that could make people happy, like wine or the music of strings. In place of these he ordained a satanic bell and drum, along with the buzz-chirp-wail of shawms. This music is highly esteemed among the Muslims,

<sup>75</sup> Cited in Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 315.

<sup>76</sup> William Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke* (London, 1616), 105. Abraham Hartwell, who translated Giovanni Tommaso Minadoti's *The History of the Warres Betweene the Turkes and The Persians* (London, 1595), also mentions "Drums" and the "thundering" sounds of ordnance are peppered throughout the text.

<sup>77</sup> Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 25.

and is used at holidays and merrymakings, as well as in war.”<sup>78</sup> Praetorius even describes the soundscape that accompanies the conversion ceremony: “When a Christian has decided to become a Muslim, and is to be circumcised, he is mounted on a fine horse and led through the whole town to the sound of shawms and drums. Even today this wretched music is highly esteemed by the Turks, whereas our music is despised as worthless.”<sup>79</sup> An unwillingness to engage with the sounds of otherness that Praetorius characterizes as opposite of “our” Christian music leads to the description of these sounds as “satanic” “noise,” thundering outside of acceptable meanings and patterns of Western, Christian music. As suggested by Praetorius’s treatise, the fright generated by the loud noises of both weapons of ordnance and the drum as a weapon of sonic warfare was overlaid onto the threat of religious conversion as well. MacLean and Matar observe that “many writers, theatre-goers, and sailors conflated Muslims with ‘Turks’, and the repeated confusion of terms led to a superimposition of the Ottomans’ imperial danger onto religion so that Islam became synonymous with Ottoman military expansion.”<sup>80</sup> Both military prowess and threat of conversion become resonant in the European traveler’s experience of the drum.

As these texts imply, Turkish or Ottoman drums produce visceral effects in those who encounter these instruments. Expressed in the sound of these drums was a pronounced alterity experienced in moments of cross-cultural interactions during which Europeans encountered “Indians” both in the East and West.<sup>81</sup> Because the drum, even in its various sizes and forms, became recognized as an instrument common to various peoples, its tonality sounds uncanny; drums were familiar instruments heard often in England in warfare, and for more quotidian reasons, like alerting London crowds to the latest plays being mounted at the public theaters.<sup>82</sup> At once strangely foreign and oddly familiar, the drum can easily disorient

<sup>78</sup> Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia Parts I and II*, trans. and ed. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 6.

<sup>79</sup> Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, 6.

<sup>80</sup> MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 32.

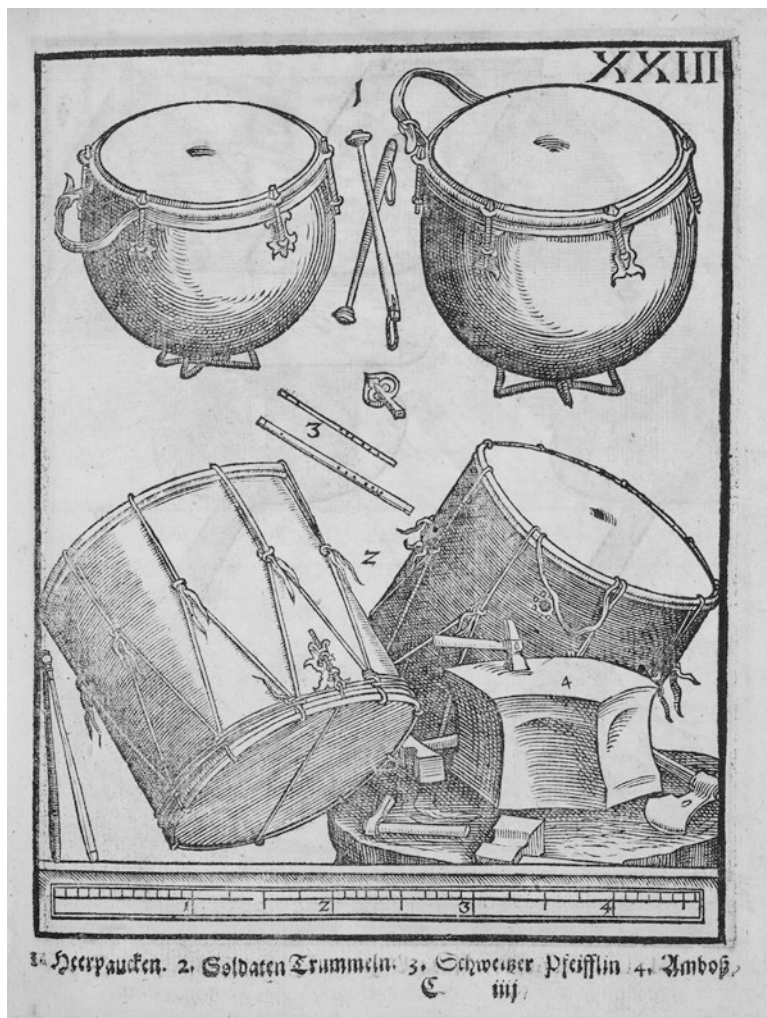
<sup>81</sup> To cite one example of drums in the West, Jose de Acosta in *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, trans. Edward Grimestone (London, 1604), 356, mentions “drummes” used by the “Mexicaines” on processions to their “temples.”

<sup>82</sup> Besides trumpets, used for similar purposes, “the attention-grabbing qualities of the drum were used out on the streets in order to publicise performances, and again within the theatre for a variety of sound effects,” according to Marsh, *Music and Society*, 131.



its listeners who recognize the familiar and foreign sound simultaneously in its pulse-waves. However, the percussion instrument invoked in these descriptions of Turkish and Oriental otherness was not the double-membrane drum, or what we would recognize as an ancestor to the modern snare drum, but was the kettledrum, a larger instrument capable of producing thunderous sounds, and recognized and named as such in Herbert’s, Lithgow’s, and Terry’s narratives above. Though both snare and kettle drums are membranophones with resonant bodies that produce sound when struck with a mallet or stick, they feature distinct constructions and produce very different sounds. The side or snare drum consists of a cylindrical body that has two membranes, likely made from vellum or animal skin, attached to seal each open end of the cylinder. Snares, or stretched animal gut, were secured across the diameter of the lower membrane; the snare and the tightened membranes produced the “snare” sounds when the upper membrane (the playing head) is struck with drumsticks. These drums were portable and were often carried into battle via a strap slung over the neck or shoulder of the drummer. To English and European ears, its use would have sonically signified familiar elements of warfare and royalty.

Kettledrums, by contrast, were large metal cauldrons over which a single membrane was stretched, and the membrane was struck to produce sound (Please refer to Fig. 1 and the sound recording accessible through QR Code 1). This material construction alone would have sounded otherness compared to the snare drum; while the double-membrane snare drum would produce the clipped, percussive sound associated with military signals or keeping proper metrical time in music, the copper kettle-drum with a single membrane extended over the opening of the drum’s parabolic body would have produced a more resonant, “rumbling” or “rattling” sound like that described in the travel narratives. Because these instruments were different from those belonging to English and European military forces (at least in early encounters), the loud volume of these dominating sounds of Eastern otherness was noted throughout the travel archive. Although his study focuses on multiple time periods generally outside of the Renaissance, Goodman’s description of the power of bass sounds is particularly resonant with the early modern Eastern kettledrum, especially as it could produce lower-frequency sounds: “Bass figures as exemplary because of all frequency bands within a sonic encounter, it most explicitly exceeds mere audition and activates the sonic conjunction with amodal perception: bass is not just heard but is felt. Often sub-bass cannot



**Fig. 1** The kettledrum, with the copper kettle, animal skin membrane, tension pegs, and mallets, is pictured at the top of this image (labeled “1”), while the side or snare drum is featured in the bottom (labeled “Z” or “2”). Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia* (1620), Plate XXIII. By kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Douce P 710



QR Code 1 Kettledrum

be heard or physically felt at all, but still transforms the ambience of a space, modulating its affective tonality, tapping into the resonant frequency of objects, rendering the virtual vibrations of matter vaguely sensible.”<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, low-frequency vibrations can have devastating effects on human bodies; Goodman writes, “Early attempts to develop sonic weapons focused on the physicality of low-frequency sound and the fact that it dissolves completely into tactile vibration at frequencies around 20 hertz. Below this threshold lies the field of infrasound. Infrasonic phenomena, unlike ultrasound, maintain their power as they pass through a range of media. ... certain infrasonic frequencies plug straight into the algorithms of the brain and nervous system. Frequencies of 7 hertz, for example, coincide with theta rhythms, thought to induce moods of fear and anger.”<sup>84</sup> The quality of sound produced by instruments like the large kettledrum provoked fright, especially for those who were not initially familiar with these loud sounds of otherness.

Not only were these instruments terrifying through their penetrating waves of sound, the drums are described as mobilized in early modern accounts. Peter Mundy describes the sonic component of the procession of Shah Jahan, the Great Mughal, as he rides through Agra to observe Bakrid or Eid al-Adha in June 1632. Mundy writes that in a procession “came 12 paire of Copper Drummes on 12 Eliphants, the heads of some of them are 4 foote diameter, covered with red Cloth, which they went

<sup>83</sup> Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, 79.

<sup>84</sup> Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, 18. Suzanne G. Cusick in “Music as torture / Music as weapon,” *TRANS* 8 (2006). <http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/152/music-as-torture-music-as-weapon>, accessed on 14 July 2017, discusses the use of weaponized music employed in modern American warfare against post-Cold War enemies, including Panama and Iraq, as well as in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo.

beating a leasurely stroake, jumpeing altogether.”<sup>85</sup> Mundy even provides an illustration and description of the “Progress of Shah Jahan in 1632” that shows drums mounted on elephant and camels. Later in the same account, Mundy again comments on the large size of the drums, although he may overestimate the weight of the instruments: while traveling with a caravan near Chaksu, in Northeast India, the group pauses to celebrate the New Year:

The 9th of March 1632/3. Wee made an other moccame [halt] by reason the Ckaun [Khan] did solemnize his Nourose [New Year’s Day] aforesaid with all the Magnificence the way could afford, as by shooteing off his shutternall or Cammell peeces (because they are fittend on Cammells backs), in number 16, beating of Drumms, whereof hee hath with him 6 or 7 paire, to be carried on Eliphants backs, of which one parie weigh 16 Maund Jehangueere, which is neere 1000 [lb.] weight English, sounding of his trumpets, haveing by report when hee came from Oreshawe [Orissa] drums of silver and trumpets of gold, which now the King is possessed of, as also Jewells and 9 great Eliphants.<sup>86</sup>

Besides being carried by elephants, these large drums were also placed on camels; the player rode the animal and beat the drums. In his description of the ambassador of Persia going to see Selymus, “the Great Turke,” Knolles writes, “he was accompanied also with two hundred knights all apparrelled in cloth of gold, with foure hundred Persian marchants, in all aboute seuen hundred persons; with a thousand nine hundred beasts, camels, mules, and horses; fue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a seuerall cammell, fue Nacars, three trumpets, fue flutes, and other instruments, in all about thirtie musitions, playing vpon these instruments.”<sup>87</sup> Besides their use in processions, drums mounted on camels and/or elephants were also used in warfare; several images, including these two details from the *Akbarnama*—the authorized chronicle of Akbar’s reign—depict drums carried in this way (Figs. 2 and 3).

Leo Africanus records a similar practice at Fez, although the drums were carried on horses instead of elephants or camels:

<sup>85</sup> Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 2:199.

<sup>86</sup> Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 2:236–237.

<sup>87</sup> Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 836.



**Fig. 2** Detail from *The Victory of Qutb ad-Din Khan over Muhammad Husain Mirza at Gujarat*, by La'l and Dhanun, from the *Akbarnama*, showing kettledrums mounted on an elephant. Watercolour. Pakistan and India, 1590–1595. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London





**Fig. 3** Detail from *The Battle Preceding the Capture of the Fort at Bundi in Rajasthan in 1577*, by Tulsi Kalan, from the *Akbarnama* showing kettledrums mounted on a camel. Watercolour. Pakistan and India, 1590–1595. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The drummers (of whom there are great store in the kings host) plaie vpon certaine drums of brasse as bigge as a great kettle, the lower part whereof is narrow, & the vpper broad, being couered with a skin. These drummers ride on horsebacke, hauing alwaies on the one side of their horses a great waight hanging downe, to counterpoize the heauines of their drums on the other side.... The said drums make such a loude and horrible noise, that they are

not onely heard a farre off, but also strike exceeding terrour both vpon men and horses, and they are beaten onely with a buls pizzle.<sup>88</sup>

After certain festivals, Africanus writes, "there followeth so great a solemnitie, and such a thundering noise of drums and trumpets throughout all Cairo, that a man would suppose the whole citie to be turned vpside downe."<sup>89</sup> Africanus observes the haptic effects of the drums, which precisely echoes those described in *Sonic Warfare*: the drums "strike exceeding terrour" in those who hear them. In the illustration from Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbarnama*, Fig. 4, Mughal kettledrums are played while Mirza Sulayman is driven out from Kabul by the Mughal army; the situation of the drums in this turret would amplify their rumbling sounds. The kettledrum could produce much louder, more vibratory sounds than a British or Continental snare drum could; it is no wonder that their sounds are perceived as so frightening, especially because they physically overwhelm native and non-native bodies, infecting them with both fear and otherness.

Though associated with various Eastern spaces and groups of peoples including "Turks" and "Moors," kettledrums (or "timpani" as they came to be known) were also familiar instruments in the Renaissance English soundscape. As Jeremy Montagu posits, various sources record "that timpani were used with trumpets during Queen Elizabeth's reign."<sup>90</sup> David Lindley writes that "trumpets and drums were actually played indoors at court to herald the monarch's movement about the space, and to accompany meals."<sup>91</sup> For example, at Greenwich, Queen Elizabeth dined while "twelve trumpets and two kettledrums" played, causing the hall to "ring" for a half-hour with the music.<sup>92</sup> They were also heard outside of the court and theater in England, to the chagrin of some. Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, for example, describes the morris dance as a noisy event due to both

<sup>88</sup> Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (London, 1600), 163. The practice of carrying kettledrums on horses is recounted also in Ferdinand J. De Hen, *Musical Instruments in Art and History*, trans. Bill Hopkins (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1968), 110.

<sup>89</sup> Africanus, *Geographical Historie*, 313.

<sup>90</sup> Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 47.

<sup>91</sup> David Lindley, "Music in the English Theatre of 1616," in *1616: Shakespeare and Tang Xianzu's China*, ed. Tian Yuan Tan, Paul Edmondson, and Shih-Pe Wang (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 222–234, 222.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 111.



**Fig. 4** *The Flight of Mirza Sulayman from Kabul*, by Madhav and Bhagwan, from the *Akbarnama*. Watercolour. Pakistan and India, 1590–1595. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



bells and drums: "then haue they their Hobby-horses, dragons & other Antiques, together with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike vp the devils daunce withal, then marche these heathen company towards the Church and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps dauncing, their bels iynghing, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heds like madmen."<sup>93</sup> This passage describing the "thundering Drummers" again metaphorically aligns the drum's sound with thunder according to the familiar iteration of loud noises experienced as haptic. George Ferrers, the Lord of Misrule for 1551/1552 and 1552/1553, similarly notes the importance of the drum to the morris dance in his preparations for the festivities: "I haue provided one to plaie vppon a kettle drom with his boye and a nother drome with a fyffe whiche must be appareled like turkes garments according to the patornes I send you herwith on St. Stephens daie."<sup>94</sup> Ferrers is explicit that one of the drums is the larger "kettle drom" that requires a "boye," who was likely needed to carry the drum on his back so the player could beat it. He also dictates that these musicians (including another drum and fife player) should appear in costumes that look "like turkes garments." Ferrers's association of the kettledrum with the East through performers attired in "turkes garments" provides both visual and sonic signifiers of the Eastern origin of the kettledrum, an instrument that arrived to Europe, and eventually to England, from the East during the crusades.<sup>95</sup>

Kettledrums were originally called "nakers" in English, a sonic approximation of the Arab word for the instrument, *naqqâra*.<sup>96</sup> The smaller *naqqâra* produced a rhythmic beat that was ideal for ensemble performances; however, as Geiringer notes, these petite instruments were the forerunners of larger war-drums described in the travel narratives surveyed here. Early in the sixteenth century, the *naqqâra* evolved into "large hemispherical,

<sup>93</sup> Phillip Stubbes, *Anatomic of Abuses* (London, 1583), M2r.

<sup>94</sup> Cited in John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458–1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 113. Forrest cites Feuillerat 1914, 89–90.

<sup>95</sup> De Hen, *Musical Instruments*, 110.

<sup>96</sup> David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 32. Karl Geiringer, *Instruments in the History of Western Music* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1978), 61, states that the instrument came to Europe with the Saracens in Middle Ages; at that time the *naqqâra*, or tiny kettledrums, were shaped like a cauldron with an animal skin membrane stretched over the top, in size "scarcely bigger than the fist" before they grew into the size of modern timpani, and "always appeared in pairs."

copper cauldrons over which a calf-skin was stretched.”<sup>97</sup> As Jeremy Montagu argues, “there is no doubt at all” that the kettledrum “came into Europe from the east. There are many illustrations, from Turkey to Persia (and thence to India), of pairs of kettledrums mounted on horses, camels or elephants, and such illustrations even go back as far as the *Cantigas*.”<sup>98</sup> Echoing Odoric’s account of the “great fear” he experienced at hearing “nakers” in the East, in the *Vale Perilous*, John Mandeville mentions hearing “nakers” and “trompettes” in Richard Pynson’s 1496 English translation.<sup>99</sup> Performance upon multiple pairs of kettledrums as part of a celebration appears also on the cover image of this book. While this miniature painting was produced by Akbar’s royal atelier, its manuscript provenance is less certain: Jan Marek and Hana Knížková argue that it may be from the *Kitab-i Changeznama* (“Book of Jenghiz Khan,” also called *Chingiz-nama*), a version of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* written at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the Ilkhan vizier, Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb; this text was translated into Persian, the literary language of the Mughals, in the sixteenth century. According to Marek and Knížková, this image depicts the festivity that occurs after the legendary Oghuz Khan conquered the territory from the Talas River to Bukhara.<sup>100</sup> As the mythological founder of the Turkic peoples, Oghuz Khan is also credited with the restoration and dissemination of Islam throughout Turkic cultures.<sup>101</sup> This image, however, contains more information about Mughal culture than it does about early Mongolian culture: writes Jan Marek, “the Indian miniature painters can tell us nothing about life in Iran under the rule of the Ilkhans. They show us, however, the way the Muslim conquerors of India lived at the end of the sixteenth century.”<sup>102</sup> At the very least, this

<sup>97</sup> Geiringer, *Instruments in the History of Western Music*, 88; Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 33.

<sup>98</sup> Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion*, 42.

<sup>99</sup> Reference to Odoric comes from Henry Yule, ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1866), 157, 158; Richard Pynson [ *The boke of Iohn Maundeuyle* ] (1496), sig. iir. Wynken de worde’s 1499 English edition also mentions the “hydeous” “noyse” of the “nakers” (lxxxxvir).

<sup>100</sup> Jan Marek and Hana Knížková, *The Jenghiz Khan Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great*, trans. Olga Kuthanová (London: Spring Books, 1963), 4. The title of this image given in Marek’s and Knížková’s version of the text is “King Oghuz on his Throne in the Gold Tent Celebrates his Conquest of the Territory from the River Talas to Bokhara and its Conversion to Islam” (4).

<sup>101</sup> Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992).

<sup>102</sup> Marek and Knížková, *Jenghiz Khan Miniatures*, 17.

image depicts large drums being played by multiple performers who do not appear to strike the beats at precisely the same time, suggesting complex rhythmic patterns the players perform together in celebration, like that which occurred at Akbar’s court; if representative of Oghuz Khan’s victory, it also aligns the booming sounds of kettledrums with the prosperous flowering of the Islamic religion.

As Leo Africanus’s account makes clear, the purpose—and effect—of these instruments was to terrify their owners’ opponents through the sound’s inescapable volume, which must have carried a great distance; from a sonic standpoint, the naker had a stentorian, booming, and resonant timbre due to its metal base, which could viscerally shake its listeners. Sebastian Virdung, who in 1511 wrote about the sonic impact of these instruments, stated these were “monstrous rumbling barrels [*Rumpelfessern*] which the Devil himself must have invented for the suppression of all sweet melodies and the whole art of music.”<sup>103</sup> These exceptionally loud drums could easily dominate the soundscape of any environment, drowning out other sounds through the beating of the membrane that produced extreme soundwaves resonating from the metal body of the drum. Virdung’s dismissive description of the drum relays two claims that are especially relevant to this chapter: the drum not only produces a loud “rumbling” sound, both forceful and undulating, but it also “must have” been invented by “the Devil himself,” thus signifying the diabolic. These points are not mutually exclusive, as Virdung posits and as theater practitioners employed the drum’s sound on the early modern stage: drums’ rumblings in particular resonate as sonic indicators of otherness, often coded as diabolical. These drums fail to signify in a logo-centric way, exposing the paradox that is inherent in the drum sound: it is both ordered, as its beats can keep measured time, and disordered because of its loud, uncontrollable noise that invades bodies.

\* \* \*

### “DRUMS RUMBLE WITHIN”: SOUNDING ISLAMIC OTHERNESS IN THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH THEATER

Harrowing sound was a dimension of “Turkish” otherness employed in the early modern playhouse to indicate the radical alterity of Islam in temples and during scenes of conversion. This tendency seems to have gained traction in England with Parts 1 and 2 of Christopher Marlowe’s

<sup>103</sup> Cited in Geiringer, *Instruments in the History of Western Music*, 88.

*Tamburlaine the Great* in 1587–1588. Although the noise of drums are not called for explicitly in the stage directions (though Cosroe commands “strike up drum!” (2.6.36) and the Sultan of Egypt remarks to the King of Arabia, “Let your sounding drums / Direct our soldiers to Damscus’ walls” (4.3.61–62), which imply embedded cues for drums to sound at these points), loud noises are invoked throughout the text.<sup>104</sup> For example, the Prologue to the play opens by directing the theater audience’s attention to the particular timbre of Tamburlaine’s voice—“you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine / Threat’ning the world with high astounding terms” (4–5)—and Mycetes immediately states that the matter of Tamburlaine he must discuss “requires a great and thund’ring speech” (1.1.3). Later, the Sultan of Egypt directs the people of Memphis to “Hear the clang / of Scythian trumpets, hear the basilisks, / That, roaring, shake Damascus’ turrets down” (4.1.1–3). Although, technically, the sound of the trumpets and cannons known as “basilisks” would not reach Memphis from Damascus, the sounds of cannon are imagined as loud enough to both “shake Damascus” and be of such substantial volume to audibly reach from Syria to Egypt. In other dramatic works too, “thunderous” sound is used metaphorically throughout, as it is in John Mason’s *The Turk A Worthie Tragedy* (London, 1610), in which “drums” and “thunder” are employed as a similes and metaphors, but are not indicated by the stage directions as actual sound effects. While Shakespeare doesn’t stage a temple scene in *The Winter’s Tale*, he makes the audience privy to Cleomenes and Dion’s discussion of their visit to Apollo’s oracle on their way back to Sicilia. Conflating Delphi with the “isle” of Delphos, Cleomenes observes that the “temple” they visited was “much surpassing / The common praise it bears” (3.1.2–3). He further observes, “But of all, the burst / And the ear-deaf’ning voice o’th’ oracle, / Kin to Jove’s thunder, so surprised my sense / That I was nothing” (3.1.8–11). As in *Tamburlaine*, the noise of foreign otherness is rendered as “ear-deaf’ning,” relating to “Jove’s thunder,” and producing the effects of “surprise” and even fear. Staging the East in early modern London required, at the very least, a verbal description of the bombastic, loud sounds of foreign otherness.

In other instances, performance on physical drums played a crucial role in sounding Islamic otherness in the playhouse. *Soliman and Perseda* (1592/1593, attributed to Thomas Kyd) calls particularly for “*the Drum*”

<sup>104</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine, Part I*, in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. David Bevington (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002).

to sound in the printed stage directions.<sup>105</sup> *The Famous Historye of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley* (1605) has cues preceding and during the "battle of Alcazar" that indicate loud disorder: "Drum soundeth and a Bagpipe," and "Auncienr [*sic*] Drums and soldiers, a noises within of driuing beasts."<sup>106</sup> Perhaps similarly, Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (1612) stages "a confused noise of music" as part of the dumb show of the pirate John Ward's conversion; because kettledrums had been associated with Eastern otherness in theatrical performance for at least two decades by this point, the "confused noise" described by the stage directions likely included the sound of kettledrums (8.11sd). In *The Renegado*, the character Asambeg claims, "In me great Amurath spake! / My voice did echo to your ears his thunder" and the stage directions feature "*A dreadful music*," in which the "thunder" invoked in the text was probably performed in part by kettledrums.<sup>107</sup>

Thomas Goffe's *The Raging Turk*, as its title suggests, stages the sonic component of otherness through orotund language and "thundering" sounds of radical alterity. There is hardly a page of the play-text that does not contain reference to "noyse," thunder, drums, their "ratling," "roaring" sounds, or the "rayling" of the characters themselves.<sup>108</sup> In lines reminiscent of Knolles's *Historie*, one character in *The Raging Turk* states that "euery crackling thunder of the heauens / Speakes the shrill echo of the *Turkish* drummes," metaphorically aligning these noises because they sound so similar (B2r). Later in the play comes the command to "strike vp our Drummes, / Let them proclaim destruction through the world," in which case the sound of the drums is particularly meant to terrify their opponents (C2v). Baiazet echoes this sonic dimension of fear, claiming, "I'de rattle such new torments in their eares"; "rattle" was a descriptor particularly associated with both thunder and kettledrums (E4r).<sup>109</sup> Selymus further equates drums with war, stating, "Sleepe *Hungary*, I'le not breake off thy reest / With the vnwelcome Musick of my Drummes" and "I'de face them drum to drum" in battle (I2v, I3r.). The stage direc-

<sup>105</sup> TLNs 971 and 2212, *Soliman and Perseda*, attributed to Thomas Kyd, ed. Lukas Erne, Malone Society edition (Oxford: Manchester University Press, 2014).

<sup>106</sup> *The Famous Historye of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, attributed to Thomas Heywood (London, 1605), E2v, E3r.

<sup>107</sup> Philip Massinger, *The Renegado* (London, 1630), 2.5.33–34 and 5.3.44sd.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas Goffe, *The Raging Turk* (London, 1631), B3v.

<sup>109</sup> In her description of Antony, Cleopatra states that "He was as rattling thunder" (5.2.85).

tions don't explicitly call for drums to sound until they are required twice at end of Act 4; the second stage direction reads "*Drums sounding, A confused noyse, with clashing of armour*," which indicates the use of drums in conjunction with "a confused noyse," and which may have been similar to that staged in the dumb show of *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (K2r). In the final scene of *The Raging Turk*, Solyman revises his father's obsession with drums: "Let our armes be steely bowes, our arrows / Thunderbolts, and in stead of warlike Drummes, / Thunder shall proclaime black destruction" (Ov). Selimus proclaims, "Were I great *Baiazet*, I'de ring a noyse / Of spightfull horror, that should make the grovnd / Tremble beneath their weight at such a sound"—a resonant echo of the shouts of the citizens that cause the Tiber to tremble in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and also of the palpable force of the soundwave outlined in Goodman's *Sonic Warfare* (B4r). Like *The Raging Turk*, *The Coragious Turk*, or *Amurath the First* highlights the vibratory nature of sound: in one instance, "The tops of *Caucasus* and *Pindus* shake, / With every cracke of thunder" (G2r).<sup>110</sup> Amurath's final words before he dies are "And with this groane, like thunder will I cleave, / The timorous earth, whilst thus my last I breath[e]" (Ir). Of course, in the early modern London theater, the sound of thunder was sometimes precisely the sound of kettledrums; in Ben Jonson's Prologue to *Every Man in his Humor*, the speaker describes the "tempestuous drum" that "rumbles" to stage theatrical storms.<sup>111</sup> John Melton wrote in 1620 that at a performance of *Doctor Faustus* at the Fortune "Drummers make Thunder in the Tying-house."<sup>112</sup> And, in discussing the relative range of sound in early modern England, Bruce R. Smith notes, "One of Barnabe Rich's apothegms proclaims, 'A Drummer is the pride of noyse, for he puts downe all but thunder.'"<sup>113</sup> In all of these examples, the noise of drums is equated with thunder; because the kettledrum had the capacity

<sup>110</sup> Thomas Goffe, *The Coragious Turk, or Amurath the First* (London, 1631).

<sup>111</sup> Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humor* (London, 1616), lines 19–20. John Cranford Adams, *The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 371, writes that the "thunder-machine" "was used in conjunction with the music-gallery kettle drums when the prompt-book called for a tempest, a 'fearfull storme,' or a 'Boisterous Hurricano.'"

<sup>112</sup> John Melton, *The Astrologaster, or, the Figure-Caster* (London, 1620), E4r. As has been noted by several scholars, the Red Bull was associated with loud noises. *The Six Days Adventure, or, The New Utopia* (London, 1671) admonishes its audience, "remember that the Red Bull writers, with their Drums, Trumpets, Battels, and Hero's, have had this success formerly" (A4v).

<sup>113</sup> Bruce R. Smith, *Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 57, citing a 1619 text.

to produce rumbling, not-necessarily-metrical sounds that sonically approximated thunder—unlike the snare drum that had a more clipped, percussive timbre—the kettledrum is likely the instrument evoked in these descriptions and required in the theatrical representations enumerated above.

Drums were undoubtedly an essential stage property. Their importance to the theater included various roles: as visual and sonic props integral to the plot (like Parolles's quest for a drum in *All's Well that Ends Well*), part of the musical consort that accompanied interludes in performance (such as the morris dance in *Two Noble Kinsmen*), accompanying the appearance of royalty on stage (in *Macbeth*, 1.3, the witches state, "A drum, a drum / Macbeth doth come"), constituting the soundscape of war (stage directions in various plays include "Alarum," "sennet," "tucket," and "Drum and colours,"), and creating other sound effects, like storms (which I discuss further in the chapter "'Something Rich and Strange': Global Listening and *The Tempest*"). According to Henslowe's Diary, the Admiral's Men owned a drum, among other instruments.<sup>114</sup> Although stage directions typically only indicate "drum," without specifying the kettledrum, the stage directions for the 1605 Q2 *Hamlet* call for "trumpets and kettle drums" to enter before the dumb show, and Hamlet and Claudius both mention the kettledrum by name at different points during the play.<sup>115</sup> Of this stage direction in *Hamlet*, Montagu questions, "did Shakespeare's frequent demands for a tucket or sennet (English for *toccata* and *sonata*) when sounded by trumpets, as if often indicated, included timpani? One would like to think so. Certainly it did so in *Hamlet*."<sup>116</sup> As Montagu suggests, the wide range of the kettledrum's sounds were probably heard more often in the early modern theater than has been realized.

Theatricalizing the East through sound—particularly through the loud rumble of the kettledrum—viscerally shook the English audience calibrated on an Eastern frequency of frightening otherness. While not set in

<sup>114</sup> Cited in Harris and Natasha Korda, *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 335–336. While Robert Greene's work was associated with Queen Elizabeth's Men who played at the Bel Savage Inn and the Bell Inn, Henslowe likely bought Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* when Queen Elizabeth's Men were in decline, so the drum mentioned in this very inventory may have been the one used in the performance of *Alphonsus*.

<sup>115</sup> William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (London: 1605), STC 22276a; G4v, Dr, and N4r.

<sup>116</sup> Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion*, 48.



the East, *Coriolanus* employs the metaphoric description of “percussion” as thunder and its somatic effects on the battlefield, which further demonstrates the awareness of haptic vibrations: Lartius recalls of Martius “... with thy grim looks and / The thunder-like percussion of thy sounds, / Thou mad’st thine enemies shake as if the world / Were feverous and did tremble” (1.5.29–32).<sup>117</sup> In the theater, the thundering of the large kettle-drums causes the environment and the elements within the assemblage formed by sound to actually shake or tremble as a result of the overpowering noise; a highly resonant space, like the “wooden O” of the Globe or other early modern theaters, would conduct the palpable waves of sound to bodies seated and standing in the auditorium. I echo Richmond Barbour in positing that the tangible threat of experiencing the sounds of otherness, even those “contained” in the English theater, provoked embodied reactions in the audience: “yet as Stephen Gosson, Philip Stubbes, or William Prynne might have insisted, thus to theatricalize ‘the East’ did not contain its danger. On the contrary. To decipher oriental pomp as insubstantial display magnified the necessarily attendant threats of theatre itself,” especially when theatrical sound has the capacity to transmit and access otherness through loud noises of drums that infiltrate English bodies in the theater in ways that mimic their penetrative capacity on the battlefield.<sup>118</sup>

One play in particular attempts to literally shake the theater audience through violent, perceptible rumblings of Islamic otherness produced by kettledrums. While Robert Greene’s *Comicall History of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* has been critically dismissed as a failed, cheap imitation of Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, the dramatic scene that prefigures the discord in *The Temple of Love*’s antimasque and the alterity of a foreign temple space merits further study because this scene deliberately employs loud sounds to perform a frightening otherness on the early modern stage. The “temple” in *Alphonsus*—so-called by “Mahomet” in his initial speech—is an Islamic mosque, although the terminology applied to this setting certainly suggests Hindu and Greek undertones; yet, the temple is presented and sounded in a manner vastly different from the temple in Davenant’s *Temple*

<sup>117</sup> Cominius in the same play compares the sound of thunder with the sound of a drum: “The shepherd knows not thunder from a tabor / More than I know the sound of Martius’ tongue / From every meaner man” (1.7.25–27).

<sup>118</sup> Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, 29.



of *Love* (4.1166).<sup>119</sup> *Alphonsus* explores the uncanny relationship between the apparently dichotomous terms "harmony" and "discord" by staging an unusually noisy play replete with theatrical battles, coronations, and a temple visit, all of which are accompanied by the loud rumbling of kettledrums.

Although loud, disordered sounds surge throughout the soundscape of *Alphonsus*, the performance of "ordered" music commences the play. The Muses, Greek goddesses of the arts and sciences, take the stage: "*Enter Melpomine, Clio, Errato, with their sisters, playing all vpon sundrie Instruments, Calliope onely excepted, who coming last, hangeth downe the head, and plaies not of her Instrument*" (1.40sd). Like Orpheus's harp music accompanying the Brahmans in Davenant's masque, the Muses' performance is emblematic of the order and measured structure of the arts through musical metaphor. Although the stage directions don't state what particular instruments the Muses play, we may assume that they are the typical instruments of the broken consort available to English theaters. These include "our strings" that Melpomine mentions, which would indicate viols and lutes, along with the "pipe" to which Calliope refers (1.56, 72). The character Venus invokes the trope of music as order when she refers to the Muses as musicians "Whose harmony doth very far surpasse / The heauenly Musick of *Appolloes* pipe!" (1.42–43). Apollo, like Orpheus, was known for his achievement of perfect proportions of harmony, which renders his music "heavenly." Yet, Venus also recognizes the Muses' "harmony" that surpasses Apollo's is not quite realized since Calliope is not playing her pipe in concert with the others. Venus encourages Calliope: "Then sound your pipes, and let vs bend our steps / Vnto the top of high Parnassus hill," in order "to describe *Alphonsus* warlike fame ... in the maner of a Comedie" (1.98–99, 100–101). The rest of the play is founded on the music of Calliope's pipe, again suggestive of the order that would be established once the broken consort of musicians is completed.

The remainder of *Alphonsus* stages the rise to power of Alphonsus, who is the rightful heir to the kingdom of Aragon, and who must reclaim his throne from Flaminius. Alphonsus joins forces with Belinus, King of Naples, kills Flaminius, and wins back his kingdom to the chagrin of Belinus, who desired the crown of Aragon for himself. Alphonsus then

<sup>119</sup> Citations are from *Alphonsus King of Aragon, 1599*, edited by W. W. Greg (Oxford: Malone Society, 1926) and will noted parenthetically.

wages war against Belinus and is fairly successful, able to crown Laelius King of Naples, Miles the Duke of Milan, and Albinus (who also turned against Belinus) the King of Aragon. Alphonsus gives up his Aragon crown because he has higher aims, specifically for the Turkish Empire; as he states, “*Alphonsus shall possesse the Diadem / That Amurack now weares vpon his head*” (3.762–763). At each of these crownings, as well as in the staging of the battles, the stage directions dictate “*Sound Trumpets and Drummes*” (3.729sd, 735sd, 774sd). David Lindley notes that drums were used, along with trumpets, in “signalling the entry of kings, emperors, and others of high status, and imitating the sounds of war.”<sup>120</sup> As with the music performed by the Muses in the Induction scene, these sounds would have been sonically legible as indicative of order to an early modern audience, even as the drum sounds could be employed to create “disordered” and nonmusical noises—a later feature of the play’s soundscape.<sup>121</sup>

The measured order that opens *Alphonsus*, and that has been sonically signaled by drums at Alphonsus’s various coronations, is contrasted with the noisy disorder called for in the temple scene. Before the arrival of the triumvirate sent by Amurack to attack Alphonsus, the audience is able to experience the mosque-cum-temple in a visceral way that verges on sensory overload when Mahomet delivers his final prophecy to Amurack. The full stage direction accompanying this Eastern temple scene reads “*Let there be a brazen Head set in the middle of the place behind the Stage, out of the which cast flames of fire, drums rumble within: Enter two Priests*” (4.1143sd). The first Priest describes the fantastic sight, smell, and sound as the “strange miracles” of “Mahounds holy house,” the mention of which again precipitates the stage direction “*Drums rumble within*” (4.1145, 1144, 1146sd). Islamic miracles and the constructed Eastern temple are thus linked with rumbling drum sound. “Harke what a rumbling ratleth in our eares” exclaims the same Priest, whose statement draws the audience members’ attention to the amplification of the noise entering “our ears” as onomatopoeically both “rumbling” and “ratling” (4.1147).<sup>122</sup> The Second Priest then remarks: “Yet in this time I neuer heard before / Such feareful sounds, ... / Nor can

<sup>120</sup> Lindley, “Music in the English Theatre of 1616,” 96.

<sup>121</sup> As Andrew Gurr notes in *The Shakespearean Stage*, drum sound could suggest theatrical order as well as disorder, providing martial music for battles, as well as creating effects of storms or other confused noises (186–187).

<sup>122</sup> Christopher Marsh discusses these terms and their application to drum noise in “‘The pride of noise’: drums and their repercussions in early modern England,” *Early Music* (April, 2011): 203–216.

I tell, ... / What *Mahomet*, by these signes, doth craue" (4.1157–1160). Even to a Priest familiar with ritualistic practices in the temple, these sounds resonate outside of the realm of signification, and he cannot decipher their meanings. His comment also directs the audience to understand and experience these sounds barraging "our ears" as "feareful," and strange.

To briefly address the remarkable multisensory elements of this stage direction before returning to the sonic dimension of this scene, the "brazen Head" was likely similar to that depicted on the 1630 title page of Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*<sup>123</sup>; this stage property is also significant in that it was likely listed as an "owld Mahametes head" on the same 1598 register of the Lord Admiral's Men that included the drum mentioned above. The brazen Head probably featured in multiple plays. It likely also made an appearance in the dumb show staging Ward's conversion to Islam in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk*. Daborne's play is believed to have been written around 1612, so it would have appeared about twenty years after *Alphonsus*; the stage directions that accompany the brazen Head also include "a confused noise of music," again engaging multiple sensory elements in the staging of otherness, including acoustic disorientation staged through the paradox of musical disorder. As Daniel J. Vitkus observes, "The formal ceremony of a conversion to Islam is staged in the central scene of *A Christian Turned Turk* as an anti-Islamic fantasy, more a scare tactic to discourage potential converts than an accurate depiction of a religious rite."<sup>124</sup>

Another scare tactic in the staging of the brazen Head in *Alphonsus* includes the fact that pyrotechnics are invoked repeatedly; a later stage direction reads "*Cast flames of fire forth of the brazen Head*" (4.1247sd). One of the Priests also comments on this visual phenomenon, admonishing his fellow Priest and the audience, "See flakes of fire proceeding from the mouth / Of *Mahomet*, that God of peerles power" (4.1148–1149). Squibs were the source of these flames; in addition to creating the visual effects of fire, they also made loud sounds in conjunction with their explosions, as well as produced smoke and a lingering sulfurous smell. Squibs were tubes filled with brimstone, coal, and saltpeter that were ignited in

<sup>123</sup> Matthew Dimmock, "Materialising Islam on the Early Modern English Stage," in *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures*, ed. Sabie Schülting, Sabine Lucia Müller and Ralf Hertel (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 115–134, 131, suggests the brazen Head of *Alphonsus of Aragon* is the same as that used in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.

<sup>124</sup> Daniel J. Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 5.

theatrical moments like this one in *Alphonsus*, but were also used to create the effects of thunder and lightning in plays including *Doctor Faustus*, *Macbeth*, and *The Tempest*. The smell of sulfur produced by squibs “was a stinking sign of diabolical activity,” as Jonathan Gil Harris explains.<sup>125</sup> Among the myriad associations Harris identifies is the long-standing tradition from medieval Corpus Christi drama linking bad smells to the Hell; the Tanner’s Guild, which utilized odorous urine to tan leather, also staged the portions of the mystery plays concerning Hell using the same malodorous substances. This multisensory, and even synesthetic, assault on the senses created by theatrical stagecraft was intended to signal an inversion of Christian religion indicated by this diabolical scent of otherness. This otherness of Mahomet’s temple is one that touches and even enters the bodies of the audience members, as the scent of the squibs lingers on clothing and hair, its smoke inhaled by English noses.

The experience of otherness that threatens to invade Christian bodies is one recounted often in the travel narratives, and Greene’s play stages unusual and frightening otherness by transporting the audience to an Eastern temple space using practically all available sensory phenomena at his disposal. The multisensory threat of infiltration that *Alphonsus* stages, however, echoes the travel literature describing Eastern “Pagodes,” which also have inflections of classical Greek temples. Like the brazen Head of *Alphonsus*, the European perception of the rituals involving “Pagodes”—statues worshipped by the Hindus—is characterized in terms of multisensory effects. Linschoten writes about his phenomenological experience of one of the pagoda ceremonies, not only noting the presence of bells in his narrative, but also commenting upon the permeable smell:

I once went into a Temple of stone, in a Village, and found nothing in it, but a great Table that hung in the middle of the Church, with the Image of a *Pagode* thereon painted, hellishly disfigured with many hornes, long teeth out of the mouth down to the knees, and beneath his nauell with such another tusked and horned face. Vpon the head stood a triple crowne, not much vnlike the Popes. It hung before a wall, which made a partition from another chamber, like a Quier, close without any light: in the middle whereof was a little doore, and on each side of it a furnace within the wall, with certain holes, thereby to let the smoke or sauor of the fire to enter into that place, when any offering should be made. Whereof we found there some

<sup>125</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 127.

Rice, Corne, Fruits, Hennes, and such like. There issues thence such a flithie smoke and stinke, that it made the place blacke, and almost choakes such as entered.... Within the said Cell hung an hundred burning lampes, and in the middle stood a little Altar couered with Cotton cloth, and ouer that with golde; vnder which, as the Bramene told vs, sate the *Pagode* all of golde, of the bignesse of a Puppet.

Hard by the Church without the great doore, stood within the earth a great fouresquare Cisterne, hewed out of free stone, with staires on each side to go downe into it, full of greene, filthy and stinking water, wherein they wash themselues when they meane to enter into the Church to pray. In the euening they carried their *Pagode* on Procession, first ringing a Bell, wherewith the people assembled, and tooke the *Pagode* out of his Cell with great reuerence, and set it in a *Palamkin*, which was borne by the chiefe men of the town; the rest following with great deuotion, with their vsuall noise and sound of Trumpets, and other instruments; and hauing carried him a pretty circuit, brought him to the stone Cisterne, washed him, and placed him againe in his Cell, making a foule smoke and stinke, and euery man leauing his offering behind him, intended to the *Pagode*, but consumed by the Bramene and his family.<sup>126</sup>

This remarkably descriptive passage blurs distinctions between various religions, at once invoking anti-popery (comparing the "triple crowne" of the Image to the Pope's Papal tiara) and devil worship (the Image is "hellishly disfigured"), but locating these in the space of a "Church" that contains an area likened to a "Quire." Olfactory and sonic detail complete the depiction of the Pagoda's procession; the smell that accompanies the ceremony—the "smoke or sauor of fire" creates "such a flithie smoke and stinke, that it made the place blacke, and almost choakes such as entered"—would have smelled diabolical to readers.<sup>127</sup> It most certainly did to Linschoten, who writes with disgust of his bodily experience of the smoke. The narrative voice at this point in *Purchas his Pilgrimage* makes no mistake that this smell is unpleasant, through not only its obstruction of

<sup>126</sup> Linschoten sailed to Goa on behalf of Portugal, but his writings about his journey later aided the Dutch and English in wrestling domination away from the Portuguese. Some of his accounts were included in *Purchas his Pilgrimage* as "John Huighen van Linschoten his Voyage to Goa, and observations of the East Indies, abbreviated." Quotation from 488–489.

<sup>127</sup> The link between squibs in the theater with the staging of Eastern temples is also corroborated by an episode in *Purchas his Pilgrimage* describing the Medina Mosque: "In the night time by some fire-workes in the steeple, they would have gulled the credulous people with opinion of miracle, using out-cryes in the night, saying *Mahomet* would rise againe" (271).

vision but also its odor and thickness, which “chokes” those in its proximity and infiltrates Western Christian bodies and clothing. In similar fashion, Greene constructs an experience resonant with Linschoten’s in the theater, but relocates the sounds of Eastern otherness inside the space of the “temple” instead of just outside it.

In *Alphonsus*, the radical alterity of Islam, even as it is conflated with elements from Hindu worship, capitalizes on the fear of otherness and uses the sensorium to do so. In addition to its multisensory affinity with Pagoda figure in Linschoten’s account, a voice begins to “*Speake out of the brazen Head*” (4.1160sd). The travel narratives again provide a correlation for such vocalizations of otherness; “by the river Euphrates, two days journey from Babylon at a place called Ait,” Ralph Fitch describes “a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke; which pitch doth runne abroad into a great field which is always full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell.”<sup>128</sup> One wonders how Fitch’s “mouth of hell” would have compared to the “brazen Head” from which emanated fire, smoke, and pitch in *Alphonsus*, and whose performance can only be imagined as booming, echoic, and strange in sounding a fearful alterity. As Fitch’s narrative was circulating at about the time Greene wrote his play, this moment of frightening alterity might have been fodder for Greene’s temple/mosque; yet, certain descriptions, like Linschoten’s and others cited above from the travel narrative archive postdate Greene’s play, causing one to wonder how much of what the travel writers describe in their accounts of otherness were inflected by dramatic entertainments like Greene’s that staged otherness.

Even though the brazen Head prophesizes, its words, like the European Christians’ interpretation of the Hindu bells, were ultimately counterfeit signifiers. As the play unfolds, characters and theater audience alike discover that Mahomet’s prophecy was decisively false; the sounds of his voice, the fire, and the rumbling drums are all representative of disordered chaos, and ultimately, fail to signify in ways that the other characters expect. Technically, the final prophecy Mahomet delivers through the head foretells that Amurack’s soldiers will leave the battle of Naples wearing crowns, which they do—but only in mock performance, as Alphonsus emerges victorious. As Matthew Dimmock explains, the false prophecy of the brazen Head speaks volumes about the Islamic faith: Islam is equated to paganism repeatedly by Alphonsus, and Muhammad as an idol, while

<sup>128</sup> Foster, *Early Voyages and Travels in India*, 10.

Amurack's pride both conflicts with, and is produced by, his religion.<sup>129</sup> Unlike Davenant's Greco-Hindu “Brachmans,” who are recuperated through both their assumed similarity to Christianity and their presumed affinity with classical Greece, the Muslim deity Mahomet is presented as a false prophet and represented on stage as frighteningly other.<sup>130</sup>

The brazen Head's false words that disconcert its hearers are accompanied by discordant, disordered noise indicated by a remarkable sound cue that is called for twice in the stage directions that accompany this scene: “*Drums rumble within*” (4.1143sd, 1146sd). More probable than a desire for accurate sonic representation of a “Muslim temple” as opposed to a “Hindu” one in the theater is the fact that the bell, as a sonic signifier associated with the Hindu religion, would not suggest the radical otherness required in the staging of “Mahomet's” temple; by contrast, the booming, resonant kettledrum that thundered throughout the travel narratives would. The theater practitioners did not wish to replicate the mistake made by the Portuguese; that is, that the sound of the bell would ring too familiar to the English theater audience. The “rumbling” noise of the drum, transposed from the more innocuous bell of the Hindu temples, produced a “rumbling” sound that may have (and was likely intended to) frighten the audience through the phenomenological experience of harrowing otherness that is both loud and infiltrates the body through vibrations.

From an acoustic standpoint, a larger kettledrum could make louder sounds, the vibrations of which were more physically perceptible through haptic vibrations. The kettledrum's rumblings had certainly caused a stir in London. A 1596 petition of the Blackfriars residents informed the Privy Council that the noise of the impending Blackfriars playhouse Burbage constructed would be infectious: “the same playhouse is so neere the Church that the noyse of the drummes and trumpets will greatly disturbe

<sup>129</sup> Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 180.

<sup>130</sup> The sound of the drum at this point in the play returns order sonically and martially. A Soldier hears Amurack's renunciation of Mahomet and counsels that instead of engaging in “vaine threatenings / Against our god, the mightie *Mahomet*,” they should wage war on those in the battlefield who are fast approaching (4.1425–1426). At this suggestion, the stage directions again require the theater practitioners to “*Sound drummes within*” (4.1429sd). In response, the same soldier exclaims, “Hark, how their drummes with dub a dub do come!” (4.1430). The drumming of the enemy, onomatopoeically rendered as “dub a dub,” heralds the approach of Alphonsus, as well as the restoration of order to the play. Antithetical to the unmeasured “rumbling” of the drums in temple scene, the metrical drum-beat sounds military order.

and hinder both the ministers and parishioners in tyme of devine service and sermons.”<sup>131</sup> This noise and nuisance complaint the residents lodged echoes my twofold conclusion to this chapter: the sound of the drums is not only penetratingly loud and vibratory, but this sound can also drown out and shake up acceptable modes of Christianity. “Devine” worship is supposedly hindered by the possibility of theatrical noise dominating the soundscape at Blackfriars; like the sound of foreign worship, itself rendered as histrionic, the sound of the playhouse was also a visceral and sonic threat to Christianity. This is especially the case for antitheatricalist writers like Prynne, who imagines the theater as a “Mahometan Paradise” in the midst of London, discussed in the introduction to this section, “Songs of the Orient.” As Stephen Gosson argues in his *Playes Confuted in five Actions*, “they that came honest to a play may depart infected”; this sense of infection was particularly relevant when the sounds of otherness are not only heard, but also felt as vibrations in the theater (G4v).<sup>132</sup>

Like Islam itself, the use of kettledrums in the theater presented a real and present danger to the English body. The rumbling sound of the drums that *Alphonsus* calls for implies that these soundwaves can infiltrate bodies; moreover, their sound is vapid and indicates an idolatrous failure to signify. “Rumble” is a term that simultaneously indicates movement that is interior and exterior to bodies, and even blurs the boundaries between the two. The *OED* defines “rumble” as “To produce a rumbling sound by agitating or moving something” (v.2, 1a); “Of a person: to be noisy; to cause a disturbance or tumult” (v.2, 2a); “Of an inanimate object or immaterial thing: to make a low heavy continuous, but varying, sound,” like thunder (v.2, 3a); “Of the stomach, intestines, or the gas contained in them, esp. as a sign of hunger” (v.2, 3a,b); and “Of a thought, emotion, etc.: to have an unsettling effect; to be nagging or insistent” (v.2, 3c). These definitions of “rumble” locate this sensation as one that happens concurrently inside and outside of the body: rumbling is made by movement, it can be a natural sound like thunder, and it can certainly occur inside the body, in the digestive system, the brain, or even the heart.

<sup>131</sup> Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage*, 155–156. Kettledrums were used in the antimasque to Jonson’s *The Golden Age Restored* (c.1616) which was likely performed at Whitehall Palace; the directions state “The Antimasque, and their Dance, two Drums, Trumpets, and a confusion of Martial Musick” are to be performed. Kettledrums are also featured in James Shirley’s later masque *The Triumph of Peace*, also staged at Whitehall, according to Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion*, 61.

<sup>132</sup> Stephen Gosson, *Playes Confuted in five Actions* (London, 1582).



"Rumbling" suggests the uncanny quality of that sound, for it crosses boundaries through vibration and reaches the interior through exterior vibrations. Russell West observes, "here and there, self and other, native and foreign can no longer be clearly separated when the stage begins to blur such boundaries"; this is particularly the case when the sound of the drum in the theater manifests itself as tangible vibrations that viscerally and palpably shake the audience's bodies, forming an assemblage among them through foreign sounds.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, the rumbling that *Alphonsus* describes is a sound that is located by the stage directions as "within." This spatial term denotes not only the music room or even the discovery space of the theater, but coterminously suggests "within" the bodies of the audience members who have their flesh assaulted and moved by soundwaves. Like my own experience in the organ described in the Introduction, the sound of the drums that "rumble within" at this moment in the play was forceful enough that their vibrations could even be felt rattling within the chest cavity, or other parts of the body. A paper I presented at the 2017 Blackfriars Conference staged the rumbling of the kettledrum in that theater space and every single member of the audience indicated to me that they could literally feel the vibrations of the kettledrum when it rumbled in the upper balcony of the Blackfriars Playhouse; to quote Peter Mundy, it made "such a noyse that the place seem[ed] to shake with it." This is the same performance by David Anthony Lewis that is audible (and tangible) in the soundbyte featured in this chapter. In a culture where these sounds were among the loudest in the extant decibel range, one imagines that they would have been intensely perceived in early modern England.

Although kettledrums had been part of English culture for several generations by the time *Alphonsus* was performed, they were still considered resonant with Eastern otherness: as Ferdinand J. De Hen observes, "The timpani were large nakers (from the Persian *naqqara*).... Their origins continued to be well known, for in 1588 Thoinot Arbeau still called them 'the drum of the Persians.'" <sup>134</sup> For *Alphonsus*'s audience, the experience of "drums rumbling within" might have been pleasurable and/or painful, for these sounds that literally shake them up not only produce a visceral reaction, but also signify as Eastern otherness—an otherness that is accessed within the self through the vibratory soundwave.

<sup>133</sup> Russell West, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage: From Shakespeare to Webster* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 183.

<sup>134</sup> De Hen, *Musical Instruments in Art and History*, 110.

Temple rumblings occurred in the English theater, as well as in Indian temples and mosques. An excerpt from *Purchas his Pilgrimage* recounts the use of bells in temples and a drum at a “Mesquit” at Ternate: “In stead of a Bell they haue a great Drumme hanged vp, which they beate with clubs. They haue in every Temple also one Bell, but without a clapper. Al come at that Peale, or Sound, with their weapons armed.”<sup>135</sup> Drums were another principal instrument in India; as James Blades writes, the “larger kettledrums, *nagara*, [are] used in the temples for ceremonial purposes.”<sup>136</sup> In his experimental staging of the sounds of Indian otherness, Greene may have unwittingly got it right: desiring to sound a radical otherness in the Eastern temple through the “rumbling within” of the kettledrum, he actually employed an instrument of Eastern origin, and which still was associated with the East during the Renaissance. Like Virdung’s adjectival description of “rumbling” and the various descriptions of sonic “discord” explored in this chapter, the drums that “rumble” in Greene’s Eastern temple recreate the visceral experience of the sonic uncanny. The uncanny noise of the drum is vibratory, as “drums rumble within” the space of the theater, *and* “within” the bodies of hearers infiltrated by sounds of Eastern otherness.

<sup>135</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 538.

<sup>136</sup> James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Connecticut: The Bold Strummer, Ltd., 1992), 141. Blades, 142, elaborates: “The nagara is a shallow kettledrum, varying in size, with a shell of copper, brass, or rivet sheet iron. Large drums of this description, with a head diameter from 2½ to 3 feet, are used in temple services. The skin is tensioned by leather thongs which pass round the under side of the shell (nailed heads in India are normally restricted to certain tambourines). In the procession of the deity, the nagara is mounted on a two-wheeled hand drawn carriage. The performer who sits on the carriage, which is at the rear of the procession, beats the drum with curved sticks. At times, the instrument heads the procession, carried on the back of a decorated elephant, in a manner similar to the sahib-nahabat.”



## Interlude: A Tale of Two Toms: Dallam and Coryate Speaking in Oriental Tongues

Both Thomas Dallam and Thomas Coryate were entertaining travel writers, clearly fond of the idiosyncrasies and eccentricities of the English language they explored in their writings cataloguing their adventures in foreign lands. These two Englishmen were also excellent practitioners at sounding otherness through various languages. Coryate's linguistic abilities have been well-documented; while he was quite adept at conversing in several languages, by comparison, the English ambassador to the court at Agra, Thomas Roe, "spoke neither Turkish nor Persian."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, throughout his narrative account, Dallam writes about his expertise in communicating with various foreign others he and his companions encounter on their voyage. Although neither Tom mentions carrying one with him on his journey, it seems that colloquies—short lists of words, phrase-books, or a dialogue with common words translated, like that included in John Smith's *A True Relation* and Jean de Léry's *Histoire*—were available for travelers venturing both East- and West-ward. Jonathan Burton notes that "a curious appendix to Hugh Goughe's *The Offspring of the House of Ottomanno* (a 1569 compilation and translation of excerpts from Paulus

<sup>1</sup>Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 151. Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain: 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 30, notes that some Christians living in the Ottoman Empire learn some "Arabic and/or the Turkish language in their idioms and exclamations."

Giovus, Bartolomeo Georgievitz and others) provides a brief lexicon designed for the traveler in Muslim lands. Arranged like a phrase book, the appendix imagines snippets of ‘a dialogue containing questions, and answers of a Turk with a Christian’ (G3r). Since the text was published in a small, octavo volume, it could be carried in a traveler’s pocket and provided a script for encounters with the Ottoman Turks.”<sup>2</sup> Whether or not the Toms were armed with a colloquy, they both proudly record their abilities to sound the otherness of foreign languages throughout their travels in the East.

During one remarkable episode in his journey, Thomas Dallam actually misrecognizes the sounds of his native tongue heard in a foreign setting. At “Cannosea,” in the Greek isles, he and his fellow travelers rent a house for the night—what Dallam calls “a Darke uncomfortable house” that was made more uncomfortable by the “varmen ... which did bite farr worss than fleaes” that were in the “weeds” Dallam and his traveling companions used to make their bedding (46r, 47r).<sup>3</sup> They do the best they can to rid themselves of the pests, throwing out the pillows and cleaning the house; while they were still awake, one of the embassy officials from Istanbul, named “Mr. Glover,” “tould us what strainge varmen & beastes he had sene in that contrie, for he had lived longe thare. He spoake verrie muche of Aderes, snyakes, & sarpentes, the defferance, & the bignes of som which he had sene” (47r). Some of the men fall asleep, but Mr. Baylle “had occasion to goe to the dore to make water” (47r). Answering the nocturnal call of nature was not an easy task, for “Mr. Baylle when he lay downe to sleepe, had untied his garters a litle, so that when he came into the gallarie, the wynde blew his garter, that was louse & trayled after him, rounde aboute the other legge; it was a greate silke garter, & by the force of the wynde, it fettered his legges bothe faste together” (47v). But this was no simple wardrobe malfunction:

Our talk a litle before; of Aders, snakes, & sarpentes, was yeat in his remembrance, & the place was neare wheare muche varmen was. He thought they had swarmed about him, but aboute his legges, he Thought he was sur of a sarpente, so that suddonly he cried oute with all the voice he hade, a

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 94.

<sup>3</sup> Dallam’s manuscript, BL Add MS 17480, is the source of all parenthetical citations here, and the paleographic transcriptions are my own. Coryate is also repeatedly assaulted by lice in his journeys.

sarpente, a sarpente, a sarpente, & was so frighted that he could not finde the Doore to gitt in, but made a great buslinge, & noyse in the gallarie. On the other side, we that weare in the house, did thinke that he had saide, assalted, assalted, for before nyghte we doubted that some tritcherie would hapen vnto us in that towne, so that we thoughte the house had bene besett with people to cut our Throtes. (47v)

Chaos ensues as the men grab their swords to fight blindly in the dark. Finally, “Mr. Baylle was even bretheless with feare, cryinge out, & with struglinge to gitt in at the Doore, so that he could not answer him at the firste, at last he sayd, a sarpente a sarpente had trubled him” (48r). Mr. Glover helped restore order, for there were sixteen men with their weapons drawn in the close quarters of the room. As Gerald MacLean succinctly observes, “how ironic it seems that the fracas occurred over a misheard English word. Awash in the strange sounds of other tongues, the English seem to have lost the ability to recognize their own language.”<sup>4</sup> This moment exemplifies the reflective sonic uncanny, for a familiar word in their native English language becomes foreign to their ears in this foreign space, to the point that the group of men mistake “a serpent” for “assaulted.” Dallam and his traveling companions undergo changes in this foreign space, including in their ability to interpret uncanny sounds of the English language, regardless of their desire to retain their English identity.

In counterpoint to Dallam’s desire to cling desperately to an English and Christian identity is Thomas Coryate, the eccentric and histrionic foot-traveler who revels in moments of the sonic uncanny and becoming-other. Like Dallam, Coryate was an Englishman who ventured to the Levant of the Ottoman Empire, though about a decade after Dallam had; his performance of sounding otherness occurs when he presents a Farsi oration before the Great Mughal, Jahangir, then stationed at Ajmer. Coryate relishes the performativity that Oriental culture affords him; as Jonathan Gil Harris observes, Coryate delights in becoming-Indian.<sup>5</sup> Not only does Coryate engage his senses in the material culture of otherness, his sensory experience also entails making otherness part of himself—through wearing Indian clothing on his body, eating foreign cuisine, and vocalizing different languages. Unlike Dallam, Coryate was very much interested in

<sup>4</sup> Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 31.

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” in *Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

the dissemination of his written accounts of different lands, and he had already gained notoriety from the tales of his travels on the continent, which were printed in three collections: *Coryate's Crudities*, *Coryate's Crambe*, and the unauthorized *The Odcombe Banquet*, all published 1611. While Coryate was planning another massive collection to describe his travels in the Orient that commenced in 1612, he died from dysentery in Surat, although five of his letters from this period survived: two of these were written to his mother, while one is addressed to Edward Phelips, one to Laurence Whitaker, and one to the "High Seneschall of the Mermaid Club."<sup>6</sup> These were collected and published as *Thomas Coryate, Travailer for the English Wits and the Good of This Kingdom* in 1616. From these letters and written accounts from other English travelers Coryate encountered, including Thomas Roe and Edward Terry, scholars are able to reconstruct his walk through the East, which began in Constantinople and Jerusalem, after which he crossed Persia on foot with a caravan to Lahore.<sup>7</sup> He then ventured to Delhi and Agra, and finally reached Ajmer.<sup>8</sup>

Coryate, like Dallam, writes that he is able to decipher different languages. Unlike Dallam who only parses a few words for his readers, Coryate's linguistic abilities are more encompassing, for during his travels, he has tried his hand at "learning foure Languages more, then I had when I left my Country: viz. *Italian, Arabian, Turkish, and Persian*" as he enumerates in the *Travailer for the English Wits*.<sup>9</sup> As Harris observes, "Coryate travailed particularly hard in the acquisition of language, making a point of formally studying Turkish and Arabic while in Ajmer," as well as the local dialect.<sup>10</sup> Michael Strachan notes that "with these three languages [Coryate] could pass through all the territories lying between the Mogul

<sup>6</sup> Michael Strachan, *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 138–139.

<sup>7</sup> Roe, like many other English travelers, was musical and brought a viol with him. Captain William Keeling wrote in his journal that he sent the Ambassador "some silke stringes for the viol." As Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), 79, notes, "the use of silk strings of a viol is interesting," and it underscores the changes objects undergo across journeys, for "it suggests the possibility that gut had been found an unreliable material in the humid and hot conditions experienced on previous voyages."

<sup>8</sup> According to Strachan, *Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate*, 252, "Coryate's audience with Jahangir must have taken place about August 1616, by which time he had been in Ajmer for over a year."

<sup>9</sup> William Foster, *Early Travels in India: 1583–1619* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1968), 6.

<sup>10</sup> Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 24.

Empire and Christendom.”<sup>11</sup> By the time he met Roe in Ajmer, he was wearing Persian clothes and speaking fluent Farsi. The embodied nature of Coryate’s speaking is sardonically commented upon by Roe, whom the Orientally dressed Coryate accosted with an oration on his way to Ajmer. Roe wrote to Lord Pembroke that Coryate’s “exercise here or recreation is making or repeating orations.”<sup>12</sup>

His proclivity for sounding other languages is corroborated by the chaplain to Thomas Roe, Edward Terry, who wrote of Coryate:

At Agra our traveler made an halt, being there lovingly received in the English factory, where he staid till he had gotten to his Turkish and Morisco or Arabian languages some good knowledge in the Persian and Indostan [Hindustani] tongues; in which study he was always very apt, and in little time shewed much proficiency. The first of those two, the Persian, is the more quaint; the other, the Indostan, the vulgar language spoken in East-India. In both these he suddenly got such a knowledge and mastery that it did exceedingly afterward advantage him in his travels up and down the Mogol’s territories; he wearing always the habit of that nation and speaking their language.<sup>13</sup>

Terry was familiar with Farsi, so his account of Coryate’s abilities may be considered an accurate one.<sup>14</sup> Harris suspects that Coryate was inspired by Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, for “Marlowe’s well-known promise in the play’s

<sup>11</sup> Strachan, *Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate*, 241.

<sup>12</sup> William Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19: as narrated in his Journal and correspondence* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., 1990), 1.104.

In addition to presenting English orations, Coryate is proud of the fact that he has succeeded in learning Turkish and Arabic: as he writes in his letter addressed to Laurence Whitaker included in the *Travailer for the English Wits*, while at “the Court of the most Mighty Monarch, called the Great Mogul, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the Orientall India,” “at this time I haue many Irons in the fire; for I learne the *Persian, Turkish, & Arabian* tongues, hauing already gotten the *Italian* (I thank God) I haue bene at the Moguls Court three moneths already, and am to tarry here (by Gods holy permission) fue moneths longer, till I haue gotten the foresaide three tongues, and then depart herehence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court” (30).

<sup>13</sup> Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 284.

<sup>14</sup> Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 288. Terry also records a moment of Coryate’s linguistic bravado in which Coryate converses with a laundry-woman speaking Hindustani: Coryate “undertook her in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morening so silenced her that she had not one word more to speak” (cited in Strachan, *Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate*, 241).

opening lines to dazzle the audience's ears with 'high astounding terms' may well have grabbed Coryate's imagination."<sup>15</sup> Like the fictional and factual Tamburlaine whose tomb Coryate seeks, Coryate himself is recognized for his language; but in addition to admiring the loud, bombastic speeches of Tamburlaine, these excerpts demonstrate that Coryate is renowned for his linguistic abilities—and the delight takes in sounding otherness.<sup>16</sup>

Coryate's hard travail—a word closely related to “travel”—at learning Farsi, the official language of the Mughal court, paid off.<sup>17</sup> Coryate writes that he mastered the sounds of Persian linguistic otherness to the point that he gave an oration and then conversed with Jahangir: “And as for the Persian tongue, which I studied very earnestly, I attained to that reasonable skill, and that in a few monthes, that I made an Oration vnto the King before many of his Nobles in that language, and after I had ended the same, discoursed with his Maiesty also in that tongue very readily & familiarly.”<sup>18</sup> Like Thomas Dallam, Thomas Coryate is allowed close proximity to Eastern royalty due to his ability to sound otherness, but unlike Dallam, Coryate allows the East to transform him through its clothing and language that he acquires and dons proudly.<sup>19</sup> His Farsi is an example of the changes his body has gone through, and a language that was initially foreign to him is now intrinsic to him. As Harris notes, Coryate terms himself in his speech “a ‘fooker *Daruces*,’ or *fakir dervish*, a wandering Sufi ascetic who begs for alms” and performs to earn them; this self-denomination demonstrates how, “in Farsi, Coryate had begun to characterize himself as Indian.”<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” 451.

<sup>16</sup> In the commendatory verses accompanying the text *Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting* (London, 1618), a poem titled “A Little Remembrance of his variety of Tongues, and Politicke forme of Travell” indicates that Coryate possesses “A very Babell of confused Tongues,” and that he also “wisely canst in any language begge” (Ar).

<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, *The First Firangis: Remarkable stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & other Foreigners who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 9.

<sup>18</sup> Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 262.

<sup>19</sup> Coryate also sees in Jahangir a reflection of himself, writing that he was of an “olive” complexion, and “Hee is of a seemelie composition of bodie, of a stature little unequall (as I guesse, not without grounds of probabilitie) to mine, but much more corpulent than my selfe,” which might be expected since Coryate was thin from living off of tuppence a day (Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 245).

<sup>20</sup> Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” 457. Harris, *First Firangis*, 187, notes that “A fakir is not just an itinerant religious beggar. He is also a performer.”



Coryate also brings this experience of sounding otherness home for his readership in England; in his *Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth Greeting*, Coryate includes the phonetic rendering of his speech in Persian for his readers to “hear”: it begins “Hazaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruces ve tehaungeshta hastam kemia emadam az wellagets door, ganne az mulk Inglizan,” and his entire speech is reproduced in his *Greeting* before it is translated for his readers into English.<sup>21</sup> Demonstrating his ability to sound Oriental otherness and proud of this fact, Coryate explains the reason for the inclusion of this speech: “the copy of which speech, though the tong it selfe wil seem to an English many very strange & vncuth, as hauing no kind of affinity with any of our Christian language, I haue for nouelty sake written out in this letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may shew it to some of my lerned friends of the Clergy, and also of the temporalty in *Euil*, and elswere, who belike, wil take some pleasure in reading so rare and vnusuall a tongue as this is.”<sup>22</sup> In observing the strangeness, or foreignness, of the language to the ears of “an Englishman,” Coryate notes its difference and its difficulty to learn, especially as Farsi contains “no kind of affinity with any of our Christian languages.” This makes his comprehension and execution of Farsi before Jahangir all the more impressive, as he was able to sound Persian otherness so expertly as to have a dialogue with the Great Mogul in his own language, earn some much-needed rupees—which Jahangir awarded him—and gain a close and intimate proximity to Jahangir that was never achieved by Roe.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Coryate, *Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth Greeting* (London, 1618), B2v–B4r.

<sup>22</sup> Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 263.

<sup>23</sup> As a reward for his speech, Jahangir gave Dallam a hundred silver rupees “each worth two shillings sterling, which counteruailed ten pounds of our English mony” (Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 266). Coryate is also rewarded with money and given kind treatment shortly after his encounter with Jahangir: he writes, “I went to a certaine noble & generous Christian of the Armenian race, a daies iourny from the *Mogols* court, to the end to obserue certain remarkable matters in the same place, to whom by means of my Persian tongue I was so welcome that hee entertained me with very ciuill and courteous complement, and at my departure gaue mee very bountifully twenty peeces of such kind of mony as the King had done before” (Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 267). Coryate also resolves to speak with the King of Persia, “for,” he notes, “seeing I can discourse with him in his Persian tongue, I doubt not but that going vnto him in the forme of a Pilgrime, he will not onely entertaine me with good words, but also bestow some worthy reward vpon me beseeeming his dignity and person; for which cause I am prouided before hand with an excellent thing written in the Persian tongue that I meane to present vnto him” (Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 268).

Coryate seeks to share not only his erudition but also the pleasure he derives from sounding otherness with his readers back home in Yeovil. He writes to his mother that the speech in Farsi included in his letter is reproduced “for nouelty sake,” after which follows the translation of his oration, so that members of the Clergy or others from the town of Yeovil “wil take some pleasure in reading so rare and vnusuall a tongue as this is.” Apparently the enjoyment that Coryate experienced from the sound of this language is something he wishes to share with his readership in England, and so includes the speech in phonetic Farsi in order that this soundbyte will give “pleasure” to those engaging with this text, perhaps like Jean de Léry imagined his readers would sing Tupinamba music and experience delight (and/or fright) in doing so.<sup>24</sup> In replicating the text of his speech in Farsi, especially before providing the English translation of the text, Coryate encourages his readers to try Farsi by sounding the otherness of the Persian language with their English tongues in their English homes—or in places like the Mermaid Tavern, which Coryate frequented. By doing as Coryate has learned—forming lips, vocal cords, tongues, and brain waves, into different shapes—English readers of his speech not only make the sounds of Persian otherness, but are able to hear it as well. The vibrations of Coryate’s speech are transcribed in his writing, so that they reach out beyond their temporal moment when Coryate first speaks them in Ajmer before Jahangir, and are made accessible to any reader who tries her hand (and mouth and ears) at sounding otherness. The Persian sounds of otherness flow through the bodies and breath of the English audience.

As Harris observes about Coryate’s speech, “his Farsi is somewhat garbled, but it is hard to tell whether this is because of his own inadequacies in the language or the incomprehension of the English typesetter,” or even that his English accent still resonates through his pronunciation of the Farsi language; Harris identifies some of the errors as “clear evidence of Coryate’s odd pronunciation and loopy grammar.”<sup>25</sup> This latter fact could be corroborated by Coryate’s comment about his own English-inflected Latin enunciation: when he hears the Latin spoken by residents

<sup>24</sup> Reading was not a solitary, silent practice; rather, texts were often sounded out loud, as Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 46, explains. Please refer also to Roger Chartier, “Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe,” and Joyce Coleman’s *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>25</sup> Harris, *First Firangis*, 206, and Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” 25.

of Bergamo, Coryate determines “to abandon my old English pronunciation.”<sup>26</sup> That his English accent still resonates does not negate Coryate’s immense efforts at learning multiple foreign languages. Coryate, through his clothing and efforts at sounding otherness, creates with his body “a dynamic theatrical assemblage of both English and non-English elements” and this collectivity also de-territorializes the English identity in which people like Roe and Dallam were so invested.<sup>27</sup>

As the two Toms demonstrate in their narrative accounts, sounding otherness—especially where language is concerned—is not a precise science and can certainly produce some unintended outcomes. Regardless, the sounds that the Toms created and interpreted enmeshed them in networks of becomings. As Harris writes of Coryate, “his goal was not the ethnographic delimiting and description of identity (or being). Instead it was the altogether more improvisational task of self-transformation (or becoming) by extending and altering his body in concert with foreign people and objects.”<sup>28</sup> Sounds of otherness both change, and are changed, by bodies and objects that engage in this vibrational practice.

<sup>26</sup> Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, 2.60.

<sup>27</sup> Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” 458.

<sup>28</sup> Harris, “Becoming-Indian,” 453.

## Part III: World Music: East Is West

*They seem to me most unhappy, and no better than Prisoner, who from the cradle to old age, still behold the same walls, faces, orchard, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares .... We are citizens of the Whole World; all our Life is a Pilgrimage.*  
Fynes Moryson, Of Travelling in General

Coined in the latter half of the twentieth century, “World Music” has become a catch-all phrase used to label music of various “exotic” cultures. It can also refer to the mingling of musics from different cultures, “traditional” or folk music from various locales, and/or indicate music that is “non-Western” popular music, but may contain elements from this genre. At its most expansive, “World Music” can encompass all different types of music from across the world, now electronically and commercially available through globalization and digital technologies. In a more limited sense, it refers to non-Western music, ironically locating the West outside of the realm of the “world,” at the same time defining “the world” through its very relationship to the West.<sup>1</sup> The phrase “World Music” at

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of this genre, please consult *The Cambridge History of World Music*, Philip Vilas Bohlman, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Terry E. Miller and Andrew Shahriari’s *World Music: A Global Journey* (New York: Routledge, 2009); and

once suggests a particular species—or several species—of music that is not familiar to Western listeners, and collects musics from around the globe into this capacious category of otherness. Gerald MacLean argues that the terms “East” and “West” function similarly in their ultimate non-specificity: “Without a great deal of reflection, it soon becomes clear that even words such as ‘East’ and ‘West’ can confuse and distort, predicating as they do an imaginary and ideological zero point of reference.”<sup>2</sup> This may be a contributing factor that explains the tendency of both the lexicons and representations of “Eastern” and “Western” Indian othernesses to collapse into one another.

The problematic elasticity of the term “World Music” is best encapsulated through an excerpt from the television series “Flight of the Conchords.” In one episode, the two-man New Zealand band of the same name is scheduled to perform at a “Tuesday World Music Jam” (these types of concerts, by the way, are held internationally, although not necessarily always on Tuesdays). At the concert, replete with performers of various ethnicities—including visually coded East and West Indians—the duo plays a few notes of one of their “standards” before they are prematurely escorted off-stage. This occurred after their manager, Murray, had assured them they would fit in musically at this event. When Jemaine protests before their truncated stage performance, “we don’t play world music,” Murray responds, “Yes, yes! Where’s New Zealand if it’s not from the world? Come on!” Part of the joke is that the emcee wasn’t a fan of their music (besides the running gag of Murray’s endearing incompetence as a band manager); but humor also lies in Murray’s supposed misinterpretation of what bands are sanctioned or expected to perform at a “World Music Jam.”

While a fraught term today in our ever-shrinking global world (like Fynes Moryson describes, our modern culture has produced us as “Citizens of the Whole World”), the concept of “world music” is arguably locatable to the Renaissance. Although moments of first contact between Anglo-Europeans and “Indians” had preceded the Renaissance, it is during the Renaissance that foreign sounds of otherness were finally starting to be recognized and categorized as *music*. To cite one example, in John Fletcher’s *The Island Princess*, the audience encounters a prison guard, or

*Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World’s Peoples*, Jeff Todd Titon, ed. (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 11.

“Keeper,” entrusted with the imprisoned King of Tidore. The Keeper himself is actually captivated by the captive King’s song; after he describes the King’s music as “sad aires,” the “First Moore” is likewise intrigued, longing “If we could heare that wonder—” (2.1.26, 29).<sup>3</sup> His statement piques the audience’s interest, especially as the use of “we” implicates the audience’s desire to listen. The Keeper further heightens anticipation (on and off-stage) through his ensuing lines:

Many times  
I fear the Governour should come to know it;  
For his voice so affects me, so delights me,  
That when I find his houre, I have Musicke ready,  
And it stirs me infinitely: be but still and private,  
And you may chance to heare. (2.1.29–34)

In instructing the already-quieted Moors to be quiet, the Keeper admonishes the audience to do the same. This is coupled with the Keeper’s next directive to the attendant Moors: “Now harke and melt, for I am sure I shall” (1.3.36). The “itching eares” that Prynne derides in *Histrion-Mastix* must be on the verge of anticipatory madness, eager to be “stirred” by the King’s sung vibrations in the profound way the Keeper describes.

To a modern readership, especially those concerned with recuperating historical musical texts, this moment is likely one of disappointment: as with many examples of early modern stage music, the title, instrumentation, even lyrics are not recorded in the play-text—the word “*Musick*” is all that is given in the stage direction (2.1.42sd). The editors add that “the King *sings*” after line 43. While this may be a frustratingly silent moment in many ways, it is vital in terms of sounding otherness, for not only does it instruct the audience members how to listen to sounds of cultural otherness, it also demonstrates the effects of sounding otherness through the physiological and affective responses the Keeper describes: the music “melts” him, it “so affects me, so delights me,” he states, “and stirs me infinitely.” The Keeper’s description of what music could do in and with his body can be turned outward to the listening and perceptive audience. As otherness is sounded—produced and tested out—in the theater, sounding otherness impacts the listeners’ and the singer’s bodies, attuning their passions through sympathetic vibrations.

<sup>3</sup> John Fletcher, *The Island Princess in Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, Fredson Bowers, ed., vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) will be cited parenthetically.

The replication of the King of Tidore's singing in *The Island Princess*, or even in the staging of "disordered" musical sounds in the antimasques to the *Maske of Flowers* and the *Masque of Queens* enacts sounding otherness through testing out what these sounds might include, as well as what effects they might produce. This double-pronged, even polyphonic, approach to musical examples of sounding otherness echoes Deleuze's perception of music. In his reading of Leibniz's theory of the fold, Deleuze describes the way that music is both an appreciation of form, as well as an affective force: "it is at once the intellectual love of an order and a measure beyond the senses, and an affective pleasure that derives from bodily vibrations."<sup>4</sup> This final section considering "World Music" actively employs both the "the intellectual love of order" and "an affective pleasure that derives from bodily vibrations" the sounds of musical order—and, arguably, disorder—produce. Furthermore, attending to "world music" may be coupled with the Serresian notion of "global listening" to sounds of otherness. For Michel Serres, all hearing (and in many ways, non-hearing) subjects engage in global listening, for "hearing practices ubiquity, the almost divine power of universal reach" through soundwave vibration.<sup>5</sup> In the context of "world music," Serres's "global listening" can even be broadened to include attending to global sounds of the world and global sounds as they are staged at the theater.

Shakespeare was obviously a fan of world music: this is evident by his orchestration of sounds in *The Tempest* that collapse East and West, worldly and otherworldly. The encompassing definition of "World Music" as music from different cultures that is sounded in conjunction with Western musical elements is closest to what Shakespeare conceives in his play. In the following chapters, we will hear how Shakespeare layers Eastern and Western musics in the Blackfriars Playhouse and the Globe Theatre, creating "something rich and strange" in the blending of these tonalities. He provides "order" in crafting the musical soundscape of *The Tempest*, at the same time he invites the audience to revel in the affective pleasure this "rich and strange" world music affords. The closing pages also briefly consider the lute as once-representative of "world music." While the lute's

<sup>4</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 127.

<sup>5</sup> Michel Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*, trans. Margaret Sankey and Paul Cowley (New York: Continuum, 2008), 47.

tonalities likely register to our ears as sounds especially representative of English Renaissance otherness, it sounded various cultural othernesses to Renaissance listeners. Its connections to East and West sounds make the lute an instrument of world music through its combination of foreign tonalities that vibrate us even today.





# “Something Rich and Strange”: Global Listening and *The Tempest*

*In storms and tempest, / Now in the east, now in the west*  
The Wakefield Second Shepherd’s Play

Sound is crucial to constructions of space: nowhere is this more evident than in *The Tempest*, where the “rich and strange” soundscape of the play refuses to limit the island to a single geographical location. The homophones “hear” and “here” echo repeatedly throughout Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. These identical-sounding words aurally reinforce the play’s interest in the relationship between spatiality and sound; at the same time, these words, ironically, disorient their listening audience because they uncannily echo each other. Often context is sufficient to discern the difference in meaning between “hear” and “here,” as when Antonio asks, “Do you not hear me speak?” or Adrian observes that “The air breathes upon us here most sweetly” (2.1.210; 2.1.49).<sup>1</sup> At other times, the distinction is more nebulous: in relating the tale of their banishment, Prospero exhorts Miranda,

Sit still and hear the last of our sea-sorrow.  
Here in this island we arrived, and here

<sup>1</sup> All *Tempest* citations are from The Arden Shakespeare third edition, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Methuen Drama, 1999).

Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit  
 Than other princes can.... (1.2.170–173)

Readers of this text have the benefit of differentiated spelling and modern punctuation, and thus might not recognize that these two words sounded identical to an early modern theater audience. Hearers of the play, on the other hand, may experience momentary disorientation through these homophonic words and their different—but interrelated—meanings. For example, since Prospero first uses the word “hear” in the passage above, that meaning is still likely resonating in the audience members’ minds when he then delivers the line “Here in this island,” which may be initially interpreted as “*Hear* in this island.” The invitation to “Hear in this island” is certainly an appropriate one because *The Tempest* offers a diverse soundscape: of “noises, / Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not” in Caliban’s estimation (3.2.135–136), or “strange and several noises / Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains / And more diversity of sounds, all horrible,” in the Boatswain’s opinion (5.1.232–234). As the Boatswain’s unsettling experience of these island sounds indicates, the homophonic confusion over two words is just one of the many ways that sounds disorient characters on the island—and the listening audience—through *The Tempest*. Just as “hear” disorients “here,” so too does “here” disorient “hear”; we are thus unsure of where “here” is *and* unsure about what we are “hearing.” The connection between the unstable terms “hear” and “here” echoes the pressure *The Tempest* puts on sounds to construct its space. The soundscape of the island in *The Tempest* includes human voice, music (at least voice and lute, but probably other instruments as well), bells, drums, and squibs, among various other sounds employed to craft the eponymous tempest noise. These instruments could indicate specific geographic areas to early modern ears, but the soundscape in its entirety works to invoke a variety of Eastern and Western global locations to an early modern English audience. Shakespeare uses sounds of otherness to orchestrate “something rich and strange”—both sonically and spatially—in his *Tempest*.

In order to fully experience these various sounds, *The Tempest* asks its audience to participate in “global listening.” Similar to Bruce R. Smith’s [o:] theorized in *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, Michel Serres’s “global listening” describes how sound assaults our bodies from all angles; it is distinct from “local vision,” because “the sound-wave has

immediate access to totality" through its wide-ranging "global" reach.<sup>2</sup> Serres's definition of "global listening" is crucial to *The Tempest*, especially when sounds resonate from all directions, as they do in staging the opening tempest itself or in the air "Come Unto These Yellow Sands" (1.2.375). I would like to propose also that Serres's "global listening" might be expanded to include listening to sounds that come from places around the worldly globe, as well as to sounds emanating from various points within the theater space, resounding, for example, from where Ferdinand describes as "above me" (1.2.408), or as the stage directions at another point indicate, "*within*" (1.1.60sd). Here, "global listening" thus has a triadic resonance consisting of sound's "universal reach" both within and outside of the body, sounds from around the telluric globe, and sounds resonating in theatrical spaces like the Globe Theatre.

While the Globe Theatre is certainly implicated in this modified form of "global listening," its relationship to *The Tempest* must be qualified. It is tempting to assume that *The Tempest* was performed at the Globe, especially since Prospero references "the great globe itself" (4.1.153) in his metatheatrical musings, and *The Tempest* may very well have been performed at the great Globe itself. Documentary evidence, however, specifies that *The Tempest* was performed at the more intimate Blackfriars Theatre, included among the betrothal festivities of James's daughter Elizabeth to Frederick, the Elector Palatine in 1613, although its date of composition may be earlier.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not *The Tempest* was staged at the Globe

<sup>2</sup> Michel Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*, trans. Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley (New York: Continuum, 2008), 47. Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Sarah Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars 1599–1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 117 and 121, notes that *The Tempest* was performed at the Blackfriars (116), but "was a success because it quite deliberately continues and develops the acoustic practices of the Children of the Queen's Revels, making the most of the acoustic environment of the indoor theatre. However, *The Tempest* also contains practices developed by the King's Men at the Globe." She concludes, "I am arguing that *The Tempest* was written primarily with the Blackfriars in mind," yet she also recognizes "that the King's Men performed their post-1609 repertory in both of their playhouses, and created works which had a performance duality." According to Andrew Gurr's "*The Tempest's Tempest at Blackfriars*," in *Shakespeare Survey* 41: *Shakespearean Stages and Staging*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 91–102, 92, "*The Tempest* was the first play Shakespeare unquestionably wrote for the Blackfriars rather than the Globe"; he also observes that "*The Tempest* is uniquely a musical play among Shakespeare's writings, and the consort of musicians at Blackfriars was

Theatre, the multivalent resonance of the “globe” in Prospero’s speech reifies the connection between the performance space of the theater and the terrestrial globe—a spatiotemporal collapsing upon which both *The Tempest* and the Globe Theatre capitalize. Michael Neill explains, “‘The Theatre’ now became ‘The Globe’ itself, in a transformation that wittily exemplified the motto supposedly emblazoned on the trade sign of the new house: *Totus mundus agit histrionem*,” and “Shakespeare’s theater” became “an engine for reimagining the world.”<sup>4</sup> The nomenclature of the Globe Theatre echoes the fact that the Globe worked to perform the globe, not only by presenting global locations (Denmark, Italy, Illyria, Cyprus, among others) and characters (African Moors, Egyptian Queens), but also by functioning as a sonic laboratory and contact zone in which the entire world could be sounded to an audience engaged in global listening through experimentation with sounds of otherness.<sup>5</sup> As Thomas Platter, a Swiss visitor to England, observed, “the English wile away the

justly famous.” Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 23, argues that there were “many texts that the King’s Men transported between the Globe and Blackfriars” and that the distinctions that have been made between the musical differences between the two venues have been overstated. Lucy Munro, in “Changing Musical Practices in the Shakespearean Playhouse, 1620–42,” in *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, ed. Bill Barclay and David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 99–113, 101, observes that “When the King’s Men took over the Blackfriars playhouse around 1609, they began to play indoors during the winter months, maintaining the Globe for summer performances, and they appear not to have developed separate repertoires for the Blackfriars and Globe until the later 1630s.” Douglas Bruster, *Quoting Shakespeare: Form and Culture in Early Modern Drama* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 121, also suspects that *The Tempest* was performed at both “the Blackfriars and the Globe playing spaces.”

<sup>4</sup>Michael Neill, “Material Flames’: The Space of Mercantile Fantasy in John Fletcher’s *The Island Princess*,” *Renaissance Drama* 28 (1997): 99–131, esp. 99.

<sup>5</sup>As Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40, observes, “regularly, with rich trappings and strong rhetoric, playhouses projected fictions of geographic mastery, making action in distant lands present to the imagination of islanded spectators. As Abraham Ortelius entitled his great volume of maps *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), so in 1599 the Lord Chamberlain’s Men named their new Bankside house, built from timbers of the dismantled theatre, the Globe. A book of maps was the theatre, the playhouse a habitable map, of the world. Fittingly, the name was shared by a ship in East India Company service: departing in 1611, the *Globe* was the first English vessel to ply the Bay of Bengal.” Peter Whitfield, *Mapping Shakespeare’s World* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2015), 63, notes an “uncanny parallel” between *The Tempest* and the Mediterranean shipwreck depicted in the Münster Ptolemy Atlas of 1540.

time, learning in the comedies what is happening in other lands, ... because many English do not care to travel but are content to experience foreign things at home."<sup>6</sup> While *The Tempest* has traditionally been read as having strong associations with the New World, I suggest that—in addition to its New World elements—its music and sounds imply that the island also has characteristics of the East.<sup>7</sup> As we shall hear, echoes and resonances of multiple geographic spaces resound throughout this play.<sup>8</sup>

Instead of providing his audience with treasure-map clues as to where the island is located, Shakespeare refuses to offer a definite geographic answer to this question. *The Tempest* layers sounds from or indicative of points around the known globe into the performance space of the theater, both by attempting to create sounds of otherness, and endeavoring to sound—that is, explore—otherness. Caliban's commentary makes an important argument about sounding otherness in the theater: the sonics of *The Tempest* "give delight and hurt not." This assertion suggests that the sonic laboratory of the theater is a safe space to sound otherness, although the Boatswain's description above demonstrates that not all necessarily experience Calibanesque "delight" at hearing such sounds. While

<sup>6</sup>Platter's *Beschreibung der Reisen* 2: 794–795, cited and translated in Russell West, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage: From Shakespeare to Webster* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 172.

<sup>7</sup>In this, I echo and refine Jerry Brotton's argument in "This Tunis, sir, was Carthage": Contesting colonialism in *The Tempest*," in *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 2002), 23–42, 24, that "in dismissing the significance of the Mediterranean, or Old World references in *The Tempest*, colonial readings have offered an historically anachronistic and geographically restrictive view of the play, which have over-emphasized the scale and significance of English involvement in the colonization of the Americas in the early decades of the seventeenth century."

<sup>8</sup>Just as Serres links the sense of hearing and the mechanisms of the ears to a labyrinth as discussed in the Introduction, collapsing space and sound, so too do Shakespeare's characters refer to the island as a place where one's location is not easily determined, underscoring this spatial confusion: Gonzalo states "Here's a maze trod, indeed, / Through forthrights and meanders!" (3.3.2–3). Again, the homonymic link between "here" and "hear" is audible, and the fact that Gonzalo identifies "here" with "a maze" indicates that their travels around this island have followed the labyrinthine pathway that Thomas Dekker likens to the ear canal's "winding staircases" in *The Gul's-Hornbook*. Alonso echoes this non-linearity toward the play's conclusion, "This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod, / And there is in this business more than nature / Was ever conduct of" (5.1.242–244). According to Open Source Shakespeare's concordance (<http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/concordance/o/?i=773618&pleasewait=1&msg=sr>, accessed 21 April 2013), "maze" only occurs four times throughout Shakespeare's works, although it notably sounds twice in *The Tempest*.

the domestic theater implies a safe space to sound otherness, this is not to suggest that the audience came away from the theater unchanged by these moments of theatrical soundings. A sound that is supposedly external is simultaneously located internally and distributed throughout the entire body through the vibratory touch of the soundwave. This sensory disorientation of sound and touch is the phenomenological, embodied substrate of the geographic disorientation that the play performs. *The Tempest* experiments with sounding otherness through manipulation of the properties of sound itself; in doing so, it simulates the experience of sonic encounters in contact zone spaces like those experienced by the shipwrecked Italian nobility. The sounding of otherness the play enacts suggests both an otherness that resounds in the body of the hearer, and an attempt to interpret, gloss, and codify the alien; both senses are vital to Shakespeare's *Tempest* and to the process of global listening. Hearing in the playhouse is both an intellectual and physiological experience in which the auditor may appreciate the order and structure of musical sound, and at the same time, have her senses overtaken through vibratory soundwaves. Sonic vibrations calibrate human bodies, on and off-stage, to their sounded environment, accessing and even touching the otherness within through sounds of otherness produced outside of the body.

This chapter will take the reader on a journey through *The Tempest*'s soundscape. It will begin by discussing the techniques for staging the titular tempest that commences the play; these stagecraft practices created a multisensorial effect that impacted the audience members and characters alike, the latter of whom comment on the olfactory and sonic dimensions of the storm. This sensory disorientation strongly echoes the geographic disorientation prompted by the music of the play; descriptions of storms from the travel narrative archive strengthen the connection between disorientations of space and sound, which resonate with both Eastern and "New World" accounts. Furthermore, the scored musical airs, particularly "Come Unto These Yellow Sands," and "Full Fathom Five," suggest various geographic locations musically palimpsested or layered together. The movement in *The Tempest* from the chaotic noise of the storm to beautifully crafted airs echoes the structure of the Renaissance English masque. Like the opening tempest, the antimasque was representative of chaos and disorder that was ultimately supplanted by the masque proper; however, in *The Tempest*, the sounds described by the stage directions that comprise the "antimasque" of the tempest are heard again at the conclusion of the Hymen masque Prospero stages in Act 4, demonstrating that ordered

music always has the capacity to slip into "*confused noise*" (4.1.138sd). This chapter concludes by considering the permeating effects of this tempest music on the characters' bodies and the bodies of audience members that are also implicated in the "rich and strange" soundscape this play creates.

\* \* \*

### STORMY WEATHER: A NOISY AND NOISOME TEMPEST

*The Tempest* is predicated on noise. The stage directions indicate that "*A tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning heard*" occurs prior to any spoken dialogue, which perfectly sets the tone for a play in which chaotic noise echoes throughout and meaning is secondary to disorienting sensory experiences (1.1.1sd). The tempest is more than a meteorological event or even a theatrical spectacle; it is, from the outset, associated with "*noise*." For Michel Serres, "noise" is not just cacophonous sounds, but a general disturbance of *logos*. The "*noise of thunder and lightning heard*" shakes up the sense of orientation through this creation of discordance and disorder.<sup>9</sup> This effect of cacophonous hurricane noise would have been profound when juxtaposed against the previously heard musical concert performed just before *The Tempest* commenced.<sup>10</sup> Especially since this play was staged at Blackfriars, the noisy, disordered tempest could also be likened to an antimasque that would be erased by the order of the masque, or play, proper.<sup>11</sup> While that assertion is partially correct, sounds of disorder

<sup>9</sup> Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 181, agrees that non-logocentric noises are essential to this play: "Nondiscursive sounds, which cannot be discriminated or made sense of as speech, play a crucial role in *The Tempest*, possibly in part a function of its performance in Blackfriars and a masquelike reliance on music and special effects that might appeal to audience tastes."

<sup>10</sup> Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, 120, writes that the opening effect of thunder and lightning "was even more disturbing if we consider that the audience enjoyed a musical concert for an hour before the performance began and Shakespeare shattered this auditory environment with thunder and lightning."

<sup>11</sup> Erin Minear observes in *Reverberating Song in Shakespeare and Milton: Language, Memory, and Musical Representation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 144, "as the storm is *not* natural, however, but an illusion created by Prospero, it can be understood as a kind of anti-masque: carefully staged disorder intended to contrast with the celebratory orderliness of the masque proper."

and disorientation actually surge like tempestuous soundwaves at several points throughout *The Tempest*.

The sensory effects of the storm may have been produced by familiar theatrical apparatuses. Keith Sturgess provides a comprehensive description of stagecraft conventions used to conjure a theatrical hurricane: "Squibs from the upper level of the Blackfriars façade or a resin box provided the lightning and the thunder was mimicked by drums in the tiring-house or music room or by cannonballs rolled in a thunder run, perhaps a combination of the two. And offstage sound effects from a sea machine (small pebbles revolved in a drum) and a wind machine (a loose length of canvas turned on a wheel) would complete a compelling storm sequence, probably enhanced by an echo from the high roof-space over the auditorium."<sup>12</sup> The relative complexity of the stage directions that necessitate these special effects suggests that, through *The Tempest*, Shakespeare and his company were intentionally experimenting with sound effects in their new sonic laboratory at Blackfriars.

In addition to the noise of the tempest, it is "*a confused noise within*" that signals the apparent doom of those onboard the ship, accompanied by the mariners' exclamation "We split, we split!" (1.1.60sd, 61). "Noise"

<sup>12</sup> Keith Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theater* (London: Routledge, 1987), 81. Andrew Gurr, "The Tempest's Tempest at Blackfriars," 95, writes that "[t]he technical aids available for creating a storm amounted to little more than the offstage noises. Thunder from a 'roul'd bullet' (a metal ball trundled down a metal trough) and 'tempestuous drumme' were standard accessories on both types of stage." The quoted terms are Jonson's dismissive ones from the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humor*. While both Gurr and Sturgess note the plethora of staged noises sounded in counterpoint—cracks of lightning, roars of thunder, crashing waves, and blustering wind—that were likely orchestrated to construct the "tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning," Roger Warren, "Rough Magic and Heavenly Music: The Tempest," in *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's Tempest*, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (New York, G. K. Hall & Co., 1998), 152–189, 152–153, believes that very stage direction to be misleading, arguing that "a major function of this scene is to reveal, fleetingly, what Antonio, Sebastian, and Gonzalo are like, and this will not be achieved if the dialogue is drowned in noisy confusion." Yet Warren's assertions partake of the spurious notion that the *logos* of the spoken dialogue merits the place of primacy; if we engage in global listening, we realize that the "noisy confusion" deserves just as much attention as the "meaning"-laden dialogue. With the multiplicity of possible noises sounding, it is likely that the noise of the storm was meant to obscure or confuse the language in this tempestuous moment. Mary Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain*, 205, also disagrees with Warren's assumptions here, arguing "Shakespeare has perhaps sacrificed the intelligibility of the dialogue for an experiment in sound effect and theatrical illusion"—which we might qualify by noting that the King's Men use noises more than visual "illusion" to create the tempest.



indicates diegetic action, while "within" suggests that the sound came from somewhere behind the main stage upon which the actors were yelling, possibly in the closed discovery space, yet as discussed in my chapter "'Drums rumble within': Embodied Experiences of Temples in the East and on the London Stage," it also implies a space internal or "within" the bodies of audience members witnessing this loud scene. The term "confused" is also noteworthy, in that it—like "noise"—relates to sounds of disorder. While we might be able to more accurately pinpoint the stage location where this sound occurs, what this "confused noise" sounded like is less clear. Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, staged at Whitehall in February 1609, also contains what Jonson describes as "confused noise" in the annotated copy prepared for Prince Henry; his text may provide a clue as to what constituted "confused noise."<sup>13</sup> A key component of the anti-masque, Jonson's "confused noise" is performed by the witches "all with spindles, timbrels [tambourines], rattles, or other veneficial instruments"; this instrumentation would suggest a cacophony of disordered sounds made by percussive instruments.<sup>14</sup> Considering the variety of sonic technologies available to the theater, it is likely that the "confused noise" at this moment in *The Tempest* was intended to approximate the noise of a shipwreck; perhaps the similar disordered sounds as those staged in Jonson's antimasque would have also signaled the diabolic to the audience.

For Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the opening effects of thunder and lightning were likely created, at least in part, by squibs. These pyrotechnic devices were comprised of saltpeter, brimstone, coal, and/or pitch, and were lit on fire to produce explosions that resulted in bursts of light, booming sounds, and a sulfurous smell. The senses of sight, sound, and smell are forcibly engaged through the squibs, as is the sense of touch, for the explosions would produce tangible vibrations that viscerally impact the audience. Although this is a multisensory special effect, the stage directions suggest that the sound of this tempest is foregrounded in the audience's experience, in that this is a "noise" of thunder and lightning that is "heard." While it is possible that Shakespeare was not the one to write these stage directions himself (Roger Warren, for example, argues that they are the invention of the scrivener Ralph Crane<sup>15</sup>), the copyist was

<sup>13</sup> Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Queens in Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques*, ed. R. M. Adams (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 321.

<sup>14</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 321.

<sup>15</sup> Warren, "Rough Magic," 152–153.

certainly attuned to the significance of sound to this play and to the island in *The Tempest*. The sheer volume of the noisy and noisome squibs, especially as they echoed through an enclosed performance hall like Blackfriars, is corroborated by the action on stage: the Boatswain asks Antonio, “Do you not hear him?” when Antonio asks after the Master, which demonstrates the volume and resulting confusion of noise at this moment as experienced by the characters and theater audience alike (1.1.13).<sup>16</sup> Like the pervasive soundwave that permeates bodies and matter, the smell of the pungent materials comprising the squibs also touches and infiltrates bodies. This synesthetic collapse entails a sound- and smell-scape through which the traditional, Aristotelian model of the five senses might be critically scrutinized; sounds that smell and invade the body not just through its ear relate to the sensory confusion that Serres theorizes in *The Five Senses*, and to the idea of “noise” that he develops in both *Genesis* and *The Parasite*. The opening synesthetic scene undoes a “familiar” understanding of sound in two important ways: it proposes that sound is a multisensorial sensation that can be smelled as well as heard, and it exposes the paradox of sound itself as capable of being both “noises” of disorder, and—like the musical selections performed during the preshow concert—“sweet airs” that are ordered and structured.

While the sound of explosion confuses the action of 1.1, the smell of the squibs probably lingered in the nostrils long after they were detonated to create these stage effects. Although squibs were definitely utilized in the public theater, it might seem more dubious that these pyrotechnic devices were employed in a private theater like Blackfriars because the enclosed space would amplify the sensory effects: the noise would be louder and more echoic, the flashes brighter due to the more intimate performance space and closer proximity, and sight would also be obscured as the smoke

<sup>16</sup> In a polyphonic orchestration of the opening tempest scene, layered over and within the noise of the squibs are the sounds of the actors shouting for fear, which sounds in competition with the squibs’ thunder. Besides the noise of the tempest, also audible is the nobility crying in distress and the mariners barking orders in their attempt to save the doomed vessel, in addition to the Master’s shrill whistle. Although the thunder and lightning of the storm is loud, the Boatswain suggests that the noise of the frightened nobility approaches the same decibel level. In response to their interference, the Boatswain himself yells, “A plague upon this howling. They are louder than the weather or our office,” their “office” referring to the shouting of sailors onboard ship as they perform their duties (1.1.35–36). Indeed, the poor Boatswain seems to be on sonic overload, with the noise of the thunder, the sound of the Master’s whistle, and his own yelling, the verbal pestering of the scared aristocrats is overwhelming to his ears; he begs them “To cabin! Silence! Trouble us not” (1.1.17–18).

produced from these squibs would have hung more thickly in the air, invading the nostrils of the theatergoers and adhering to their hair and clothing.<sup>17</sup> Andrew Gurr, for example, argues that it is unlikely that squibs were used at Blackfriars performances of *The Tempest*: "fireworks or rosin for lightning flashes were available at the amphitheatres but unpopular at the halls because of the stink.... I doubt if that kind of atmospheric aid was attempted."<sup>18</sup> Gwilym Jones concurs, arguing that due to "the unpopularity of indoor fireworks, the '*tempestuous noise*' is likely to have been *only* a noise" that was produced by the rolled bullet, instead of squibs.<sup>19</sup> While the smell caused by the squibs may not appeal to our notion of an appealing theater experience, especially for attendees at Blackfriars where the rank effects of the squibs would be "stifling" as Jonathan Gil Harris notes, Gurr's and Jones's conclusions overlay modern attitudes about tolerance thresholds for sensory experience onto the early modern period. I echo Sarah Dustagheer, who writes that the storm scenes, which other critics have thought unlikely to be acted at Blackfriars, instead "challenged the Blackfriars audiences."<sup>20</sup> To qualify statements about the overwhelming or unpleasant smell, for example, the Blackfriars would have already been immersed in the smell of tobacco smoke during performances, which would have countered the sulfurous smell of the squibs and would have also obscured sight due to the dense fog produced from multiple smokers, some of whom situated themselves on the gallant stools on stage.<sup>21</sup> That

<sup>17</sup> As Jonathan Gil Harris describes them in *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 119–120, "squibs, famously called for in the stage directions to *Doctor Faustus*, were employed to produce flashes and loud bangs. Because of the visual and acoustic impact, it is easy to overlook how both effects also stank—especially the squib.... Like all gunpowder products, the squib combined foul-smelling ingredients—sulfurous brimstone, coal, and saltpeter—that reeked all the more when detonated."

<sup>18</sup> Gurr, "*The Tempest's* Tempest at Blackfriars," 95.

<sup>19</sup> Gwilym Jones, "Storm Effects in Shakespeare," in *Shakespeare Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, ed. Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), 33–50, esp. 42.

<sup>20</sup> Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, 120.

<sup>21</sup> Several critics describe how the early modern theater was a place where sight was always somewhat obstructed: Tiffany Stern, "Taking Part: Actors and Audience on the Stage at Blackfriars," in *Inside Shakespeare: Essays on the Blackfriars Stage*, ed. Paul Menzer (New Jersey: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), 35–53, 45, writes that at Blackfriars "the sparkling audience—and actors—will have emerged through a delicate haze; a confusion of smoke from candles and tobacco" meant that "any performance at Blackfriars will have been seen through a brightly lit exotic, pungent fug." Gavin Hollis in *The Absence of America: The*

tobacco smoke itself was a regular feature of the playhouses—including the more exclusive Blackfriars—suggests that the audience members attended the theater fully aware of the multiple sensory effects they could experience there.

The characters' comments about the storm, moreover, indicate that squibs were employed to construct the aural, visual, haptic, and olfactory tempest.<sup>22</sup> In the scene following the opening tempest, Miranda comments on the smell of the storm (and theater space), observing to her father, "The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch" (1.2.3). Her description of the "stinking pitch" falling from the sky refers to pieces of the demolished ship, partially destroyed by Ariel who "flamed amazement" onboard (1.2.198). Pitch, like tar, is a material used to caulk the ship, and its "stinking" calls attention to the theater audience's own olfactory experience of the strong smell, as pitch was also a component of the squibs that were probably stagnating by this time in the space of the theater. The smell of the squibs might even still be perceptible two hundred lines later, when Ariel recounts the fiery tempest he has created at the behest of Prospero:

Jove's lightning, the precursors  
O'th' dreadful thunderclaps, more momentary  
And sight-outrunning were not; the fire and cracks  
Of sulfurous roaring, the most mighty Neptune  
Seem to besiege and make his bold waves tremble,  
Yea, his dread trident shake. (1.2.201–206)

Ariel's description of the "fire and cracks" in conjunction with the "sulfurous roaring" that comes down from the "lightning" and "dreadful thunderclaps" echoes Miranda's description of the strong smell of the storm and supports the argument that squibs, with their own "fire and cracks" and "sulfurous roaring," were indeed used in the staging of *The Tempest*; the same connection between thunder and sulfur is apparent in Pericles's experience of a tempest: "O, still / Thy deaf'ning dreadful thunders,

*London Stage, 1576–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 66, observes, "smoke, then, could be said to be a key part of the experience of playgoing. We might imagine the stage to be perpetually shrouded in smoke, with all theatrical production visible through a tobacco haze." Smoke is also discussed by Simon Smith in *Musical Response*, 63.

<sup>22</sup>Harris, *Untimely Matter*, 120.

gently quench / Thy nimble sulph'rous flashes," he cries (11.4–6).<sup>23</sup> This connection between "thunder" and "fire," both of which are associated with squibs, is again echoed much later in *The Tempest* by Prospero, who in recalling his various magical acts states that "to the dread-rattling thunder / Have I given fire" in his creation of the tempest, although the theater audience is aware that Ariel is the one who magically enacted the loud and pungent pyrotechnics of the tempest at Prospero's command (5.1.44–45).<sup>24</sup>

Ariel's phrase "sulfurous roaring," combined with the olfactory experience of the sulfurous smell and the vibratory-auditory rumblings of the squibs, likely signaled the otherworldly space of hell to the audience/olfactors.<sup>25</sup> As Harris discusses, the smell of the squibs was an olfactory marker of hell and the Satanic<sup>26</sup>; the squibs in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* may have been resonating in the minds of theatergoers at *The Tempest*. In the A-text (1604), stage directions indicate the use of "fire-works" (2.1.143), and later call for "*Thunder and lightning*" (5.2.109–110), while the dialogue uncannily references both Prospero's magic circle (Alonso, Gonzalo, Sebastian, and Antonio "*enter the circle which Prospero had made and there stand charmed*" 5.1.57sd) and the tempest itself: "The framing of this circle on the ground / Brings whirlwinds, tempests, thunder, and lightning" (2.1.157–158).<sup>27</sup> These effects made a lasting impression on the audience: Thomas Middleton recalls one who "had a head of hayre like one of my Diuells in Doctor *Faustus* when the old Theater crackt and frighted the Audience"<sup>28</sup>—the word "crackt" here is deliciously

<sup>23</sup>The term "pitch" is also echoed in Stefano's "scurvy tune" about the distasteful "Kate" who "loved not the savour of tar nor of pitch" (2.2.51). This again marks the connection between the sound of the storm and its noise, through the term "pitch" and its ironically un-"savoury" smell. This moment echoes Pericles's musings during his own shipwreck (11.5–6).

<sup>24</sup>In *Julius Caesar*, too, Casca mentions witnessing "a tempest dropping fire" (1.3.10).

<sup>25</sup>Gary Tomlinson in *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2, notes that the soundscape of the diabolic was overlaid onto the soundscape of Bermuda, which may help explain the combination of magic and music in *The Tempest*: "word spread that the archipelago was enchanted, an Isle of Devils or *demonorum insulam*. This certainly had much to do with the lack of an indigenous population. The Europeans twisted the absence of Indians on Bermuda into a haunting presence of something else." Furthermore, "it is a fact not enough remarked that the demonic presence on Bermuda was known, above all else, by its *voice*."

<sup>26</sup>Harris, *Untimely Matter*, 127–128.

<sup>27</sup>Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2005).

<sup>28</sup>T[homas] M[idleton] *The Black Book* (London: 1604), B4r.

descriptive of the quality of the sound and impact of the noise—and 1620, John Melton reported of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, “a man may behold shagg-hayr'd Deuills runne roaring over the Stages with squibs in their mouths while Drummers make thunder in the Tying-house, and the twelue-penny Hierlings make artificial Lightning in the Heauens.”<sup>29</sup> Shakespeare had also previously layered squib noise with the “fog and filthy air” as a by-product of the “*Thunder and lightning*” that accompanied his otherworldly Weird Sisters of *Macbeth* (1.1.12; 1.1.0sd).<sup>30</sup> The suggestion of an otherworldly hell signaled by the multisensory squib is taken up by at least one character in *The Tempest*, for Ariel later describes Ferdinand jumping ship and exclaiming “‘Hell is empty, / And all the devils are here’” in this environment scented by squibs and flaming “all afire” with Ariel (1.2.215–216).<sup>31</sup> The sulfurous smell of the squibs is reintroduced with a thunderstroke in the second act, around Trinculo's observation that “another storm [is] brewing; I hear it sing i'th' wind,” and “Alas, the storm is come again” (2.2.19–20; 36). Thunder again surges in the play through stage directions designating “*Thunder and lightning*” at 3.3.52 and “*thunder*” at 3.3.82 as Ariel descends like a harpy and causes the banquet set before the Italian nobility to vanish. Tempest noise erupts repeatedly throughout this play.

<sup>29</sup> John Melton, *The Astrologaster; or, the Figure-Caster* (London, 1620), 31.

<sup>30</sup> Harris discusses squibs and their relevance to the gunpowder plot in *Macbeth* in *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*, especially in Chap. 4, “The Smell of Gunpowder: *Macbeth* and the Palimpsests of Olfaction, 119–139.

<sup>31</sup> The multisensory effects of the squibs could also be suggestive of the fire that Ariel creates on the ship (an uncanny similarity to the onboard fire that also opens Michel Serres's *Five Senses*). The smoke and flashes of light are certainly representative of the fire that Ariel creates, but are not described by the stage directions. In fact, Ariel's fire is not mentioned or described until scene 2. Ariel's description also uncannily echoes a New World travel narrative: in George Best's account of the second voyage of Martin Frobisher, included in Richard Hakluyt's *America Part I*, Best writes, “These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ships at Sea was no lesse perilous. [marginal note: The Ayde set on fire.] For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was set on fire, and had bene the confusion of the whole if by chance a boy espying it, it had not bene speedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguished.” Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques, and discoveries of the English nation*, Vol. 12 *America Part I*, ed. Edmund Goldsmid (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889), 151. The island is also filled with devils; the word “devil” echoes repeatedly throughout the play, often in descriptions of Caliban and Sycorax.

While the squib smell could indicate hell, another geographical possibility hinted at by the squibs is their association with the East. In addition to plays that predate *The Tempest*, like Robert Greene's *Comicall History of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (published 1599) discussed in the previous chapter, John Fletcher's *The Island Princess*, written by Shakespeare's successor and performed at court by the King's Men on December 26, 1621, also employs squibs for their multisensory effects. The play is set in "India," which is actually staged as the East Indian Moluccan islands of Ternate and Tidore.<sup>32</sup> In his plan to rescue the King of Tidore (and thus win the desired hand of Tidore's sister Quisara), Armusia plots to blow up the house adjoining the Governor's house and prison: "The fire I brought here with me shall doe something, / Shall burst into materiall flames, and bright ones, / That all the Island shall stand wondring at it / As if they had been stricken with a Comet" (2.2.38–41).<sup>33</sup> Armusia also observes the vibratory and olfactory effects of the squibs, which "will make all shake, and smoak too" (2.2.36). This "fire," aided by ready "Powder," creates a comet-like blast in both volume and intensity. After the stage direction "*The Train takes*," the Governor interrupts himself in mid-sentence, wondering, "Heark what was that, / That noyse there? it went with a violence" (2.3.21sd–23). The "violence" of the blast was accompanied by a hazy fog; as Armusia's accomplice, Soza, notes, "We are not seen in the mist, we are not noted" as they sneak into the prison, hidden by sight-obstructing smoke that was likely hanging in the air, like sea mist, in *The Tempest* as well (2.3.57). The Citizens in the following act of *The Island Princess* also comment on the smelly effects of these cheap pyrotechnics: "I have been burnt at both ends like a squib" laments Citizen 2, and he

<sup>32</sup> Shankar Raman in *Framing "India": The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 2, writes that *The Island Princess* "begins by telling us that its 'scene' is 'India.' Yet the play unfolds in two Moluccan islands in present-day Indonesia, Ternate and Tidore. What was conceptually designated by 'India' in the early modern era therefore does not coincide with the political boundaries of the modern nation." Raman further observes, "*The Island Princess* is the first English play (to the best of my knowledge) to choose 'India'—in this case, the East Indies—as its setting" (158). For a discussion of the conventions of the court theater space, please refer to John H. Astington's *English Court Theatre, 1588–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 77. Neill, "Material Flames," 102, argues that "Fletcher takes almost as much care as Shakespeare to divorce his 'desart [*sic*] Islands' from any identifiable New World setting."

<sup>33</sup> Quotations from *The Island Princess* are from *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, Vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and will be cited parenthetically.

tells his wife, “I stinke abominably, and thou hadst bin in my place, thou wouldst have stunke at both ends ... I have more smoke in my mouth, then would blote a hundred herrings” (2.4.3–4, 17–18, 20–21). While other studies claim that the use of squibs at indoor theaters would not have been attempted, the fact that *The Island Princess* was performed at Court, in an enclosed space comparable to the indoor Blackfriars Theatre, coupled with the repeated references to the characteristics of the squibs, suggests that like *The Island Princess*, *The Tempest* also employed squibs for its staging of theatrical effects. Especially in the sweet-smelling context of “the clove and nutmeg islands of Ternat[e] and Tidore,”<sup>34</sup> the smell of squibs in *The Island Princess* might be imaged as comparatively unpleasant. Furthermore, one of the elements that was used in the burning squibs was saltpeter—a commodity imported to England from Morocco—which demonstrates a material connection to the Mediterranean. This association is especially poignant, for saltpeter was used to stage noise and its odorous by-product, both of which created networks among English bodies even as they infiltrated these bodies through smell, sound, sight, (possibly even taste), and touch.<sup>35</sup>

Miranda’s mention of “stinking pitch,” as well as the Second Citizen’s commentary about his own smell from the squibs detonated in *Island Princess*, indicates how certain sensory phenomena enmesh actors and theatergoers, because the sound, smell, and the smoke of the squibs is experienced by actors and audience alike. After Stefano, Trinculo, and Caliban follow Ariel’s invisible music in Act 3, scene 2, and become stuck in an oozy, “filthy-mantled pool,” Ariel describes the three as smelling badly: “the foul lake / O’erstunk their feet” he tells Prospero (4.1.182, 183–184). Immediately after, Caliban, Stefano, and Trinculo enter the scene and Trinculo also remarks on their scent, stating “I do smell all horse piss, at which my nose is in great indignation” and Stefano agrees, “So is mine” (4.1.199–201). The scent that adheres to these characters echoes the “stinking” smell of the squibs that also clings to the bodies, hair, and clothing of the theatergoers. Both the sounds and smells of the play touch—and transform—the audience and the characters.

<sup>34</sup> Neill, ““Material Flames,”” 107.

<sup>35</sup> Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7, 50.



Like the squibs themselves, which create a multisensory or synesthetic experience, Miranda's terminology for the squibs as "stinking pitch" also collapses the distinction between smell and sound. "Pitch" is a multivalent and multisensory term, suggesting both the plant-based resin like the "tar" used aboard ship, and a particular musical note. This is not the first moment in the play where sound functions differently from conventional expectations; rather, sound and hearing are characterized as synesthetic experiences throughout the text. Ariel describes Stefano, Trinculo, and Caliban's response to his tabor-playing as multisensorial: "like unbacked colts they pricked their ears, / Advanced their eyelids, lifted up their noses / As they smelt music" (4.1.176–178). So, while the stage directions of 1.1.1 suggest that "noise" of the squibs was the primary sensory aspect, the characters' dialogue also indicates that the lingering scent of the squibs was meant to produce certain strong olfactory effects that may have been one hint to the audience that the characters were shipwrecked somewhere in the East, and also threatened by the permeable stench of hell. What this play suggests is not just that spatial location is confused by sound, but also that vibratory noise stinks. This may be logically paradoxical, but it also approximates more closely the embodied experience of noise as opposed to *logos*—it resonates throughout the body and not just in the ear; in the process, sound slips into other supposedly discrete senses, most especially smell and touch.

\* \* \*

### "SO I CHARMED THEIR EARS": UNCANNY MUSICO-SPATIAL DISORIENTATIONS

Sounds in *The Tempest* disorient both sensorially and geographically. Logically, the island should be somewhere in the Mediterranean between Tunis and Italy, and near enough to where Prospero and Miranda might have landed after their exile from Milan, as well as somewhere near the Neapolitans' travel route home to Italy from Claribel's marriage in Africa. The soundscape of *The Tempest* disrupts these expectations entirely. My reading of the soundscape of the island echoes and amplifies Crystal Bartolovich's argument that *The Tempest* is "insistent" in "its spatial ambiguity" and "that there should be far more uncertainty than there is about the locatability of" the island in *The Tempest* than contemporary criticism

would have us believe.<sup>36</sup> One of the reasons for these sensory and geographic disorientations, like the smelling of sound or the hear/here homonyms, is the citational strategy Ariel also adopts in his misleading of Stefano, Trinculo, and Caliban: for example, invisible Ariel, “the picture of Nobody,” as Trinculo describes him (3.2.126–127), performs a piece of music the trio had previously sung. As Jacques Derrida describes in his essay “Aphorism Contretemps,” aphorisms circulate and rematerialize, sounding out of context; the aphorism is thus laden with additional meanings and associations palimpsested onto it. Furthermore, an aphorism is a sonically familiar phrase made potentially unfamiliar by being reiterated (or “countersigned”) in a context different from its original one.<sup>37</sup> Aphorisms heard throughout *The Tempest* exemplify the sonic uncanny.

Audience members hear the aphoristic “New World” resonances in this play sound in counterpoint to Ariel’s tabor and pipe, instruments of Eastern provenance. Miranda’s exclamation, “O brave new world,” coupled with Ariel’s mention of the “still-vexed Bermudas” has been cited as evidence that *The Tempest* is a “new world play” (5.1.183, 1.2.229). However, in this statement, Miranda is not referring to the island that she has lived on for most of her life; rather, her “new world” is actually the “old” Italianate world, “peopled” with the likes of Alonso, Sebastian, Antonio, and Gonzalo.<sup>38</sup> Prospero’s retort, “’Tis new to thee,” exposes her misinterpretation and suggests that Miranda’s statement is a disorienting one, for she seems to be facing the wrong way when she proclaims that this particular world is “new” (5.1.184). Nevertheless, there are several echoes of texts about the New World that might seem to provide orienting clues about the island’s location. Keith Sturges notes that the play “had

<sup>36</sup> Crystal Bartolovich, “London as a World City,” in *“The Tempest” and Its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 15–28, esp. 18, 19. Russell West, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage*, 188, also notes the spatial indeterminacy of *The Tempest*, a play where “locational allusions appear to place it in an indeterminate space combining aspects of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic or Caribbean.” Refer also to Douglas Bruster, who also questions the predominantly colonialist interpretations of *The Tempest* in *Quoting Shakespeare: Form and Culture in Early Modern Drama* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 118–121, and Gavin Hollis, *Absence of America*, 2, who writes “*The Tempest*, so often heralded as the American play of the period is, lest we forget, set on a magical island located (if it is really located anywhere) in the Mediterranean somewhere between Naples and Tunis.”

<sup>37</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Literature*, trans. Derek Attridge (New York: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>38</sup> Consult Jonathan Gil Harris, *Marvelous Repossessions: “The Tempest,” Globalization and the Waking Dream of Paradise* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2012), 12.

considerable topical interest for a Blackfriars audience" in 1611, especially since the audience was likely at least partially comprised of members of the Virginia Company who had organized or invested in George Somers's expedition; William Strachey himself was living in Blackfriars by December of 1611 and also held stock in the Blackfriars Theatre.<sup>39</sup>

Strachey's *A True Repertory of the Wreck* is among the most often attributed source materials for this play. According to his letter, Strachey's ears were attentive to the noises of the storm; he describes "the winds singing and whistling most unusually," which echo Trinculo's "I hear it sing i'th' wind" as he suspects "another storm" is "brewing" (2.2.19–20). Additionally, Strachey recalls that during the storm, fear "overmastered senses of all, which taken up with amazement, the ears lay so sensible to the terrible cries and murmurs of the winds and distraction of our company, as who was most armed and best prepared was not a little shaken."<sup>40</sup> Strachey locates fear as being sound-based—perhaps even somewhat musical since the winds "sing and whistle"—as well as multisensory. Strachey also characterizes the bodily sensation of fear as being "shaken" or vibrated by the force of the storm, and/or the experience of fear. This embodied experience could be reproduced in the space of the theater with its "noises" of stagecraft recounted above. The depiction of the eponymous tempest echoes other examples from the travel narrative archive: one narrative that is not often considered in discussions of *The Tempest* is Álvarez Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's account of his ill-fated travels in Florida.<sup>41</sup> Like many other travelogues, de Vaca's account describes a tempest: while attempting

<sup>39</sup> Keith Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theater*, 74.

<sup>40</sup> Citations to Strachey's letter are from Edward Wright Haile's *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony, The First Decade: 1606–1617* (Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 381–444, 384. Alden T. Vaughan discusses the strong evidence for copies of Strachey's letter circulating in manuscript copies in "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: A Closer Look at the Evidence," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.3 (2008): 245–273.

<sup>41</sup> In the Introduction to their English translation of *The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 32, Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz write that this text was circulated in translation outside of Spain since the mid-sixteenth century: "Through translation into Italian by Gian Battista Ramusio in 1556, mention by Richard Hakluyt in 1609 in his *Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida Her Next Neighbour*, and subsequent paraphrase into English and publication in Samuel Purchas's 1625 *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, de Vaca's account fed the imagination of the earliest English colonists regarding the lands they were going to settle along the Atlantic seaboard of North America."

to obtain provisions at what he identifies as the port of Trinidad, de Vaca recalls, “the sea and the storm began to swell so much that there was no less tempest in the town than at sea, because all the houses and churches blew down,” trees fell, and the troupe’s bodies were in danger of being carried away by the fierce winds.<sup>42</sup> Like Strachey’s “singing and whistling” winds, de Vaca’s description of the hurricane includes its strange sounds: “Walking along in this way we heard all night long, especially after midnight, much noise and a great clamor of voices, and the loud sounds of bells and flutes and tambourines and other instruments, all of which continued until morning when the storm ceased.”<sup>43</sup> De Vaca’s narrative uncannily and remarkably describes some of the noises staged in *The Tempest*. The tabor and pipe (a type of flute) are played upon by Ariel, while bells probably jingle on Trinculo’s English motley, not to mention their invocation during the refrain of “Full Fathom Five” in tolling Alonso’s fictionalized death. As discussed above, the “tambourine and other instruments” may have aided in the staging of “confused noise,” as they did in Jonson’s antimasque. De Vaca experiences the tempest at Trinidad via its *noise*, as do the characters in Shakespeare’s *Tempest*.

Both de Vaca’s narrative and Strachey’s letter describe tempests in the New World in sonic terms. While Strachey’s letter is considered evidence that Shakespeare intended his play to be representative of the “New World,” it, like Shakespeare’s play, refuses to contain itself to one set of geographical coordinates. Through simile and metaphoric comparisons, Strachey’s letter incorporates material that indicates various geographical locations, including the “Mediterranean” (389); “Indian islands” (394); “Libanus” (395); “Alexandria” (395); “Poland ... Calpe and Avila ... Chio, Smyrna, Troy, the Hellespont, and up to Pompey’s Pillar” (423); and “Italy” (428). If there are similarities between Shakespeare’s play and Strachey’s letter, they lie in the attention to sonic phenomena and uncanny representations of geographical space, rather than in their supposedly identical New World locations. As Jonathan Gil Harris observes, “our willingness to univocally locate the island of *The Tempest* in the geographic New World is just as question-begging as Miranda’s misprision. This is not to deny that Shakespeare was influenced by travel literature about the West Indies and the Americas,” but the play also has “North African coordinates,” and

<sup>42</sup> *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*, 51.

<sup>43</sup> *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*, 51.

the play as a whole, like Strachey's letter, presents "a palimpsested space, riddled with traces of the old."<sup>44</sup>

In fact, Miranda's "brave new world" is met by Stefano's "Indian" counterpoint. Stefano, in fear and confusion about the "four-legged" Trinculo-Caliban monster, questions "Do you put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind?" (2.2.56–57). While "savages" is a term used in many new world travel narratives to refer to the native peoples, "men of Ind," or India, would seem to suggest the East. However, as with Miranda's "new world," "Ind" is a multisignifying term, for the word "Indian" was used to describe peoples in both the Eastern and Western hemispheres.<sup>45</sup> An echo of Columbus's error in thinking he reached Indo-China, "Indian" was misapplied to inhabitants of the Occidental hemisphere. Alden T. Vaughan, among others, hears tonalities of New World Indians in Trinculo's statement, especially since Trinculo's words "reflect the Indians' topicality in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, where nearly two score American Indians and Eskimos dwelled for varying periods, mostly in London, during Shakespeare's lifetime."<sup>46</sup> However, the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that "Indian" had long referred to peoples in the East, but was starting to also indicate people West of Europe. While Trinculo uses both terms, "Indian" and "savages," his syntax is unclear: he could be using the terms synonymously or as opposites. Perhaps his usage is deliberately ambiguous, echoing the instability of the geographically "specific" terminology itself.

If words prove to be unstable, music—appreciated in the Renaissance for its order and structure—is even more disorienting in this play, functioning like a Serresian footprint of form emerging from the chaos of noise, yet still refusing to signify in ways an audience might expect. W. H. Auden

<sup>44</sup>Harris, *Marvelous Repossessions*, 12–13, 13, 14. In his *First Firangis: Remarkable stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & other Foreigners who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 243, 246, Harris also notes a connection to the Eastern island of Sandwip: travelers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Cesare Federici, Sebastiao Manrique, and Francois Bernier observed the remarkably heavy rains in the Bay of Bengal; while Harris states that "Shakespeare wasn't writing about Sandwip when he imagined the location of *The Tempest*," however, "the similarities between the two isles are striking nonetheless."

<sup>45</sup>Please refer to my Introduction for a discussion of the uncanny slippage in geographic meaning of the word "Indian" as recorded in the *OED*.

<sup>46</sup>Alden T. Vaughan, "Trinculo's Indian: American Natives in Shakespeare's England," in *"The Tempest" and Its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 49–59, 50.

observed, “*The Tempest* is full of music of all kinds, yet it is not one of the plays in which, in a symbolic sense, harmony and concord finally triumph over disorder,” especially as the noises of the opening tempest continue to resound and echo throughout the play.<sup>47</sup> Like the aphoristic keywords “New World,” “Indian,” and “savages,” the music of this play refuses to provide a singular signification. This is not least because of the layering of sounds that music requires. Musical disorientations echo—and cause—spatial disorientations. Although it may seem a counterintuitive claim, the notated musical “airs” disorient the characters, audience, and modern readers even more so than the “tempestuous noise[s]” or the echoic intra-textual sounds that resound throughout and beyond the play.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the spatial dimension is also reconfigured through sound. If we attune our ears to the play’s music, Oriental or Eastern tonalities resonate in harmony with the Western chords of an imagined Italy (uncannily similar to England) and the Americas. This unusual music blending tones from different geographic locations is characterized by Caliban as being singularly “sweet” among the other “noises” and “sounds” composing the soundscape of the island; the almost-tasteable sweetness of the airs also pits them against the unsavory smell of the breathable air in the theater.

The musical airs (like the scented air) disorient the listeners, leading the audience in multiple directions. This disorienting effect disguised as a mode of orientation is apparent in both “Come Unto These Yellow Sands” and “Full Fathom Five,” the first airs of the play. The lyrics of “Come Unto These Yellow Sands” are imperative, drawing the shipwrecked Ferdinand onto the island:

Come unto these yellow sands,  
And then take hands;  
Curtsied when you have, and kissed  
The wild waves whist; (1.2.376–379)

Although no indication of the tune accompanying these lyrics survive, the stage direction preceding the air states that Ariel enters “*invisible, playing*

<sup>47</sup>W. H. Auden, *The Dyer’s Hand and Other Essays* (New York: Random House, 1962), 526.

<sup>48</sup>However, certain airs of this island, orchestrated and conducted by Prospero though performed by Ariel, orient the other characters in certain directions, and knowledge is produced through sound in certain cases. This occurs especially with “While you here do snoring lie,” awakening Gonzalo to his otherwise impending demise (2.1.301).

*and singing*" this song, so the actor performing Ariel's role would have been musically talented, likely playing the lute to accompany his voice (1.2.375sd).<sup>49</sup> That the "wild waves whist," or become calm, is indicative of the geohumoral network songs create, attuning both Ferdinand's body and his environment to a calmer frequency. The earthy directive to "come unto these yellow sands" corresponds with the melancholia we might assume Ferdinand initially experiences when he is "landed by himself," while the watery harmonies soothe him into a phlegmatic calmness (1.2.221).<sup>50</sup>

The lyrics Ariel sings contain a possible clue to Ferdinand about where he finds himself, for the "yellow sands" might have subliminally evoked the exotic East Indian setting of Titania's love-idyll with her votaress in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which she terms "Neptune's yellow sands"; even the same stage property may have been used for both scenes (2.1.126).<sup>51</sup> Another resonance may be heard between these four opening lines of the air and lines from Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* set in and near the Hellespont. In the speech describing the location of her home at Sestos, Hero tells Leander it is "Far from the towne where all is whist and still, / Saue that the sea, playing on yellow sand, / Sends foorth a ratling murmur to the land."<sup>52</sup> Sestos is located on the European side of the Hellespont, across from Leander's home, Abydos, on the Asiatic side. The Hellespont itself was considered a convergent point between West and East, and—especially since the Neapolitans in *The Tempest* were traveling back home from Claribel's wedding in Tunis, which was at this time controlled by the Ottoman Empire<sup>53</sup>—an Eastern location would have been particularly resonant for an early modern theater audience

<sup>49</sup> Sturges, *Jacobean Private Theatre*, 84, postulates that Ariel, in addition to playing on the tabor and pipe in 3.2 "probably also accompanied himself at the Blackfriars on the lute."

<sup>50</sup> Please refer to Gail Kern Paster's work on geohumoralism in *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). In *The Anatomie of Melancholy* (London, 1621), Robert Burton prescribes dance and music as cures for melancholy: "But to leave all declamatory speeches in praise of divine music, I will confine myself to my proper subject: besides that excellent power it hath to expel many other diseases, it is a sovereign remedy against despair and melancholy, and will drive away the devil himself."

<sup>51</sup> Consult Harris, *Marvelous Repossessions*, 45.

<sup>52</sup> Christopher Marlo[w]e, *Hero and Leander* (London: 1598), STC 17413. C2v. ll. 347–348.

<sup>53</sup> Jerry Brotton, "Carthage and Tunis: *The Tempest* and Tapestries," in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000),

attuned to these frequencies. Barbara Fuchs also argues that the tendency to read *The Tempest* as only a “New World play” misses the cultural importance of its historical context: the “critical privileging of America as the primary context of colonialism for the play obscures the very real presence of the Ottoman threat in the Mediterranean,” like that alluded to by Thomas Dallam (who, by the way, transported his organ across the Hellespont to Mehmed’s seraglio, as discussed in the previous chapter).<sup>54</sup> An indeterminate space between Europe and Asia, the Hellespont shares geographic characteristic of yellow sands and sounding seas with the island in *The Tempest*, an island that also occupies a liminal space between Europe, Asia, the Mediterranean, and perhaps even the New World.<sup>55</sup>

The Eastern associations piqued by this initial invitation to “yellow sands” are taken up later in the play. This resonance can be heard in Prospero’s magical soliloquy of 5.1, where he “here abjure[s]” “this rough magic” (5.1.51, 50):

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,  
 And ye that on the sands with printless foot  
 Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him  
 When he comes back; you demi-puppets that  
 By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,  
 Whereof the ewe not bites; and you whose pastime  
 Is to make midnight-mushrooms, that rejoice  
 To hear the solemn curfew, by whose aid—  
 Weak masters though ye be—I have bedimmed  
 The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,  
 And ‘twixt the green sea and the azured vault  
 Set roaring war; to the dread-rattling thunder  
 Have I given fire and rifted Jove’s stout oak  
 With his own bolt: the strong-based promontory  
 Have I made shake, and by the spurs plucked up  
 The pine and cedar; graves at my command  
 Have waked their sleepers, ope’d, and let ’em forth  
 By my so potent art. (5.1.33–50)

134–139, 137, writes that “By the time that *The Tempest* was performed, Tunis and Algiers were back in the hands of the Ottoman authorities.”

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Fuchs, “Conquering Islands: Contextualizing *The Tempest*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48.1 (1997): 45–62, esp. 46.

<sup>55</sup> For a discussion of the resonances between Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander* and these airs in *The Tempest*, please refer to Jennifer Linhart Wood, “Sounding Spaces: *The Tempest*’s Uncanny Near-East Echoes,” *Shakespeare Studies* 44 (2016): 173–179.



Prospero's lines are an uncanny echo of Medea's incantation spoken before her attempt to lengthen Aeson's life from the seventh Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, presented here in Arthur Golding's 1567 translation:

Ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,  
Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone.  
...  
By charmes I make the calme Seas rough, and make the rough Seas plaine,  
And cover all the Skie with Cloudes and chase them thence againe.  
By charmes I raise and lay the windes, and burst the Vipers law.  
And from the bowels of the Earth both stones and trees doe draw.  
Whole woods and forestes I remove: I make the Mountaines shake,  
And even the Earth it selfe to grone and fearfully to quake.  
I call up dead men from their graves: and then the lightsome Moone  
I darken oft, though beaten brasse abate thy peril soone,  
Our Sorcerie dimmes the Morning faire, and darkes the Sune at Noone.<sup>56</sup>

The invocation of the sylvan "elves," the ability to change the state of the sea, sky, and earth's landscape, as well as the ability to bring the dead back to the realm of the living, are common to both texts, and may have caused listeners familiar with Ovid to question Prospero's assertion that his magic is different from the "black magic" of a witch like Sycorax or Medea.<sup>57</sup> The audience may have also heard an Eastern resonance in Prospero's language: Medea is represented as an Oriental character in Greek mythology, and her sound is doubly other due to her racial identification and use of enchantment. Her speech here partakes of the loud, melodramatic, "Asiatic" rhetorical style, opposed to the more restrained "Attic" style

<sup>56</sup> 7.2656; 659–277. Consult also Stephen Orgel, "Prospero's Wife," *Representations* 8 (Autumn 1984): 1–13, 10–11.

<sup>57</sup> Roger Warren, "Rough Magic," 182, hears echoes of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* in addition to Ovid's Medea in this passage. Barbara Mowat, in "Prospero, Agrippa, and Hocus Pocus," *English Literary Renaissance* 11 (1981): 281–303, discerns another English correlation for Prospero in the magus John Dee. Both Warren's and Mowat's readings echo the manner in which *The Tempest* partakes of moments of uncanny soundings. Mowat also believes that "Prospero's speech abjuring his magic (5.1.33–57) is at many points little more than a restatement of one of Ovid's most famous, most easily recognizable passages." Consult Mowat, "'Knowing I loved my books': Reading *The Tempest* Intertextually," in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 27–36, 29.

favored by Greco-Romans.<sup>58</sup> When Prospero channels Golding's Medea, he sounds the Asiatic style in a way that palimpsests both him and the island he describes through this geo-sonic echo.

Similar to the magical effects on the natural world outlined in Prospero's and Medea's speeches, Ariel's music impacts Ferdinand. Upon these Eastern "yellow sands," Ferdinand is given instructions by the song for what else to do with his body: he is told to "take hands," and later to dance nimbly, or "Foot it featly here and there," as directed by lines that may be part of the air, or may actually be stage directions that were mis-set by a printer or compositor (1.2.376, 380).<sup>59</sup> The prominence of bodily directives related to this song reveals another fundamental quality of music, for in addition to the capacity sound has to move beyond the body, it also has a deep connection to the body, able both to vibrate and to *move* it; like the "shaking promontory" or the "wild waves" that are calmed, the music of the play moves bodies in different directions and positions through its uncanny vibrations.<sup>60</sup> The dance steps could easily have referred to well-known English choreography and anticipates the masque dancing that Ferdinand will later witness in the play. They also resonate with the dance in 3.3 performed by spirits who move "*with mocks and mows*" (3.3.82sd) as they carry out the banquet—a description that is uncannily similar to descriptions of the New World Indians' dancing, and even echoes the diabolical antimasque to Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, where the dancers also perform "with strange gestures" and "mops an mows."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Both modes are described by Cicero in *Brutus*; this distinction would have been recognizable to early moderns who had studied rhetoric. The "Asiatic" style was also used by Shakespeare's Cleopatra in counterpoint to Octavia's "cold, and still conversation" (2.6.119).

<sup>59</sup> In the First Folio, TLNs 524–525, "*Foote it featly here, and there, and sweete Sprights beare / the burthen*," are off-set from the previous four lines of "Come Unto These Yellow Sands, as are the following lines, "*Harke, harke, bowgh wangh: the watch-Dogges barke, / bowgh-wangh*" (526–527). Ariel is cued to resume singing in the next lines, "*Hark, hark, I heare, the straine of strutting Chanticleere / cry cockadiddle-dowe*" (528–529), so the previous four lines that are often interpreted as being part of this air may be detailed stage directions for other elements of the soundscape orchestrated at this point in the play. Definition 2b given in the *OED* for "feately" is, "with reference to movements, especially dancing: with graceful agility, nimbly." Miranda and Ferdinand do fast hands at 3.1.89–90, when they exchange marriage vows, and later Alonso entreats them both to "Give me your hands" (5.1.213).

<sup>60</sup> Minear, *Reverberating Song*, 145, also notes "the positively weird way that music in the play moves people—and the tendency of music and cacophony to move similarly."

<sup>61</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 321.

Before performing these duties later in the play, Ariel's spirits are entreated to sing the burden, or refrain, of "Come Unto These Yellow Sands." Layered over and within the melodic lines of the first song performed in the play are noises reminiscent of a rural or suburban soundscape of England, including the sounds of the spirits who "*(dispersedly)*" bark "Bow-wow" (1.2.382sd, 383). The stage direction, "*(dispersedly)*," which Stephen Greenblatt suggests is also "within" the curtained discovery space, evokes a multiplicity of points from which these staged noises of humans vocalizing barking dogs emanate. The barking that comes from various locations around and behind the stage simultaneously performs the very sonic disorientation that the play sustains throughout. While the soundscape of the play is a palimpsest of noises resonant from various locations, this moment enacts a polyphonic layering of performed "barking" over sung music that similarly enacts confusion through these various sounds occurring simultaneously. As Michael Neill observes, "Ariel's intention is that his fellow spirits should take up the chorus, or 'burden,' of his song" in order to alter the geohumoral soundscape.<sup>62</sup>

Following the cacophony of the barking, Ariel sings "Hark hark, I hear / The strain of strutting chanticleer / Cry cock a diddle dow," a sung vocalization of the cock crowing, and a familiar soundbyte from the English soundscape (385–387). "Hark" is a command to listen; the first definition given in the *OED* for "hark" is "to give ear or listen to; to hear-ken to, hear with active attention," which self-reflexively calls attention to its own performance. Ariel's statement is itself disorienting, for he says he hears Chanticleer's cry before he vocalizes it himself; or, that in the dogs' barking, he hears the crowing of a rooster that he himself imitates. "Chanticleer" could have suggested any bucolic rooster, or it might have signaled "The Nun's Priest's Tale" from *The Canterbury Tales* to audience members familiar with Chaucer's writing. This tale itself begs the question of the difference between animals and humans—a difference that is somewhat elided through sound in these onomatopoeic noises we hear Ariel

<sup>62</sup> Michael Neill, "'Noises, Sounds and sweet airs': The Burden of Shakespeare's *Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.1 (2008): 36–59, 42. Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theater*, 77, suggests that the spirits that accompany Ariel in his various songs might have performed by boys of the Chapel Royal, who were well trained in music and dance, and now were "without a regular playing operation of their own." Although they would not have been associated with the "bass" or "heavier" sounds of the burden Neill identifies, their beautiful, young voices would have contributed to the ethereal, otherworldly effect of the music offered here.

and his spirits perform throughout *The Tempest*.<sup>63</sup> Ariel's crowing might disorient Ferdinand to something of his homeland, yet one more representative of the English countryside than the Italy suggested by the play-text. The hybrid England/Italy signaled by Chanticleer's cry is noisily overlaid on the play-space of these Eastern, "yellow sands," and is perhaps even accompanied by a kind of New World, or witch-like, circle dance.

Ferdinand's brief soliloquy also echoes the geographically disorienting palimpsest of this first song: "Where should this music be? I'th' air, or th'earth?" Ferdinand wonders (1.2.387).<sup>64</sup> Ariel is invisible when he sings this air and the following song, "Full Fathom Five," so Ferdinand's question hints that Ariel might have performed in the music room, located in or near the upper balcony of the stage, as suggested by the line "I'th' air," which seems to indicate a space above the main theater stage. Other spirits "bear the burden" "dispersedly," so that the soundwaves of this music wash over Ferdinand from various points of origin (1.2.382sd). Ferdinand's uncertainty about the source of this sound is echoed in his questioning of whether it comes from "th'air" (a homonymic pun to the audience, aware that the singer and player is the airy Ariel) or "th'earth." After hearing the next air, "Full Fathom Five," Ferdinand concludes that "This is no mortal business nor no sound / that the earth owes. I hear it now above me" (1.2.407–408). Again, Ferdinand uses his phenomenological experience of the music he hears in an attempt to locate the music spatially. His conclusion is partially correct: this music is not "mortal," in the sense that it is produced by an airy spirit under the control of a sorcerer, and it may have been performed in the space of the theater known as "the heavens." Of the confusion Ferdinand experiences, Lynne Magnusson notes that "At every level the play exhibits its concern to examine the sense-making process," yet she, like Mary Thomas Crane, concludes that this very pro-

<sup>63</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that bird noises were heard in the theater: a bird whistle was found at the Rose excavation site. "The bird whistle, generally made of clay, could imitate the sounds of various species, notably nightingale, quail, turtle-dove and cuckoo" note Wilson and Calore, *Music in Shakespeare: A Dictionary*, 469. Boatswains' pipe or whistles—like those used in *The Tempest*—were found in the wreckage of the *Mary Rose* (Wilson and Calore, 469); see also Francis Palmer, "Musical Instruments from the *Mary Rose*," *Early Music* 11.1 (January 1983): 53–60.

<sup>64</sup> Simon Smith points out an echo between Ferdinand's uncertainty about the direction from which the music comes and a scene in Robert Davenport's *A New Trick to Cheat the Devil*: when off-stage music plays, the character Slightall questions "Descends it from the Spheares? / Hangs it in the Aire? / Or issues it from Hell?" (F4r, cited in Smith, *Musical Response*, 95).

cess is undermined by the indeterminacy that is so crucial to the play.<sup>65</sup> Just as Ferdinand is a shipwrecked traveler in an uncertain, unidentifiable terrain, so too is the audience; like him, we can experience, through stage- and sound-craft, the pains and pleasures of geographic disorientation within the London theater.

Spatial location becomes even more disorienting in Ariel's "Full Fathom Five." The alleged death of Ferdinand's father, Alonso, is described in poetic detail:

Full fathom five thy Father lies,  
Of his bones are coral made;  
Those are pearls that were his eyes,  
Nothing of him that doth fade  
But doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something rich and strange. (1.2.397–402)

These lyrics offer an image of global metamorphosis through the sea's transformation of Alonso's Italian "bones" into tropical coral. But the Mediterranean or New World seas also touch an Eastern shore, as Alonso's optic pearls indicate. The "rich and strange" transformed pearl is suggestive of the opulent "orient pearl." The *OED* defines this as "a pearl from the seas around India, as distinguished from those of less beauty found in European mussels; hence, ... a brilliant or precious pearl."<sup>66</sup> However, "pearls" may have also signified the New World, for they appear in Strachey's *A True Repertory*, and are pictured on the New World native bodies in John White's illustrations to Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. Even Strachey's pearl is itself multi-directional, for he mentions that some of the men on the island of Bermuda have fished for pearls "which some say, and I believe well, is as good there as in any of their other Indian islands."<sup>67</sup> In the New World, the pearl still resounds with Eastern overtones, as "Indian islands" can

<sup>65</sup>Lynne Magnusson "Interruption in *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37.1 (1986): 52–65, 59. Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain*, 181.

<sup>66</sup>This is the definition for "pearl of orient *n.*," listed under "orient, *n.* and *adj.*," A. 1. b. "Pearl" was also used to refer to the pupil or lens of the eye; see *OED* "pearl," n.1 A.1.1.a. Miriam Jacobson is also interested in the significance of orient pearls to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, which she discusses in *Barbarous Antiquity: Reorienting the Past in the Poetry of Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 149–187.

<sup>67</sup>Strachey, *A True Repertory*, 394.

refer to a variety of East or West locations, as Karen Robertson also argues.<sup>68</sup> However, the pearl is featured most often in Shakespearean representations of Eastward spaces; for example, Antony sends to Cleopatra the gift of an “orient pearl” (1.5.42), and “Her bed is India,” Troilus says of Cressida, and “there she lies, a pearl” (1.1.95). Like the multi-directional pearls, the melodic waters create in Alonso’s fictionalized body a “sea change” that encompasses an Italy similar to England, the “Bermudas,” and the orient pearl in this palimpsest.

Echoes of Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander* are audible in this air as well: in describing the deep fathoms into which Neptune has pulled Leander, we find that

the ground  
Was strewd with pearle, and in low corall groues,  
Sweet singing Meremaids, sported with their loues  
On heapes of heauie gold, and tooke great pleasure,  
To spurne in carelesse sort, the shipwracke treasure.... (644–648)

Shakespeare uses this same combination of “pearle” and “corral” found at the bottom of Marlowe’s Hellespont to create the image of Alonso’s “shipwrecked,” drowned, and transformed body.<sup>69</sup> The echoes of Marlowe’s epyllion demonstrate another uncanny effect of these airs in *The Tempest*: auditors who recognized Marlowe’s poem through Shakespeare’s “yellow sands,” “corral,” and “pearle” would have heard these words sung by Ariel in yet another uncanny echo of Marlowe’s poem. Ariel’s singing converts Marlowe’s familiar written words from poetry read silently or aloud into music that makes familiar text sound different when the lyrics are set to musical tones. Ariel’s water nymph consort of “spirits” enacts Marlowe’s “sweet singing mermaids” when they vocalize the bell-refrain to conclude “Full Fathom Five.” Moreover, the air ostensibly memorializing Alonso more accurately pays tribute to

<sup>68</sup> Karen Robertson, “Playing Indian: John Smith, Pocahontas, and a Dialogue about a Chain of Pearl,” in *Indograpy: Writing the ‘Indian’ in Early Modern England*, ed. Jonathan Gil Harris (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 105–115. Please refer also to Charles Frey, “*The Tempest* and the New World,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30 (1979): 29–41 for a discussion of pearls in early modern New World settings.

<sup>69</sup> Given the difference in posthumous publication dates of the two texts—Marlowe’s in 1598 and Shakespeare’s in 1623—it is noteworthy that even the spellings of both “corral” and “pearle” are identical in these passages.

Christopher Marlowe as the ghost-like presence in this passage: it is not Alonso, after all, who suffers this sea-change.<sup>70</sup> Rather, Marlowe's writing, which has not "faded," is likewise transformed when Shakespeare echoes his poetry through Ariel's songs.

The extant manuscript copy of the musical score of "Full Fathom Five" was notated by John Wilson, who attributes the tune to the well-known court lutenist Robert Johnson (Fig. 1).<sup>71</sup> Johnson's music was popular at court and at Blackfriars, and he also composed the music for some of Jonson's masques. The musical structure of "Full Fathom Five" draws the ear to particular words through note length, tonality, and harmonic configuration, at the same time the melody and harmony move in somewhat disorienting directions. In this air, the vocal line remains on the same pitch for all three opening alliterative words, moving upward finally on the word, "father," but resolving to the third pitch of the scale, rather than continuing the momentum of the line and resolving on the sixth tone as might be expected. The melodic pattern itself is one that repetitively rises and falls, imitating the "listless chime" of the sea. The first longest note duration before the tolling of the funeral knell is sung to the word "lies," which creates a homonymic pun due to the dramatic irony that this requiem for Ferdinand's father is a "lie," as Alonso is very much alive, though perhaps a "liar" himself. The second longest note in this first section of the piece is sung to the Oriental word "pearls," which calls attention to their unique "brilliance or preciousness." At the mention of the "sea change," the music also performs what modern listeners might call a key change—a shift in tonality that sounds "rich and strange" as it modulates. The harmonic structure, like the crashing waves, also operates circularly, beginning in what we would identify as the key of G, moving momentarily to dominant tonality of D at the "sea/key change," then returning back to G through the descending "ringing" of the bells vocal-

<sup>70</sup> I am grateful to Diana Henderson for sharing this observation.

<sup>71</sup> Folger MS V.a.411, fol. 11r. Even this seemingly "oriented" song is not as firmly rooted as we might like, for the manuscript copy that is available dates from 1660, nearly half a century after the play was first staged. Howell Chickering, "Hearing Ariel's Songs," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994): 131–172, 69, contends that it was "very likely" Johnson "also wrote a melody that has not been preserved for another of Ariel's songs, 'Come Unto These Yellow Sands.'" Ross Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004) suggests that the lyrics to "Come Unto These Yellow Sands" might have been sung to the tune of "Kemp's Jig," while others suppose that it, too, was composed by Johnson but has not been recovered. Ferdinand's reaction to the songs could endorse this later view; he states, "This music crept by me upon the waters, /... / ... it begins again"; "this music" could refer to the same tune (1.2.392, 396).





Fig. 1 Musical score for "Full Fathom Five," John Wilson, attributed to Robert Johnson. *John Playford collection of music to the Tempest* (ca. 1605–1667), fol. 11r. Call#: Folger MS V.a.411. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library

ized by Ariel's spirits singing as "sea nymphs." The "rich and strange" tonalities would have been noticeable to the listeners, manipulating their own sonic orientations in diverse directions, as the lyrics of the song congruently suggest. A recording of "Full Fathom Five" is audible through QR Code 1.

Most noticeable, however, would be the sung word "strange" that concludes the first section of the piece and which further insists on the exotic location of the island.<sup>72</sup> The note corresponding to the word "strange" resolves—not to the tonic, or root, of the initial tonal center of the piece as might be expected—but rather on the fifth, or dominant, tone, signaling the shifting of tonality from the one in which the piece began and

<sup>72</sup> Other critics have observed the importance of strangeness to this play, though primarily in its modern sense denoting oddness: Keith Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theatre*, 73, observes that "'strange' is a word much used in the play" and Erin Minear, *Reverberating Song*, 147, writes, "the noises of the isle do not merely provide one more example or demonstration of its general strangeness. They are strangeness in action."





**QR Code 1** “Full Fathom Five”

echoing the geographic uncertainty of our current location, unsettled by this modulation. Making the word “strange” the resolution of the modulated musical phrase that concludes the first section of the piece amplifies the meaning of strangeness as well: “strange” is defined by the *OED* as an intentional mark of foreignness audible to Shakespeare’s audience: “Of persons, language, customs, etc.: Of or belonging to another country; foreign, alien” (1a). With the abundance of multi-directional pearls and coral, the richness of this song and its images comes from its sonic “strangeness,” as otherness is sounded. Both the word “strange” and the pitch sung to that word epitomize the dual sonic and geographic disorientation performed repeatedly throughout the play—a play in which events move “From strange to stranger” in Alonso’s estimation (5.1.228).

However, the conclusion of “Full Fathom Five” uncannily replicates a feature of the English or continental soundscape, for Ariel sings that “sea nymphs hourly ring [Alonso’s] knell” to conclude the song.<sup>73</sup> Here, the spirits pose as sea nymphs who, along with Ariel, vocalize the tolling of the funeral knell by singing “ding dong bell” as a refrain; like the burden of “Come Unto These Yellow Sands,” the spirits again sing the “burden” or refrain in a manner that allows their voices to surround Ferdinand and confuse his sense of space. In the musical line set to “Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell,” the broken chord that is sung imitates the pattern of pealing churchbells, which were linked to English and continental Christian worship.<sup>74</sup> While the listening audience is certainly meant to hear sounds

<sup>73</sup>The “mermaids” of Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander* might even be conflated or confused with the “sea nymphs” who sing in both Shakespeare’s play and in Marlowe’s epyllion. Marlowe also notes the enchanting power of the sea nymphs’ song, comparing their musicality to Hero’s beauty: “For like sea nymphs’ inveigling harmony, / So was her beauty to the standers by” (105–106).

<sup>74</sup>Consult Chickering, “Hearing Ariel’s Songs.”

of death, vocalized by the onomatopoeic “ding dong bell,” this sound is also reminiscent of the lulling waves washing along the shore as the musical line descends, creating an uncanny echo of a space suggestive of an Anglo-European homeland.

While my reading of the play’s soundscape as incorporating East and West Indian sounds might be countered by the fact that the music accompanying these songs was composed by the English court lutenist Robert Johnson, therefore the music would sound decidedly English, I would argue that even the lute which accompanied these airs, an instrument we associate with Renaissance music, was an instrument of Arabic origin that had been imported into England—a fact I discuss in further detail in the Coda. Like the hawk’s bells jingling on Trinculo’s motley, which had become part of the New World soundscape, the lute would have sounded profusely on the early modern English stage, imported into the English soundscape. Like the “tabor” drum, as well as the “nakers” discussed in the “Drums rumble within” chapter, the lute was an instrument of Eastern origin that had become incorporated into the English soundscape. Also like the maracas, examined in the book’s second chapter, and the bell—even the bells that toll Alonso’s purported death—the sounds of the lute and tabor were enmeshed in networks of bi-directional sounds of otherness in the theater and in the travel narrative archive. The theater functions as a sonic laboratory for simulating experiences of otherness, but the apparatus of this laboratory and its instruments also circulated outside of the theater, shaping the experiences of travelers. The theater both re-presents what travelers hear *and* it creates the sonic world they experience abroad, generating both otherness and the interpretive forms or syntaxes with which they can make sense of it. Eastern notes resound in harmony with English, Eastern, and New World sounds, indeed creating “something rich and strange” in the palimpsested soundscape of Shakespeare’s imagined island, in the early modern theater more generally, and across the world’s stage.

\* \* \*

### HOMELY (RE)ORIENTATIONS?

What are the effects of the theatrical sonic laboratory? Is the delight in the journey or in the safe return home? Can the theater alter its audience in the ways that foreign lands have transformed the travel writers? Or is it

more likely that as one drifts away from familiarity and begins to drown in sensory experience, the tide carries the body back to familiar ground?

As enacted on the stage, as well as reiterated repeatedly in the travel archive, sounding otherness could produce fright. This is precisely the reaction the Boatswain has to the island sound, and Stephano and Trinculo have to Ariel's disembodied performance of their recently sung catch. Because Stephano and Trinculo can't see the invisible musician echoing their tune, they are frightened, at least partially because they can't identify the source of this uncanny melodic mimicry; they question whether it comes from a "man" or a "devil," then fear for their lives, crying "O, forgive me my sins!" and "He that dies pays all debts. I defy thee. Mercy upon us!" (3.2.128–131). While Stephano and Trinculo are afraid, Caliban very calmly counsels them,

Be not afeard. The isle is full of noises,  
 Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.  
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments  
 Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,  
 That if I then had waked after long sleep,  
 Will make me sleep again; and then in dreaming,  
 The clouds, methought, would open and show riches  
 Ready to drop upon me, that when I waked  
 I cried to dream again. (3.2.135–143)

For Caliban, a native of the isle, this land has a soundscape that is "delightful" to his ears, and while notes of this "rich and strange" soundscape frighten Trinculo's and Stephano's ears that have not been attuned to the island, their bodies are nevertheless calibrated on its palimpsested frequency. For Caliban, his experience is characterized by "delight" because he relishes the "noises," perhaps even the "tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning" that commences the play, the "sounds and sweet airs," along with other instruments that "hum" in his ears.

But since Caliban is a native of the island, his relationship to sounding otherness is too easily recoverable for what I call English sonic imperialism. That is, his "delight" runs the risk of recapitulating the effects of English or European music described in the travel narratives: of course "ignorant" natives would find joy in the "superior" sounds of European music! However, the delight that Caliban experiences is not relegated to him alone, for "delight" was often the anticipated reaction to music,

particularly as it is described in the theater,<sup>75</sup> and even the proto-colonialist Prospero loses himself in the delight he experiences through music. After offering Ferdinand Miranda's "hand" (4.1.5), enacting the joining of hands suggested in "Come Unto These Yellow Sands," Prospero insists to Ariel, "I must / Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple / Some vanity of mine art" (4.1.39–41). A metatheatrical reference to the performance of this play for the marriage of James's daughter Elizabeth, the Hymen Masque requested by Prospero and performed by Ariel and the other spirits enacts an example of the most highly wrought theatrical performance and court ritual. "*Soft music*" commences the masque, followed by Iris's speech recalling the resplendence of the verdant English countryside (4.1.58sd). Juno and Ceres, the latter performed by Ariel, join to celebrate "A contract of true love" as Iris calls it (4.1.84); the two also join in singing the musical air "Honour, riches, marriage-blessing" to the couple (4.1.106). Prospero's masque presents a fruitful landscape rife with a harvest, including "rich leas / Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and peas," "foison plenty, / Barns and garners never empty" (4.1.60–61 and 110–111). The Edenic paradise, overflowing with abundant produce, was a myth associated with the New World, and propagated by the travel literature endorsed by the Virginia Company. However, while this moment might have had New World resonances, it is but the illusion of the masque and not a reality on the island in *The Tempest*. The plantings enumerated in speech and song are common to English agriculture, so this air was another uncanny reminder of home to the English audience hearing these familiar crops sung about on this "foreign" island.

The masque continues with Iris calling in harvesters to "Make holiday" and dance with the nymphs "In country footing" (4.1.136, 137). The reapers "*join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance*," and Roger Warren supposes that Ferdinand, "knowing what a court masque was" might have led Miranda into joining the spirits in the dance, as was common practice for court masque celebrations, especially as this court ritual was staged at Blackfriars.<sup>76</sup> But Prospero's staging of the masque is a metatheatrical meditation on the theater as artifice (an imperfect copy or re-presentation of the truth) and as a form of *poesis* or globe-making that shapes the world as experienced by those in it, much like Ariel's fiction of Alonso's post-mortem metamorphosis described in "Full Fathom Five." Prospero's

<sup>75</sup> Simon Smith, *Musical Response*, 27–29.

<sup>76</sup> Warren, "Rough Magic," 177.

reflection on *poesis* at this juncture of the masque—with its music, sounds, costumes, scenery, dialogue, and action—is more equivalent to the art of stagecraft. The masque form performs in both ways: it does not simply represent, it also *creates* the globe. While many have discussed Prospero's self-reflexive claims about artifice, especially the aphorism, "We are such stuff / As dreams are made on," fewer have observed the fact that his sentiment is also recognizable in his staging of the masque itself (4.1.156–157).

The masque invokes not only the familiar landscape of a bountiful English countryside, but also a domestic English entertainment through its very form. In many ways, the entire *Tempest* can ostensibly be considered a masque: its soundscape certainly mimics the masque structure, moving from disordered chaos in the sounds and noise of the tempest to the ordered musical airs that dominate the remainder of the play. However, this reading omits the importance of the unexpected conclusion to the Hymen masque: Prospero's masque is a strange one indeed, for it is terminated by an antimasque. His lavish production becomes interrupted when "*Prospero starts suddenly and speaks*": "I had forgot that foul conspiracy / Of the beast Caliban and his confederates / Against my life" (4.1.138 sd–141). As Magnusson observes, "The circumstances surrounding Prospero's breaking off of the wedding masque in Act IV have always puzzled commentators. But this interruption is not an isolated occurrence. It happens often enough to constitute a motif."<sup>77</sup> He abruptly concludes the performance by commending the spirits "Well done. Avoid, no more!" at which, "*to a strange hollow and confused noise, they [the spirits in the pageant] heavily vanish*" (4.1.142 and 138sd). Edward M. Test observes that "the courtly masque becomes subordinate to lowly uprising, just as aboard ship the aristocrat is subordinate to the lowly sailors," as musical order disintegrates again into disorder.<sup>78</sup> While Ariel asserts "so I charmed *their* ears" at Prospero's behest (4.1.178), Prospero's reaction to the masque belies his control over Ariel's magical island music: he orchestrates and interprets the masque for his "royal gaze" (much like John Smith) and his daughter's impending nuptials, yet in this performance, Prospero

<sup>77</sup> Magnusson, "Interruption in *The Tempest*," 52.

<sup>78</sup> Edward M. Test, "The *Tempest* and the Newfoundland Cod Fishery," in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 201–220, 215. Hollis, *Absence of America*, 162, observes, "the anti-masque to the masque is born of the masque itself, not distinct from it, and collapses the one into the other."

becomes enmeshed in the beauty of the musical performance to the point that he forgets the threat to his life posed by Caliban and his confederates.

Again the chaos of disordered noise dominates the soundscape, definitively not erased by the establishment of order as a masque proper would dictate. The stage direction for “*a strange, hollow, and confused noise*” recalls the splitting of the ship in the opening scene of the play, especially in the identical phrase “confused noise,” which was perhaps even produced by the same sound-mechanisms and special effects.<sup>79</sup> Resonances of the antimasque to Jonson’s *Masque of Queens* are loudly audible here as well: Jonson describes the antimasque as “a spectacle of strangeness” accompanied by “a kind of hollow and infernal music.”<sup>80</sup> While Jonson’s masque opens with this deliberate crafting of unusual sights and sounds, Prospero’s masque concludes with the “*strange, hollow, and confused noise*” in an uncanny reversal of the masque form. As John Gillies states, when the masque “dissolves to ‘a strange hollow and confused noise,’ the sea comes back.”<sup>81</sup> The tempest and its effects resound once again.

While Caliban educates Stefano and Trinculo about the power of music, Prospero’s reaction to his Hymen masque viscerally exhibits the embodied

<sup>79</sup> Michael Neill, “Noises, Sounds and sweet airs,” 47, also notes this echo, and believes it is itself an echo of the storm of Strachey’s letter. Keith Sturgess in “‘A Quaint Device’: *The Tempest* at the Blackfriars,” in *Critical Essays on Shakespeare’s “The Tempest,”* ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1998), 107–129, 116, likewise observes a connection between these moments based on the “confused noise.” My reading of *The Tempest* as a masque that ends with an antimasque was advanced in my dissertation completed in 2013. This argument has subsequently been echoed by Scott Trudell in “The Sounds of Pageantry” on the Map of Early Modern London website, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/>, accessed 18 August 2015. Please refer also to Lynne Magnusson, “Interruption in *The Tempest*,” 61–62.

<sup>80</sup> Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 321.

<sup>81</sup> John Gillies, “Shakespeare’s Virginian Masque,” *English Literary History* 53.4 (1986): 673–707, 683. Sounds of otherness resonate strongly in these three terms—“strange, hollow, and confused”—and various geographical spaces are indicated by this stage direction. “Strange” as defined by the *OED* signals that which is foreign or alien. “Hollow” means “To cry out loud, to shout, vociferate,” (please refer to my discussion of “hollow” sounds in the chapter titled “Rattling Soundscapes of Witch Drama and the New World”) while “confused” is “characterized by disorderly combination or intermixture; disordered, disorderly” (3a). The second cited work for this connotation of “confused” is the 1611 Bible: Isaiah 9:5 reads “For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood,” which directly relates to sound (*KJV*). The Book of Isaiah tells the doom of Judah, then prophesizes the restoration of the nation of Israel; the “East” itself seems to be implicated in the phrase “confused noise.”

effects music can have on listeners. As the masque stages a play-within-a-play, Prospero, along with Ferdinand and Miranda, are presented as audience members. Prospero calls for the performance of the spirits to enact the abilities of "*mine* art" as he calls it, and he also repeatedly directs Ferdinand and Miranda, along with the theater audience, to pay careful attention to the masque. Yet, Prospero pays such close attention that he loses himself in the pleasure he experiences at this "vanity" his art allows him and us. In his enjoyment of the music, speech, and dance, he acknowledges that he has "forgotten" the "foul conspiracy" against his life.<sup>82</sup> Prospero forgets because he loses himself in the performance enacted by Ariel and company; this loss of self in time (and, arguably, space) is a testimony to the power of theatrical poesis that creates these worlds while also providing a set of conventions by which to understand them. Prospero's reaction indicates the way that music and theater can cause us to lose ourselves in the pleasure they afford and can override even our sense of self-preservation, at least temporarily. While he observes to Ferdinand that the actors have "melted into air, into thin air" and "The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, / The solemn temples, the great globe itself, / Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve," before the trappings of the staged illusions do dematerialize, they cause him to surrender to the artful artificiality of the masque-world (4.1.150, 152–154).<sup>83</sup> Especially as the theater capitalized on staging global locations, a particularly resonant echo of Prospero's speech about theatrical pleasures of travelling—including the mention of similar exotic palaces and towers as high as the sky—is found in Thomas Coryate's *Crudities*: "Of all the pleasure in the world travel is (in my opinion) the sweetest and most delightful. For what can be more

<sup>82</sup> Critics have long wrestled with the question of Prospero's abrupt remembrance of the plot and his conclusion of the masque. For one example, according to Peter Hulme, "Prospero *remembers*: so the conspiracy is no surprise to him and, even if he has been monitoring its progress off-stage (suggested by 4.1.141–142) draw neatly from the registers of both conspiracy and the theatre—yet it is an element that, paradoxically, he almost manages to forget." Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1992), 116. Lynne Magnusson also reads this moment in terms of the repeated theme of "Interruption in *The Tempest*."

<sup>83</sup> About the structure of the Globe, Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, 37, observes "In Wenceslaus Hollar's long view of London (1647) ..., the bulb atop the mislabeled Globe might be the dome of a minaret: a call to exotic difference. Such an emblem would have been distinctive and appropriate, for audiences craved transport." Prospero's reference to "solemn temples" could have suggested Eastern temples to early modern ears, and perhaps, could have signaled that Eastern-looking structure that was already part of the Globe Theatre itself.

pleasant then [*sic*] to see passing variety of beautifull Cities, kings and Princes Courts, gorgeous Palaces, impregnable Castles and Fortresses, Towers piercing in a manner up to the cloudes, fertill territories replenished with a very Cornucopia of all manner of commodities.”<sup>84</sup> Prospero and Coryate agree about the pleasures of travel, whether found at the Globe or wandering across the globe.

As Prospero’s own enchantment at the masque suggests, music has definite effects on the characters, as well as on the audience members, all of whom can become enraptured or entranced through the synesthetic delights the theater can afford; perhaps Shakespeare, in staging the Hymen Masque, as well as Prospero’s reaction to it, was demonstrating the effects he wished his works to produce in the audience, or even replicating his experience of the action, sounds, or world of the stage. Other characters besides Prospero and Caliban also perceive the embodied effects of music. When we first meet Miranda, she rebukes her father for the storm he has created, noting how it has affected her: “O, I have suffered / With those that I saw suffer ... / ... / ... O, the cry did knock / Against my very heart!” (1.2.5–6 and 8–9). Miranda’s empathy for those whose cries touch her “very heart” demonstrates not only the accessing of interiority that sound performs, but also the way that soundwaves move bodies along the same frequency with others. In *The Tempest*, these soundwave movements become literalized, as characters also describe the way that music moves their bodies. Unlike Prospero’s petrification while being drawn into the staged reality of his masque to the point that it causes him to briefly lose touch with the reality of Caliban’s approach, both Ferdinand and Caliban, like Miranda, experience the power of music that provokes them to action: Caliban follows Ariel’s music of tabor and pipe out of the scene in 3.2. Ariel’s first songs also orient Ferdinand in directions Prospero desires. Ferdinand knows that “Full Fathom Five” is a requiem for Alonso: “The ditty does remember my drowned father” (1.2.406). Almost as an answer to the musical injunction to “Come Unto These Yellow Sands,” Ferdinand soliloquizes how the ethereal music has moved him: “This music crept by me upon the waters, / Allaying both their fury and my passion / With its sweet air. Thence I have followed it / (Or *it hath drawn me*, rather)” (1.2.395–398, emphasis added). Through interjection, Ferdinand revises his statement in which he was the active subject to instead describe the way that music has “drawn him.” Ferdinand posits

<sup>84</sup> Coryate’s *Crudities* (London, 1611), 1:8.



that the beautiful melody has both calmed the "fury" of the stormy seas and has allayed his own melancholy "passion." His observations again align with the movement described by geohumoral theory: physical motion in the body occurred with the fluctuations of the humors and the passions that were, uncannily, internal and external. As an attentive audience member at the Hymen masque, Ferdinand also comments, "This is a most majestic vision, and / Harmonious charmingly," which expresses his appreciation for the beautiful, magical concord, or harmony, he hears (4.1.118–119).

Even though all characters in the play are touched by its sounds, not all characters describe their experiences of the soundscape of the island in such pleasurable terms; in fact, the Boatswain describes the various noises he has heard, and that we hear throughout the play, as "horrible":

We were dead of sleep,  
And—how we know not—all clapped under hatches,  
Where but even now with strange and several noises  
Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains,  
And more diversity of sounds, all horrible,  
We were awaked... (5.1.230–235)

As the Boatswain observes, the "strange and several noises" of this foreign place are identifiable, but disconcerting nonetheless—the onomatopoeias "of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling" are "all horrible" to the Boatswain's ears; these noises echo texts, like de Vaca's, that sound otherness in foreign spaces, and the resonance between these two texts reminds us that the theater is a contact zone, as much as is a foreign land. Russell West writes that "theatre is a way of creating, within the settled stability of the source culture, similar modes of perception to those gained in travel. ... the theatre can be seen not as competing with travel, inadequately attempting to supplant it, but rather as complementing it, producing similar epistemological effects to those engendered by the real experience of voyages."<sup>85</sup> West's excellent point can be supplemented by the fact that the theater has the capacity to transform its audiences just as journeys to foreign lands could impact travelers.

Although the sounds of stagecraft are a sonic collage of noises from various places around the globe, the final sounds of the play implicate and

<sup>85</sup> West, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage*, 173.

involve the audience in the domestic theater. Noise carries us through even to the conclusion of the play, for as the play opened with sonic thunderclaps, it now culminates in the audience's thunderous applause, or so Prospero hopes. In the Epilogue, Prospero describes himself as a prisoner "in this bare island" of the stage, captivated "by your spell," in his address to the audience (8). He implores them,

But release me from my bands  
With the help of your good hands.  
Gentle breath of yours my sails  
Must fill, or else my project fails,  
Which was to please. (9–13)

To undo Prospero's stage-imposed fetters, the audience must participate by producing sounds of their own, which act as a sonic conclusion to the play, dissolving ordered sound into thunderous applause.<sup>86</sup> In addition to clapping, Prospero also requires "[g]entle breath of yours" to fill his sails; this could refer to the audience members' shouts of approval at the actors' performance, or even to "breath" of voice that circulated outside the theater urging others to come and hear this play.<sup>87</sup> "Breath" is what Prospero identifies as the force which moves his ship's sails as he ventures back home to Naples; just as in the beginning of the play, noise is identified as a component of the stagecrafted movement of ships, although the "gentle breath" suggests a much smoother voyage than the previous "tempestuous noise."

Through both clapping and the use of voice, Prospero indicates that the audience is important to the sound-production project of *The Tempest*; their role is the magical and sonic force that concludes the play and allows the actors to be "freed." If these noises are not produced by the audience, then Prospero's "project fails" and his project as he defines it "was to please." The pleasure Prospero's art was meant to create for the audience is bound to his request that the audience produce sounds that resonate

<sup>86</sup> Michael Drayton's 1606 ode, "The Sacrifice to Apollo," describes the loud volume of the applause as becoming physically tangible in the line, "Till with shrill Claps that Theater doe shake." Michael Drayton, *Works*, ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961), 2.358.

<sup>87</sup> Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 52, notes that "Applause too was delivered with voice as well as hand." Tiffany Stern discusses applause in the theater in *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 87.

throughout the space of the theater as applause that will express their own delight. The final applause is a familiar, domestic moment in the playhouse; but like the applause at the conclusions of each dramatic production, clapping and shouting occur as a result of the dramatic entertainment affecting the audience. This clapping and shouting that concludes the play crucially domesticates the play's soundscape, moving from sonic uncanniness to something altogether more familiar and homely, or "*heimlich*." The final sound effect demonstrates that the theater itself is a palimpsested space: the Globe is simultaneously a place in which to stage strange and alien cultures; it is also a completely familiar, domestic playhouse when "Our revels now are ended" (4.1.148). While this doubleness is uncanny, we move away from sounding otherness to something perceived as safer and more familiar in the task of returning home.<sup>88</sup>

The "noises / Sounds and sweet airs" of *The Tempest* enact the sonic uncanny; these tones, suggestive of various global othernesses, vibrate the characters in the play as well as the members of the audience, calibrating all to these uncanny frequencies. The soundscape of *The Tempest* is also unique in that it sounds various othernesses at once; the notes of the East resonate with tones from the West and even sound in concert with pitches that are definitely familiar to an English audience. Through the sonics of *The Tempest*, Shakespeare shakes up our own sense of the binarized categories of familiar and foreign, self and other, noise and music, and order and disorder through a variety of othernesses that are sounded. The soundscape of *The Tempest* is both "rich," due to its incorporation of passages from other possibly familiar texts, including Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, and "strange," as these citations are from texts about various and varied foreign lands. Although the play stages a return home, its masque inverts the very masque structure it seeks to perform; the "strange, hollow, and confused noise" is probably the last surge of *noise* the audience hears before their own concluding applause and the songs and dances that follow Prospero's Epilogue. All of these sounds—both of order and disorder alike—calibrate listeners to their environment. And this is a perfect example of the ruptures of the sonic uncanny; while recuperated as

<sup>88</sup> Hulme and Sherman note subtly uncanny resonances of *The Tempest* in "*The Tempest*" and *Its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 11: "In an obvious way, the play has a global presence at the beginning of the twenty-first century. But in a host of less obvious ways, it keeps coming home from its travels." Crystal Bartolovich, "London as World City," 21, also notes the importance of the uncanny in the island of *The Tempest*.

familiar, the sounds of otherness—as noise—have erupted throughout the play in the eponymous opening tempest, as well as at the unconventional ending to the Hymen masque. Although we might prefer to confine sound to the strictures of musical form, noises also erupt in meaningless ways that the audience still experiences as vibratory calibration with others. Sounds of otherness, even if recuperated under a rubric of sense or form, infiltrate bodies and transform them.

Even as it is perceived as safe and homely, the theater takes travelers on sonic journeys. Whether this creates an experience of Calibanesque “delight” or the Boatswain’s exasperation at hearing “horrible sounds,” the stagecrafted sonic collage of the theater affects its audience. Furthermore, the aphoristic quality of sounds is the ideal medium to experience a variety of othernesses sounds can convey, even to the point of being “sound and fury signifying nothing.” That is how Serres describes “noise”: as the web of connection among bodies, objects, and spaces that sometimes resists meaning. *The Tempest* uses sonic disorientation as the basis for its pervasive geographic disorientations because sound is at once internal and external to a body, and its uncanny vibratory force moves bodies in directions, even in directions of disorientation. This experience simulates the experience of otherness in foreign spaces, testing ways otherness might be sounded in the homely space of the London theater. Bodies are attuned to frequencies that sound foreign otherness, even if these are largely fabrications or palimpsests of various locations, or if they resist assignment to a singular or definite geographical location altogether. Just as the audience members’ clothing, hair, and skin bore traces of the scent of squibs as they left the theater, so too do the noises, sounds, and sweet airs of the theater echo in the ears and minds, and the play’s “rich and strange” soundwaves continue to vibrate within.



## Coda: “Songs from the Wood”

*The Sound participateth also with the Spirit in the Wood, thorow  
which it passeth*  
Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*

The lute is an ideal instrument with which to conclude a study of sounding otherness because of the multiple othernesses ascribed to this uncanny instrument in the early modern period. Today, the lute is considered the instrument *par excellence* of Renaissance English culture. It sounds in film scores about the Renaissance and is a fixture at regional “Renaissance Faires.” While typically sounding the otherness of the English Renaissance to our ears, this instrument also sounded various foreign, gendered, and religious othernesses at the same time that it became an instrument strongly associated with English identity during the Renaissance period.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even as they are associated with Renaissance England, many lutes in the period were not domestic, but rather were imported: as Douglas Alton Smith, *The History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Lexington, VA: The Lute Society of America, 2002), 63, observes, “one of the most remarkable phenomena of old instrument making is the fact that the most highly regarded Renaissance and early Baroque lutes were made in Italy, yet virtually all the makers were German.” Furthermore, Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 68, cites the London Port Book to point out that “in the ten months between 1567 and 1568,

While an instrument that sounded the uncanny in Renaissance England—as a foreign musical object that became familiar to the culture—the lute should also resonate for modern scholars as an instrument representative of the reflective sonic uncanny: once familiar through its associations with the English Renaissance, acknowledgment of it as a foreign import to England widens this instrument's scope of global influence.

It is a generally acknowledged fact that the lute was the principal instrument of Renaissance England.<sup>2</sup> Like the guitar today, or the piano at the height of the Classical period, the lute was both a featured solo instrument, as well as the preferred accompany instrument for vocal singing and consort playing.<sup>3</sup> The lute is a stringed instrument, but unlike other members of the string family, the lute has two sets of strings, tuned in “courses,” which meant they were tuned to unison pitch in the upper register, and at the octaves in the lower register. Its gut strings were plucked by the fingers, and the vibrations of the string resonated through the wooden body of the instrument. The back of the body was curved, echoing what scholars believe is the early shape of the resonator, which was said to have been made of a turtle shell. The center “sound hole” on the lute in the early modern period often featured an intricately designed circular pattern called a rosette. The lute was held to the chest by its player, and was usually fingered with the left hand and plucked by the right hand. Performance on the lute was a largely haptic endeavor; tablature was written specifically for the Renaissance lute, which—like modern guitar tabs—represents a visual manifestation of the placement of the hands on the instrument, as opposed to musical notation indicating only the pitches.

In Renaissance England, the lute had a massive repertoire of thousands of pieces written by composers including Robert Johnson, William Byrd, and especially, John Dowland. These musicians were all active during the

eighty-six lutes were legally imported” from Antwerp, Cologne, and Venice—the last of which was the center for lute construction in the period.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Geiringer, in *Instruments in the History of Western Music* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1978), 104, describes this instrument as “by far the most important of the plucked instruments of the sixteenth century ... it was a valued participant in all chamber music, ideally suited to the accompaniment of singers, never absent from the larger ensembles, and very often used as a solo instrument.”

<sup>3</sup> Playing technique allowed a single performer to add harmony to the melodic line, and because the lute could perform its own melody line and polyphonic or chordal accompaniment, it was both a versatile solo and accompany instrument. Consult Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 149.

"Golden Age" of English lute music, which began in the late sixteenth century and continued through the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> Douglas Smith writes that the "surviving solo literature" for the lute on the Continent and in England "constitutes by far the largest body of music for any instrument of the Renaissance," which further attests to the lute's prominence in the period.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest documented lute player in England was a man by the name of John who was a servant of King Edward I of England from "at least 1276 to 1307 or later."<sup>6</sup> The following king, Edward II, employed at least two lutenists, and lutenists also served Kings Edward III, Henry IV, V, and VII; however, "while there are other written and iconographical documentations of the lute in England and Scotland in the late Middle Ages, it was not to become a widespread, mainstream instrument in Britain until the mid-sixteenth century," during the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>7</sup> Henry VII presented lutes to each of his children: records indicate that Prince Henry received a lute when he was seven years old, in 1498; Margaret also received a lute at age seven (in 1501), and Mary at age twelve (in 1505).<sup>8</sup> Henry VIII was reputed to have enjoyed music, and his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, both played lutes; although Elizabeth's musical aptitude for playing keyboard instruments, like the virginals and organ, has been the subject of much commentary, she was also a lutenist. Elizabeth was even portrayed playing the lute by Nicholas Hilliard in a miniature dating to approximately 1580. Thomas Lichefield gave Elizabeth a New Year's present of "a very fayre lute, the backside and necke of mother-of-perle, the case of crimson vellat, embrawedered with flowers, and the inside of grene vellate."<sup>9</sup> Later, Anna of Denmark learned to play the lute by studying with the professional lutenist Thomas Robinson before her wedding to James in 1589.<sup>10</sup>

Although certainly popular among the monarchs, the lute was, in fact, an instrument that resonated at all echelons of society, as Christopher

<sup>4</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 250, 261.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, ix.

<sup>6</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 30–31, 247.

<sup>8</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 52.

<sup>9</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 63, citing *Biographical Dictionary*, 2. 723.

<sup>10</sup> Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 155.

Marsh demonstrates.<sup>11</sup> It was played by women and men, members of the aristocracy, students, professionals, and by anyone who could procure an instrument, especially as the lute was one of the most popular instruments for the seventeenth-century amateur musician.<sup>12</sup> It was used to accompany all ranges of music: the stately court masque, psalm singing, and ballad songs.<sup>13</sup> As Marsh states, the lute was so beloved and ubiquitous in early modern England that “Even a base-born pirate might play the lute”—this particular performer was the pirate Henry Strangeways, who has his portrait made showing his lute in hand.<sup>14</sup> The lute was among the instruments carried on overseas travel around the world.<sup>15</sup>

The lute was also popular as a visual subject. It was painted by Titian, Tintoretto, Rubens, and Caravaggio; most familiar to Renaissance art historians and Lacanian scholars today, perhaps, is its appearance just above the hovering skull in Holbein’s *The Ambassadors*. The lute in this image famously has a broken string, the octave string of the fourth course.<sup>16</sup> In the sixteenth-century *vanitas* painting, “Death and the Maiden,” the “Maiden” also plays a lute, symbolizing the beauty and ephemerality of music.<sup>17</sup> Emblematically, the lute was employed often in visual representations, appearing in continental and English emblem collections. Although it appears as a symbol of abstract harmony, as in the lute emblem of sympathetic vibration discussed in the Introduction, the lute was also employed for political metaphors of sound and harmonious government—a trope referenced often in English civic pageantry, in which the lute featured often in performance.<sup>18</sup>

The lute was the instrument most prevalently apostrophized or invoked in English poetry by writers including Thomas Campion, Thomas Wyatt

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20–21.

<sup>12</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 115.

<sup>13</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 199, 256.

<sup>14</sup> Marsh, *Music and Society*, 183.

<sup>15</sup> Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), 75–77, 161.

<sup>16</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 49.

<sup>17</sup> Image SBT 1993-30 in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

<sup>18</sup> John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 47. Consult Andrea Alciati’s *Emblemata* (1531) and Jennifer Linhart Wood, “Arion’s Harp, Apollo’s Lute,” in *Civic Performance: Pageantry and Entertainments in Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming).



("My lute, awake" and "Blame not my lute"), Samuel Daniel (*Delia*), John Skelton, George Herbert, Michael Drayton, William Percy ("Strike up, my Lute!"), George Gascoigne, and Richard Crashaw (*Music's Duell*), among others, and mentioned by other European medieval and Renaissance writers including Petrarch, Machaut, Chaucer, Boccaccio, Fernando Rojas, John Lyly, and various French poets.<sup>19</sup> Richard Barnfield's sonnet "If Musicke and sweet Poetrie agree" muses that "Dowland unto thee is deere, whose heauenly tuch / Vpon the Lute, dooth rauish humane sense."<sup>20</sup> In describing Dowland's immense talent, Barnfield notes the strong connection between the sonic and the haptic that was advanced in the early modern period: Dowland's "tuch" upon the lute—his manner of performance, but also implying the assemblage formed between musician and instrument—is what "dooth rauish humane sense." The same term used by Jean de Léry to describe his experience of Tupinamba music, "rauish" implies the sense of touch, as the soundwaves produced by both Dowland and his lute create bodily and affective responses in their audience members.

The lute was a familiar instrument on the early modern stage, sounding in the public amphitheaters, as well as in the private theaters and university halls. Based on their performance repertoire, Shakespeare's playing company likely employed a talented young lutenist and singer in the very early years of the seventeenth century, and the children's companies all seem to have featured performers playing the lute.<sup>21</sup> Stephen Greenblatt suspects that William Shakespeare himself played the lute as part of his education and later theatrical vocation.<sup>22</sup> Lutes, often in large ensembles, were frequently played upon in masques.<sup>23</sup> Ian Spink writes that in masque performances, "each singer usually carried a lute, so that the accompaniment

<sup>19</sup> Hollander, *Untuning of the Sky*, 128. Carla Zecher provides a comprehensive account of French lute-poems in *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry, and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> In *The Passionate Pilgrim* (London, 1599), B2r, lines 5–6.

<sup>21</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 147; Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1992), 73.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 74–75, 149. It was part of the Admiral's Men's holdings according to Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 187. Spring, 236, also suggests that Robert Johnson's patron, Sir George Carey, the Lord Chamberlain, who was also patron of Shakespeare's company, may have prompted Johnson's working relationship with the theater from around 1607.

<sup>23</sup> Ian Spink, *Music in Britain: The 17th Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 286.

would have consisted of massed lutes (12 was a common number), and their music characteristically consisted of ‘full songs’ or ensembles mixed with solos.”<sup>24</sup> During the Stuart period, massed lutes were a common feature of the masque, with groups of players dispersed around the masquing hall; *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611) required two groups of twelve lutenists, and Robert Johnson in *Oberon* (1611) called for twenty, although there were up to forty lutes in a single performance, according to one account.<sup>25</sup>

The lute was one of the few instruments, like the virginals, played by early modern women. While professional musicians in England were male, many women played the lute for educational or recreational reasons. The lute was an appropriate choice for women, claimed early modern pedagogues, because it did not distort the facial muscles; its beautiful metaphorical relationship to the music of the spheres and neo-Platonic divine harmony also made it a suitable instrument for chaste study. Several aristocratic women, among them Lady Mary Wroth, had their portraits painted holding the lute or archlute. Theatrical depictions of women also associated the female gender with the lute; these include the heroines of Thomas Heywood’s *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Dekker’s *The Honest Whore*, and Marston’s *The Dutch Courtesan*. Anne Frankford’s lute is prominent in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*; at one point, Anne addresses the instrument: “I know the[e], Lute.”<sup>26</sup> Many of Shakespeare’s female characters also perform on this instrument: Katherina in Shakespeare’s *Taming of the Shrew* takes a lute lesson from one of her suitors, and Hortensio relates that Katherina had bashed him over the head with the instrument. In Q1 *Hamlet*, the stage directions read, “*Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, and her haire downe singing,*” which suggests that she accompanies herself singing the passages of the various tunes she compiles.<sup>27</sup> Although the audience is not privy to the performance, Gower describes Marina’s abilities as a lutenist in Shakespeare and Wilkins’s *Pericles*: “... to th’ lute / She sung, and made the night bird mute” (4 Chorus 26–27).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Spink, *Music in Britain*, 287.

<sup>25</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 159, 149.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (London, 1603), G4v.

<sup>27</sup> William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke by William Shake-speare. As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the cittie of London* (London, 1603), G4v.

<sup>28</sup> Quotations from Shakespeare’s and George Wilkins’s *Pericles* are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al., 2nd edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008).

Besides associations with "proper" or socially acceptable modes of femininity, the lute also acquired more suspect connotations: it became affiliated with courtesan figures.<sup>29</sup> "What a miserable spectacle is it to chaste and wel-mannered eyes," writes William Prynne, "to see a woman, not to follow her needle or distaff, but to sing to a Lute."<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, many scholars have unquestioningly replicated Prynne's association of female musicianship with bawdiness; however, recent scholarship by Paul L. Faber has disproven this rather puritanical and inaccurate stance. While the fact that Ophelia carries a lute in Q1 has led to her associations with prostitution, Renaissance conduct manuals clearly prescribe musical education and performance for young women as a perfectly appropriate pursuit.<sup>31</sup> In another twist, the lute was also played by Moll Firth, the character upon which Moll Cutpurse of Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* was based. By her own account given at the palace of the Bishop of London in January 1612, she confessed that she was "at a play about 3 quarters of a yeare since at the FFortune in mans apparell & in her bootes & with a sworde by her side .... And also sat there vppon the stage in the publike viewe of all the people there presente in mans apparel."<sup>32</sup> Not only did she cross-dress, she also attested that she "playd vppon her lute & sange a songe and made some other immodest & lascivious speeches."<sup>33</sup> This was probably the first public female performance on the stage in England, and Mary sounded her gendered otherness through her public singing and lute playing.

In addition to the gendered meanings applied to this instrument, the Renaissance lute also bore traces of other places: it was identified with both East and West Indians in the period. As Olivia Bloechl notes, early modern iconography depicts New World Indians holding the lute; the lute was placed in hands of others in a parodic undercutting of "high cultured" neo-Platonic symbolism—much like Moll Firth's performance could be

<sup>29</sup> David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 75.

<sup>30</sup> William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix: The Players Scourge* (London, 1633), 277.

<sup>31</sup> Paul L. Faber's "Ophelia's Songspace: Elite Female Musical Performance and Propriety on the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage," in *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, ed. Bill Barclay and David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 59–70, esp. 62–63.

<sup>32</sup> Cited in Gustav Ungerer, "Mary Frith, Alias Moll Cutpurse, in Life and Literature," *Shakespeare Studies* 28 (2000): 42–84, 63.

<sup>33</sup> Ungerer, "Mary Frith," 68.

interpreted.<sup>34</sup> This association of the lute with New World Indians is echoed in Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*; Timon's banquet includes a "masque of LADIES [as] Amazons with lutes in their hands, dancing and playing."<sup>35</sup> Yet, Timon's masque might perform more familiar modes of cosmic harmony as would be expected from a "masque" performance; the Amazon figures may have been representative of Classical Greece or Asia.

Although imaginatively associated with the West Indies, among other places, the lute's actual provenance was Eastern. Douglas Smith suspects that "the instrument probably originated in Indian culture in the region that is now Afghanistan," was adopted by the Persians, and later, by the Arabs in the seventh century.<sup>36</sup> Within a century, "the lute became the most prominent of all instruments in the Arab lands."<sup>37</sup> It seems to have been assimilated into European culture when it was brought by Muslims through Spain or Sicily, both locations where Christian musicians were exposed to Muslim music.<sup>38</sup> In the fourteenth century, lutes very similar to the Arabic instrument were imported from Acre, a port in "the Holy Land."<sup>39</sup> Described by Hollander as "the most important stringed instrument of the Renaissance," "the lute was originally an Arabic importation into Europe; the fifteenth century saw its development along more characteristically Western lines and the eventual emergence of a standard tuning and stringing."<sup>40</sup> As many organologists and historians have realized, the term "lute" resonates with the instrument's Arabic past: "its very name (Eng. Lute, Ger. *Laute*, Fr. *luth*, It. *liuto*, Sp. *laud*) shows its kinship to the Arabian instrument *al úd* ('the Wood'), with which it also has a close structural affinity."<sup>41</sup> Although Bloechl observes that the lute's Eastern associations were elided when the instrument was assimilated by Italian musicians and metonymically related to the ancient Greek lyre, I

<sup>34</sup>The image of a Native American figure is from the Louvre, Collection Rothschild, 2161 d.r. and cited in Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>35</sup>(1.2.124 sd). Unless otherwise noted, citations to Shakespeare's plays are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al., 3rd edn (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2016).

<sup>36</sup>Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 7.

<sup>37</sup>Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 8.

<sup>38</sup>Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 20.

<sup>39</sup>Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 13–14).

<sup>40</sup>Hollander, *Untuning of the Sky*, 46.

<sup>41</sup>Geiringer, *Instruments in the History of Western Music*, 51–52. Please refer also to Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 9, and Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 1–2.

argue that this instrument still bore traces of Eastern otherness, evident in part by echoes of the East in the instrument's appellation.

As Gerald MacLean has argued, "with notable exceptions, scholars of the Renaissance have refused to recognize how Islamic ideas or cultural influences could have had any relevance to their great theme of European resurgence, and it has only been in very recent years that the study of Ottoman sources has begun to reveal how that sophisticated imperial state not only differed greatly from traditional accounts of military conquest followed by decline into luxurious indolence, but also how Ottoman cultural life was dynamically integrated with the European Renaissance right from the start."<sup>42</sup> While this is absolutely true of the Western conception of the lute as the prime instrument of the *English* Renaissance, one purpose for concluding this study with a discussion of the lute is to decenter it as a wholly "English" instrument by demonstrating the importance of its Eastern heritage—not only as it was understood in the East, but also how Eastern vibrations of the instrument echoed in England. The lute provides an apt example of a cultural affinity between Ottoman and European Renaissance cultures: Douglas Smith has argued for this synergistic connection, stating "the influence of Muslim culture on medieval and Renaissance Europe was considerable, especially in the fields of medicine, astronomy, philosophy, and mathematics, but also music theory" and certainly where the lute was concerned.<sup>43</sup> The instrument was likely as popular in the East as it was in England. One of the aims of this study has been to consider how specific instrumental sounds circulated and were sounded by peoples around the globe during the Renaissance; the fact that the lute was resonating in the East for centuries before it reached the British Isles and then was transported to the New World should remind us of the cultural and musical achievements of "others" that surpassed those of the Anglo-Europeans, and might allow us to imaginatively hear the traces of the longer-standing provenance of the lute as an Eastern instrument.

In fact, the lute was an uncanny instrument that bore traces of its association with the East during the Renaissance even after it had been part of English culture for centuries. In addition to appearing in images where performers visually coded as Eastern play the instrument, one visual aspect

<sup>42</sup> Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 5.

<sup>43</sup> Douglas Smith, *A History of the Lute*, 10.

of the lute was a constant reminder of the instrument's Eastern origins: the rosette, the means by which the lute's sounds are amplified.<sup>44</sup> As Douglas Smith observes, "One aspect of Islamic culture preserved in the European lute is the rosette. All genuine European lutes have an elaborate, lacy soundhole ... carved out of the belly with a knife. The designs changed over time, but most—particularly the earlier ones—derive from Arab art."<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, "the rosette itself may have been a Moorish invention," suggesting another valence of otherness palimpsested onto this instrument.<sup>46</sup> Many of the lute rosettes were derived from Arab geometrical patterns: "circles, triangles, squares, and rectangles are overlapped and interlocked in a great variety of combinations often within the perimeter of a circle in this art form. Yet perhaps half or more of all extant lute rosettes of the Renaissance and Baroque are based on the same two or three designs."<sup>47</sup> In addition to these visible signs of Arabic otherness integral to the lute's ability to sound otherness, Douglas Smith writes that "The most common rosette design" was the "hexagram," or six-pointed star, also known as the Star of David, which may have suggested associations with the Psalms of David collected in the Hebrew Bible, and even an association with Judaism itself.<sup>48</sup> For example, though in disguise, the character Barabbas from Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* plays a lute.<sup>49</sup> Lute players and those in close proximity would have seen these designs of otherness on a regular basis; each time a player plucked or strummed the strings, the vibrations of the soundwaves would pass through the rosette,

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, Image 73 in Nicholas de Nicolay's *The Navigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages Made into Turkey* translated by T. Washington (London, 1585) that features a person characterized as an "Orientall" playing a lute-like instrument. Akbar's artisans also depict lutes being played by several Eastern performers in the miniatures.

<sup>45</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 87.

<sup>46</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 87.

<sup>47</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 87; Robert Lundberg, "Lute Rosette Patterns" *American Lutherie* 16 (1988): 40–41.

<sup>48</sup> Douglas Smith, *History of the Lute*, 87.

<sup>49</sup> David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 101, writes, "Edward Alleyn, the leading actor at the Rose, and a man who 'first entered the records as a 'musician' before he achieved fame as an actor,' is very likely to have played the lute when appearing as Barabbas in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*." Toward the end of the play, a stage direction reads, "*Enter Barabas with a Lute, disguis'd*"; in the ensuing text, he is repeatedly termed a "Fidler" as his disguise—emulating a French musician—allows him to sneak into Bellamira's house and poison the conspirators. Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta* (London, 1633), H4r.

linking the sounds of the lute to its origin of Eastern otherness and sending those vibrations of otherness coursing through the lute, the player, and all matter in their proximity.<sup>50</sup>

As discussed above, Shakespeare employed the lute repeatedly in his oeuvre, which likely contributes to our association of its sounds with the English Renaissance. One of the most striking examples is the performance on the lute by one of Queen Katherine's attendants. The gentlewoman sings these lyrics, accompanied by her lute:

Orpheus, with his lute, made trees,  
And the mountaintops that freeze  
Bow themselves when he did sing.  
To his music, plants and flowers  
Ever sprung, as sun and showers  
There had made a lasting spring.  
Everything that heard him play,  
Even the billows of the sea,  
Hung their heads, and then lay by.  
In sweet music is such art,  
Killing care and grief of heart  
Fall asleep, or hearing, die. (3.1.3–14)

Instead of his conventional lyre, Orpheus is here imagined as playing a lute. But, his music still touches and impacts all matter around him; the line stating that his playing affects "Even the billows of the sea" is reminiscent of the geohumoral power of Ariel's air in *The Tempest*, able to mollify Ferdinand, the sky, and the sea. The decision to invoke a lute as an instrument that literally moves natural elements, as well as the passions of bodies that experience these songs, demonstrates the association of the lute with movement. As with the concept of sympathetic vibration that Francis Bacon discusses as occurring between two lutes, the movement of animate and inanimate objects in proximity to Orpheus's playing echoes the way that sound forms assemblages among all forms of matter through the vibratory energy of the soundwave. Instructions for playing the instrument in the seventeenth-century manuscript known as the *Burwell Lute Tutor*

<sup>50</sup> According to Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 23–25, lutes appear in the surviving fifteenth-century stained-glass windows portraying minstrels and angels in England, and "Some of the fifteenth-century lute depictions ... preserve characteristics of the medieval Arab 'ūd, particularly multiple roses and a neck which slopes to some degree into the neck."

likewise indicate the haptic and vivified relationship between a lutenist and her instrument: “you animate the lute as well as the lute does animate you.”<sup>51</sup> This indicates not only a sounding otherness in a human-non-human assemblage, but also how the lute sounds the player and how its vibrations move the human performer—an axiom about sound’s properties applicable to any sound and form of matter.

In a similar way, Francis Bacon posits that “*Sound* participateth also with the *Spirit* in the *Wood*, thorow which it passeth”: sound has the capacity to access the “spirit” of the material through which its sound-waves “passeth.”<sup>52</sup> Wood, like “the wood” or wooden lute, is a highly resonant material adept at amplifying vibrations, which is part of the reason it was (and is still) used in the construction of instruments. The materials of wood and string were largely responsible for a remarkable performance that the organologist Praetorius records experiencing. He states that he arranged the performance of Giaches de Wert’s “Egressus Jesus” for a “lute choir,” which he—interestingly—also terms an “English consort.” This ensemble consists of lutes, harpsichords, spinets, theorboes, pandoras, orpharions, citterns, and lyra, and—for this particular rendition—flutes and singers also performed. Praetorius describes the unusual beauty and effect of the string sonorities: “because of the sound of the great number of strings, almost everything in the church vibrated.”<sup>53</sup> Although not loud like the kettledrums of *Alphonsus*, the lute was often associated with sympathetic vibration in the early modern period—both as a metaphor for harmonious relationships and as a physical phenomenon demonstrating the haptic qualities of sound itself.

The title of this epilogue will be recognized by Jethro Tull fans as the title of one of the band’s signature songs and albums—one that has also been a significant part of the soundscape of my life. It is also a cheeky wordplay on my surname, as well as on the name of the resonant instrument variously known as “the wood,” *al úd*, the lute. In exploring the ways that early moderns were beginning to comprehend sound as a wave of energy that passes through matter and calibrates all bodies and matter present on the same frequency of sound, I have argued that reconceptualizing

<sup>51</sup> Cited in Thurston Dart, “Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 11 (1958): 3–62, 23.

<sup>52</sup> Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* (London, 1627), 44.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum Volume III: Termini Musici*. Trans. Michael Graubart, *Lute Society Journal* 2 (1960): 28–32, 32.



sound as vibratory energy in addition to aural phenomenon allows us a new way to theorize moments of intercultural contact. In sounding otherness, early modern peoples around the globe, and in theaters like the Globe, experienced vibrations calibrating them to foreign frequencies of otherness, just as you may have done by listening to, and perhaps feeling, the vibratory frequencies of the soundbytes offered in this book. And, as this brief meditation on the lute contends, each time we engage with sounds from the archive—domestic or far away, familiar or foreign, current or long since past—we too are sounding otherness.

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