Restoration Seneca and Nathaniel Lee[1]

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Three vignettes from the playhouse provide the co-ordinates for examining Restoration Seneca. The first: 1674. Neronian Rome—for which, read Restoration London—revels in libertine debauchery. Tender virgins succumb to silver-tongued lechers, high-minded youths abandon their wits, the emperor yields to the family curse and sets Rome-London on fire. Seneca briefly attempts to reason with him, but before half a dozen *sententiae* have passed the philosopher's lips, he is executed for his 'insolence' (1.2.91), leaving the hedonism and bloodshed to escalate wildly. This is Nathaniel Lee's *Nero*, a free version of the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia* dedicated to his sometime patron John Wilmot (Earl of Rochester, quintessential libertine, famous for satirical verse lampooning the majestic proportions of Charles II's "sceptre").

The second: 1678. This time, London is Thebes, and London has sickened. *Something is wrong with the sun.* Something is rising from where it was buried twenty years ago. The ghost of a murdered king is walking abroad and questions of legitimacy infect the air. This is Nat Lee's *Oedipus*, on which he collaborated—not for the last time—with Tory poet laureate John Dryden. It combines elements of Seneca with Sophocles and Corneille to form another wholly contemporary amalgam. Choosing to stage an Oedipus at this politically volatile juncture reveals almost as much as the decision to turn in large part not to the Greek but to the Roman version, addressing in overripe diction the indescribable fears of a haunted state.

The last: 1689. Another corrupt court where obsession turns characters into ciphers and mania into a universal condition of being. In the final scene, a group of innocent Huguenots are gunned down in cold blood; and then the shutters at the back of the forestage slide apart to reveal the mutilated remains of the male lead. This is Lee's *The Massacre of Paris*, a play so violently anti-Catholic that it had to be banned for a decade and could only be staged in safety once an impeccably Protestant

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regime had come to power. The playwright had spent the last five years of that decade incarcerated in Bedlam, declaring the whole world mad apart from himself (Porter 88).[2] By 1689, sanity prevailed sufficiently for Lee to be released and for his psychotic senecan hypertragedy to be performed. And throughout the subsequent century, whenever the English public were feeling particularly patriotic, Lee's *Massacre* would be revived.[3]

"Hypertragedy" is a useful term to bear in mind when considering Seneca's contribution to Restoration theatre.[4] There are two aspects to this contribution. One consists of overt allusions in the form of individual lines, plot-points or typical vocabulary. This material is here termed "Senecan" (upper-case); that is, it makes direct, often explicitly acknowledged use of the Roman tragedian. The other aspect, more elusive, consists of stylistic features that identify Lee's work as belonging to a particular mode of tragedy which is here termed "senecan" (lower-case): stimulating horror rather than terror, deploying highly figured, non-mimetic dramatic language, and embodied by characters with no control over the passions that possess them, it incorporates tropes occurring frequently but by no means exclusively in Seneca's work. The most obvious example of this is hyperbole, or excess as manifested in linguistic figuration. In Seneca, as in Lee, it is frequently applied to internal sensation in order that the microcosm of human pain might stand in for the macrocosm of universal catastrophe. This is why both media might be termed hypertragedy, and indeed have attracted the same accusations of inflation or overload because of their departure from a conventional scale of representation. Distinguishing between these aspects of reception, the "Senecan" and the "senecan", opens up discussion not just of the sources used but of the aesthetic motives behind their application.

This essay identifies hitherto unrecognised elements of both Seneca proper and senecan dramaturgy surviving in Restoration theatre. While Seneca has been securely restored to his place among the major sources of early modern tragedy (Norland, *Neoclassical Tragedy*; Miola), scant attention has been paid to the ways in which senecan tragedy, like other dramatic forms, was reactivated and refashioned on the English public stage when the playhouses reopened in 1660. A particularly pronounced (re)turn to the senecan occurred during the Exclusion Crisis (1678-81), which saw the production of John Crowne's *Thyestes*, Edward Ravenscroft's Thyestean *Titus Andronicus*, and the Dryden/Lee *Oedipus*; during the same period, Lee also composed *The Massacre of Paris* and its less inflammatory replacement, *Caesar Borgia*. This infatuation with the senecan aesthetics of horror did not arise from nowhere, but was preceded by a more relaxed phase of dramatic sampling in which Seneca was wittily incorporated into plays such as Lee's *Nero* and Elkanah Settle's *Empress of Morocco*. Although evidently not the only playwright making use of Seneca, Nathaniel Lee was by far the most committed, continuing to experiment throughout his career with the application of senecan discourse: visceral language that renders extreme sensation palpable to its auditors. Alongside this verbal intensity, Lee also made increasing use of the scenic resources at his disposal, indulging

a passion for spectacle which, I will argue, came to supplant senecan discourse as a source of theatrical pleasure. Nathaniel Lee has been recognised as an 'outstanding creative figure' (Parsons 27) and one of the period's 'major tragic dramatists' (Brown 70), but his work is yet to be the subject of a complete monograph, and the question of his sources has scarcely been touched. By placing Lee in the senecan tradition, and Seneca in the midst of Restoration tragic action, it is possible to re-read the work of both playwrights to their mutual advantage.

Senecan tragedy in Lee's *Nero*

Nero establishes Lee as not only familiar with the Senecan corpus but as beginning to develop his own version of the senecan discursive mode. Like the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia* which it adopts as its matrix, the text is a patchwork of Senecan references and keywords. Executing his mother in the opening scene, Nero is established from the outset as an incestuous 'Monster' (1.1.115, 142-43), 'o'er-charged with excess' (1.2.111), and—in his own estimation, at least—more powerful than the gods: 'I ransack Nature,' he boasts, 'all its treasures view; / Beings annihilate, and make anew' (1.2.40-41). The Herculean extent of his absolute power is accompanied by a determination to surpass even these extremes: 'On, Nero, on,' he urges himself (1.2.139), applying this translation of the typical Senecan *pergam!* or *perge!* (*Thy.* 890-92; *Med.* 987; cf. Clytemnestra's *nequitiam incita, Ag.* 114) to the *nescioquid* of desire: 'pleasures so rich, so various, and so new / As never yet the Gods, my great forefathers, knew' (1.2.146-47). Driven by a cocktail of megalomania and lust, Lee's Nero is also subjected to supernatural pressure. The ghost of his criminal ancestor Caligula rises 'from the Infernal cave, the wide, the low Abyss' (4.4.1) to provide the emperor's actions with a further motivating cause.

It remains ambiguous whether Caligula represents a symptom of Nero's own diseased psyche, or a personification of the congenital frenzy afflicting *Nero*'s Julio-Claudian dynasty, or a genuine mechanism for situating the play's events within a wider metaphysical frame. Caligula hails from the Underworld occupied by Seneca's Tantalus (*Thy.* 1-100) and Thyestes (*Ag.* 1-56), and *Octavia*'s Agrippina (*Oct.* 593-645), rather than a Christian Hell (J.M. Armistead 63). He compels Nero to 'Act thou, what can't be done by me' (4.4.20), making this ruler, like Senecan tyrants such as Atreus, the instrument of passions that are not his own. Contemplating revenge on his brother, Atreus exclaims, 'A violent turmoil shakes my breast, / and twists within me; I am seized—I don't know whither, / but I am seized away' (*tumultus pectora attonitus quatit / penitusque volvit; rapior et quo nescio, / sed rapior, Thy.* 260-62). Compulsion, as in Seneca's *Phaedra* or *Agamemnon*, is as much a bodily as a psychological force. Caligula's shade injects his victim's 'Vitals' with 'the scum of Lethe, Alecto's gall, / Maegera's sweat' (4.4.23-24), again eliding infernal influence with internal predisposition. Not simply goaded by Furies from without, Nero is driven by this hellish

compound from within. Like Seneca's Phaedra, whose surrender to incestuous passion stems from a dynastic predisposition to sexual deviance (*Phaed*. 124-28), or the sons of Oedipus doomed to outdo their father's crimes (*Phoen*. 274-87, 328-47), he becomes as much a victim of hereditary corruption as a culpable agent.

As Caligula departs, Nero awakens tormented beyond speech, asserting that 'the forked tongues of Furies can't express / The rage that burns within me' (4.4.33-34) and resorting to a barrage of senecan *adynata* to show the extent of his 'fury' (4.4.43; compare for instance Sen., *Med*. 401-14). Immediately, a messenger enters to announce that a mob of citizens has set fire to the imperial palace. 'Fire I'll revenge with fire,' declares Nero; 'Rome, the world's metropolis, will burn,' and 'Bright Ruin…swallow all' (56-58). This impulse towards cataclysm and the universalising language recall *Medea* once again (*Med*. 414, 424-25, 427-29). Fire becomes the objective correlative not only of Nero's rage, but of the poison he has administered to Britannicus, whose agony opens the following scene:

> Fire, fire, I'm all one flame, fly, my friends, fly
> Or I shall blast you; O my breath is brimstone,
> My lungs are sulphur, my hot brains boil o'er.
>
> (5.13-15)

Fire in the city manifests onstage as fire in the body, as though the hell supposedly visited upon Nero has likewise infected his brother. We do not see Rome in flames; instead, we hear Britannicus burning up. Rather than literalising Caligula's incendiary curse and risking the diffusion of its impact into a widespread urban catastrophe, Lee keeps it personal. Pain is concentrated into a single figure, a single human embodiment of elemental suffering ('all one flame'), (re)producing the senecan/Senecan, and ultimately Stoic coalescence of individual and environment, microcosm and macrocosm, ruler and state.

The character of Seneca, Nero's tutor, may have been put to death, ridding Nero's decadent court of the Stoic philosopher and his advisory epistles, but Seneca's tragedies still provided Lee with ample material for creating an appropriate Roman *Weltanschauung*.[5] Britannicus, for instance, enters reading a book in which he encounters the following philosophical speculation:

> Whither, o whither, go we, when we dye?
> Why, there where babes not yet conceiv'd do lie;
> Death's nothing; nothing after death will fall;
> Time, and dark Chaos, will devour us all.
>
> (4.3.19-22)

Britannicus is reading the second chorus of Seneca's *Troades*: *Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil*, […] *tempus nos avidum devorat et Chaos*, […] *Quaeris quo iaceas post obitum loco? / Quo non nata iacent* (*Tro*. 397, 400, 407-08). As in *Troades*, this view of the soul's posthumous dissolution is contradicted by the presence of inter-

ventionist ghosts (to counterbalance the diabolical Caligula, Britannicus is visited by his murdered beloved Cyara). Other Senecan correspondences include Agrippina's unanswered prayer, 'Where are thy dreadful bolts (to Jove I call)? / Strike him, or me, amiss they cannot fall' (1.1.144-45). Medea attacks Jason's responsibility for her crimes with a similar prayer to Jupiter: *Nunc summe toto Iuppiter caelo tona, / … vel me vel istum: quisquis e nobis cadet / nocens peribit; non potest in nos tuum / errare fulmen* (*Med*. 531-37; also used at *Thy*. 1085-88). Britannicus adapts another Senecan expression to his own circumstances, wishing like *Thyestes*' Nuntius (Thy. 623-24) that 'Some whirl-wind snatch me headlong through the Ayr' (4.1.13) when overcome by news of Cyara's death.

As well as specific quotations, *Nero* also employs the senecan technique of using highly figured language to seduce or wound, or to construct a fictional environment from purely verbal materials. Nero's delusions of god-like grandeur and Britannicus' articulate mania provide ample opportunity for *enargeia* (3.1.96-104 and 3.3.16-22, 62-74), the compounding of imagery to generate synaesthetic vividness. When Petronius approaches Poppaea and seduces her into attending Nero at court with promises of power and pleasure (3.2), his words are described by the eavesdropping Piso as 'pestilent, the blasting issue / Of a corrupted heart, diseas'd, and deadly' (3.2.59-60). The speaker's ability to inflame his audience has always been an index of oratorical success; here, however, inflammation results explicitly from contagion. Rather than a healing or soothing as a *pharmakon*, speech causes mortal sickness, wreaking havoc on the body it invades. Like Nero suffering the verbally-constituted attack of Caligula's ghost, Poppaea is helpless before the 'blasting issue' of breath strung with irresistible nuggets of sound. Bodies, in Lee's Neronian court, are figured as passive, vulnerable objects; language, meanwhile, is deployed like a biological weapon.

Lee's familiarity with the Senecan corpus is therefore evident right from the beginning of his career, but his plays with the exception of *Oedipus* are insufficiently similar to be called adaptations or even reworkings. Instead, what they involve is the application of senecan representational strategies to new situations. In *Nero*, for instance, the verbal effusion which Seneca uses to increase the magnitude of unspeakable *scelera* (crimes) is often used in an erotic context, in order to magnify the implications of desire while simultaneously veiling the literal sex-act; although simulated murder might now be staged gratuitously, simulated sex remained an obscenity.[6] Lee's *Nero* was dedicated to what he later called in the preface to *The Rival Queens*, 'the wild, unthinking, dissolute Age; an Age whose Business is senseless Riot, Neronian Gambols, and ridiculous Debauchery' (*Works* 219).

Audio-visual theatre

Nero shares its playful re-application of senecan dramaturgy with another contemporary hypertragedy, Elkanah Settle's T*he Empress of Morocco* (1673). Settle evokes the senecan as a studied, metatheatrical discourse falser than the performance in which it is embedded. Two senecan moments stand out in the *Empress*, both staged by the archetypally arch-villainous Queen Mother whose plots generate the action. Like Phaedra, she conceals adultery with an accusation of sexual assault (3.1), using a sword to incriminate her victim and artfully refusing, under interrogation, to be explicit: 'Let my Tears and Blushes speak the rest,' she demurs, prevaricating until Muly Hamet exclaims: 'This mystick Language does my sence confound!' (Settle, *Empress* 20; compare *Ambigua voce verba perpexa iacis, Phaed*. 639-40 and see also 858-59). The king enjoins her to elucidate the 'riddling history', whereupon she gives way with apparent reluctance: 'Well, since you will force my Tongue…' (Settle, *Empress* 20-21). Settle's Queen Mother dissembles Phaedra's self-protective silence while deliberately fabricating evidence against Hamet. Continuing her pursuit of the throne, she deceives the innocent Morena into stabbing the king at the conclusion of a court masque. Morena, the Queen Mother asserts in 4.3, has gone mad, and describes her madness in senecan detail:

Strait with a more than common rage inflam'd,
She mov'd—star'd—walk'd—storm'd—rag'd—curst—rav'd and damn'd.
With a distorted look she tore her hair—
Unsheathed her dagger and gave wounds to th'air—
Her face disclos'd grew to a deep red,
As if her looks presaged that blood she shed.
Then with an infant rage, more soft and mild,
She plaid with madness, leap'd, danc'd, sung and smil'd.

(Settle, *Empress* 50)

This is based on typical passages such as the Nurse's description of Medea raving; note in particular the strings of *asyndeton*, in addition to the 'more than common rage' which provokes Medea to outdo even her own crimes of passion:

recursat huc et huc motu effero,
furoris ore signa lymphati gerens.
Flammata facies, spiritum ex alto citat,
proclamat, oculos uberi fletu rigat.
Renidet; omnis specimen affectus cepit.
Haeret, minatur, aestuat, queritur, gemit.

(Sen., *Med*. 385-90)[7]

Unlike Medea, however, Morena has done no such thing. The words are completely false, unsubstantiated by any corroborative enactment, and yet they derive such plausibility, such dramatic authority from their association with Seneca, that they

exercise effectual force. Senecan tropes, in Settle's hands, become pure metatheatre, devices to offset the surrounding artifice. Unlike Lee, who sustains a senecan *modus operandi* throughout his *Nero*, Settle applies these tropes selectively among a range of other representational devices.

The *Empress* ends by opening the shutters on a graphic execution (Fig. 1):

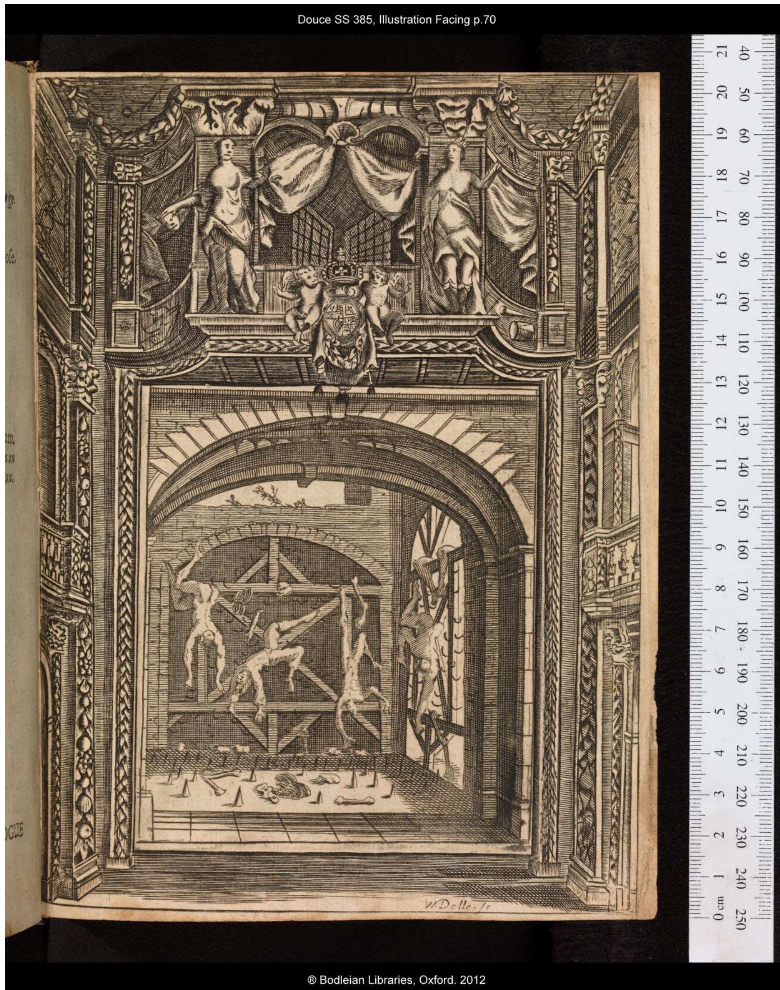

Figure 1: Elkanah Settle, *The Empress of Morocco: A Tragedy* (London: William Cademan, 1673). (Reproduced with permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

Although comparably gruesome, tableaux such as this in fact owe much less to Seneca than to the English revenge tragedies of the previous generation, many of which were rewritten and remounted in Restoration mode (Kerrigan, 'Revisited').[8] One of the crucial resources available to the modern indoor playhouses at Drury Lane, Dorset Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields, all constructed in the early 1660s, was the inner stage, or the "scene". This device was instrumental in transforming the tragic climax from an essentially auditory experience—the messenger-speech, the *récit* or *tirade* —to a visual display, and as such became the emblematic result of an overall shift in aesthetic practice.[9] The inner stage supplanted the senecan method of stimulating audience response through heightened language alone, translating theatrical horror into an alternative sensory medium. In the Restoration playhouse, most of the action was still performed on the apron, the platform which projected out in front of the proscenium arch, flanked by audience on three sides in boxes and in the pit. When required, however, the painted shutters behind this platform could be drawn back to reveal either a hidden interior such as a boudoir or a torture chamber, or a mechanised spectacle such as the 'Prodigies' in *Oedipus* (Diamond; Powell 42-43, 57; Visser 73-77). In the *Empress*, then, rather than using a monologue to immobilise his audience in the cumulative bonds of auditory torture, Settle administers it in a single, shocking, visual strike.

Whereas Settle retained the senecan mode only as an index of artifice, Lee continued to weave strands of it into the representational fabric of his work. The play which became his biggest hit, *The Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great* (1677), contains two unmistakable allusions: the comparison of vengeful Queen Roxana to Medea, and the vocabulary used by Alexander to describe the poison ravaging his body as he dies. Upon discovering Alexander's infidelity, Roxana rages that 'eternal discord, / Fury, revenge, disdain, and indignation / Tear my swol'n breast, make way for fire and tempest' (3.1.49-51). The conspirator Poliperchon encourages her, urging,

> Let not Medea's dreadful vengeance stand
> A pattern more, but draw your own so fierce,
> It may forever be original.
>
> (3.1.66-68)

Roxana recalls what she has sacrificed for Alexander and concludes that even if revenge should destroy her, 'I will rebound to my own Orb of fire, / And with the wrack of all the Heav'ns expire' (3.1.126-27). The conspirators admire her passion, Cassander commenting that 'Now you appear your self' (129). Roxana, like Seneca's Medea, fulfils her identity in the pursuit of Pyrrhic vengeance on a treacherous spouse.[10] Alexander's (pseudo-) Senecan template, meanwhile, is demigod Hercules *Oetaeus*, implicitly refracted through Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*.[11] This identification becomes especially acute when the poisoned Alexander, unable to identify his assailant, demands that his attendants 'Search there, nay probe me, search my wounded veins. / Pull, draw it out,' imagining that 'a forked burning Arrow / Sticks cross my

shoulders' sending 'Lightning through my flesh, my blood, my marrow' (5.313-17). Although not quite as graphic as Hercules, he nevertheless expresses his 'Torments' with excruciating verbal precision rather than the inarticulate cries that an altogether mimetic theatre would demand (Martin and Allard 3). 'My vital spirits are quite parched, burnt up,' he is able to relate, 'And all my smoaky Entrails turn'd to ashes' (5.356-57; compare *Hercules Oetaeus* 1218-23, 1277-78). Citing Hercules at this juncture endows Alexander with superhuman stature, and provides Lee with the means for articulating superhuman death.

Horror Plays of the Exclusion Crisis

In 1678, as the Exclusion Crisis gathered momentum, Lee collaborated with John Dryden on a version of *Oedipus*, staged in a successful season at Dorset Garden. This most overtly Senecan of Lee's works was deeply embedded in the political anxieties surrounding its production. Lee has been called 'a master of politicized horror' (Marsden 179), a mastery which could partially be attributed to his immersion in Seneca's own dramatizations of self-destructive power. Charles II lacked a legitimate heir, placing his brother James—openly Catholic—next in line for the English throne. A parliamentary bill would be proposed in 1679 to exclude James from the succession altogether on the grounds of religious unsuitability. Charles refused to accept Parliament's recommendation, resulting in stalemate. Susan Owen remarks that 'the Exclusion Crisis was a crisis of fatherhood': it resulted, in other words, from the failure of Charles II to father a successor, a failure which resurrected anxieties concerning parricide on a national scale (Owen 202). The Exclusion Bill received its greatest impetus from the so-called "Popish Plot" to assassinate the king, which erupted late in 1678. The Plot itself was later revealed to have been a fabrication, but the ensuing deluge of denunciations, high-profile arrests and public hysteria needed little in the way of hard evidence to sustain it (Johnson 14-21; Owen *passim*). Charles played the prudent monarch, overseeing investigations into the Plot while turning a blind eye to the possibility that his own favoured successor might be implicated. Battigelli sums up the paradox succinctly, pointing out that 'No ritual could satisfactorily expunge Catholicism from the nation without also jettisoning the Stuarts' (6). It was during this turbulent period that the Dryden/Lee *Oedipus* performed its own intervention into popular perceptions of repression and regicide.

Raising Laius' ghost for questioning (3.1.258-377) is an unequivocally Senecan scene, one which does not occur in Sophocles. Dryden and Lee also draw on Seneca's depiction of the Theban plague in their own depiction of a stricken urban setting, recalling the outbreak of plague suffered by London a decade earlier. The play opens, like Seneca's, with a detailed description of the plague, beginning 'No Sun to cheer us, but a Bloody Globe / that rowls above; a bald and Beamless Fire; / His face o'ergrown with Scurf; The Sun's sick too' (1.1.5-7). Like Seneca's, Lee's plague afflicts the entire

landscape of Thebes, its livestock, and its seasons, until even the 'Universal Frame' seems ready to collapse (1.1.1-2), and its unambiguous source is Oedipus. 'There stands your plague,' declares Alcander. 'The ruin, desolation, of this unhappy—' (4.1.140-41). Oedipus himself later recognises that he has been brought 'to blast with his dark breath / The yet untainted earth… To raise new plagues' (4.1.574-76). Theban pestilence is the result of 'Blood! And a king's blood too; / And such a king, and by his subjects shed' (1.1.437-38). Dryden and Lee's treatment is delicate, however, in that their *Oedipus* admits no straightforward allegory (apart from the caricature of Whig demagogue Lord Shaftesbury as a Machiavellian Creon).[12] Oedipus' guilt, as John Kerrigan points out, is predicated on his legitimacy, and his right to rule is inherited, however tainted the acquisition, from his father (Kerrigan, 'Revisited' 242).[13] Whatever Charles' flaws as a monarch, the responsibility for regicide/parricide lay with the Parliamentary republicans—long since absolved in the amnesty of 1660—and now with the extremists who threatened to destabilize the settlement and drag the country back into civil war. Dryden and Lee made their observations more general: the body of a murdered king lay rotting without restitution, his vindictive legacy poisoning the polity. Wilful ignorance could only temporarily contain it, and now as the cracks split open into serious ruptures it became necessary to expose the familiar, buried horrors in order to confront them, whatever the consequences.

Laius' ghost inscribes Dryden and Lee's Oedipus into the Senecan tradition. Characteristically for the period, and following Cornelian precedent, the ghost's manifestation is enacted rather than narrated (it also makes Hamlet-esque reappearances later in the play). The necromancy, as in Seneca (*Oed.* 530-58), is performed in a *locus horridus* described by Haemon as a grove watered by sacrificial blood in which the trees are 'All full of human Souls; That cleave their barks / To dance at midnight by the moon's pale beams' (3.1.207-08). Tiresias presides over a lengthy ritual which includes slaughtering a barren black heifer, a detail which may be derived from Seneca's *atrae boves* (*Oed.* 556) and perhaps recalls in addition his infamous sacrificial set-piece (*Oed.* 353-83).[14] The musical interlude that follows, for which Purcell's 1692 setting is extant, has been interpreted by Battigelli as creating a serene heterotopia wherein 'the lyrics and the music effect the cathartic power of tragedy' (21-23). It was not, however, an innovation of Dryden's, but rather shares its position and incongruity of tone with the equally incongruous "Bacchus Ode" which separates Seneca's heifer-sacrifice from the summoning of Laius. While Seneca relies on lavish narration alone to establish the eerie setting and perversion of natural order, Dryden and Lee cut the lights ('*The stage wholly darkened*,' 292), punctuating the blackout with thunderclaps and flashes of lightning during which '*Ghosts are seen passing betwixt the trees*' (329). Finally, Laius rises '*arm'd in his chariot as he was slain*' (344) to name his murderer, a much more regal apparition than the mangled corpse who speaks through Seneca's Creon (*Oed.* 624-26). Like other Senecan spectres, he prefers the Underworld to the hell that is Thebes, and begs Tiresias to send him back. When entreated to identify his murderer, he unequivocally names Oedipus as parricide,

incestuous monster, and source of Thebes' plague (compare Sen., *Oed*. 634-41). He departs commanding those present to 'forbid him Earth, and I'll forbid him Heaven' (3.1.377), a translation of Seneca's equally pithy *eripite terras, auferam caelum pater* (*Oed*. 658).

As in Lee's *Nero*, language in *Oedipus* is attributed the ability to harm, to heal, and not merely to represent but to make active interventions into the physical world. Implicitly, senecan dramatic speech accomplishes similar transformations, carving out the environment in which it occurs as well as determining the figures who utter it. Whereas mimetic drama treats words as the instruments wielded by individuals against the backdrop of a given situation, senecan drama furnishes no situation other than that which evolves through speech, sweeping the helpless carriers of this discursive disease into its undertow. Language does not stand apart from senecan matter; they are melded, co-dependent. When Lee's Jocasta realises the truth and warns her husband/son to probe the evidence no further, she configures the trauma of disclosure as a wound:

> Could there be made a monstrous gap in nature,
> A flaw made through the centre, by some god,
> Through which the groans of ghosts may strike thy ears,
> They will not wound thee as this story will.
>
> (4.1.425-28)

She wishes to be transported on a whirlwind to a barren, uninhabited island where she 'may have vent / For horrors that would blast the barbarous world' (4.1.378-83). Neither human bodies nor nature itself can withstand what Jocasta is now capable of uttering aloud. The 'flaw', the 'monstrous gap' opened up to admit voices that ought to have been silenced, allows passage to cosmic disorder and the uncanny unrest of the dead; the dead, of course, have already had their say. Combined here with the materiality of language, this therefore produces an original synthesis of senecan elements.[15] Jocasta's sonic, psychic 'wound' is not wrought as the logical consequence of penetration by a weapon. Rather, it answers sympathetically to the colossal 'vent' in the fabric of Nature itself, dark sign of absence filled with the howl of a vacuum. Hole echoes hole, void void; the gap cries out and recalls the wounds of a murdered king which, as in *Richard III*, 'open their congeal'd mouths and bleed afresh' (1.2.230), just as Laius' own wounds ache in proximity to Oedipus (3.1.371-73). The effectiveness of this passage depends on its queer proliferation of gaps: the breach through which an open, groaning mouth inflicts an open, bleeding wound. Jocasta, summoned by a 'hollow' and unheard spectral voice, exits to 'cleave the ground' with her own insubstantial expiration (4.1.429 & 436).

Upon discovering his identity, Dryden and Lee's Oedipus chooses the Senecan method of tearing his eyes out with his hands rather than the Sophoclean brooch-pin, but there the resemblance ends. The play concludes with the death of every major character, including Oedipus himself. In 1726, a commentator remarked on

this scene that

> Oedipus makes a beautiful Harangue, which he concludes, comically, by throwing himself out of the window…Nevertheless, it is not the actor that represents Oedipus, who throws himself out of the window; but a Man of paste-board, made like him, which is thrown down…. The People usually laugh very heartily.
>
> (an anonymous scholion to Muralt's Letters, quoted in Visser 86)

Whether laughter attended the 1678 production is uncertain, but as a cathartic response to the orgy of mutual stabbing that precedes Oedipus' decisive plummet onto the royal flush of corpses, it may not be altogether inappropriate. This comprehensive annihilation exceeds anything in Sophocles, Seneca or Corneille. In striving for a senecan goal, namely the representation of extreme sensation, or hypertragedy, Lee combines the senecan technique of exaggerated speech with the visual effects newly available to Restoration playwrights.

Two years after the Dryden/Lee *Oedipus*, John Crowne's *Thyestes* opened at Drury Lane, and became the first vernacular translation of an unequivocally Senecan source-text to be produced on the English stage. Paradoxically, Crowne's play seems less invested than Lee's oeuvre in preserving senecanism. Crowne fleshes out the plot considerably, adding a doomed romance between Atreus' daughter Antigone and Thyestes' son Plisthenes. Crowne's conflict has a different focus from Seneca's, revolving around Atreus' innocent wife Aerope. Raped by Thyestes and harshly punished for adultery by her husband, she is aghast at the brothers' apparent reconciliation and adds to the Act V bloodshed by stabbing Thyestes herself. Plisthenes is murdered onstage by a band of perfidious priests, but his flesh is not served at the banquet. Instead, his body is revealed intact for Antigone to swoon over, while Thyestes swallows a symbolic cup of blood. Despite these alterations, much that is Senecan remains. Crowne translates a number of key lines directly, notably the Fury's description of perverted Nature (*Thy.* 104-21), Atreus' comparison of himself to an eager hunting dog (*Thy.* 496-503), the uncanny refusal of Thyestes' garland to stay in place and the inexplicable horror that rises in his breast (*Thy.* 944-57, 1001). Calling on the gods to avenge his son's death with a thunderbolt, Thyestes entreats them to 'take not aim, but dart it at us both; / Hit one of us, and 'tis no matter which' (compare *lumen ereptem polo / fulminibus exple. Causa, ne dubites diu, / utriusque mala sit* (Sen., *Thy.* 1086-88). Atreus vows to do 'I know not what, / Something that all the gods will tremble at' (1.1, p. 9), which combines *fiat hoc, fiat nefas / quod, di, timetis* (Sen., *Thy.* 256-66) and *haud quid sit scio, / sed grande quiddam est!* (Sen., *Thy.* 269-70). On a thematic level, the senecan motif of over-consumption likewise runs through Crowne, culminating in the 'infinite excess' which Atreus orders to overflow (4.1). This is complemented by the motif of an internal 'Hell', a body which contains evil not controlled by its host. Imbued with the metatheatricality that is such a pronounced senecan trait (Boyle, *Tragic Seneca*; Schiesaro, *Passions*), Atreus imagines his bodily interior as a theatre, his internal self as an actor performing a tragedy of

revenge before bloodthirsty spectators:

> What crowd is this assembled in my Breast?
> My soul's a Theatre with Furies fill'd.
> The Ghastly throng fling all their eager looks
> Upon a Table spread with mangled Limbs
> And smoking bowls o'er gorg'd with reeked blood;
> Their Eyes grow larger with the pleasing sight;
> […]
> The vision takes! The Story's great and brave!
> I'le give it my Revenge to Copy out.
>
> (2.3, p. 16)

A crowd with an appetite for 'mangled limbs' will in fact leave Crowne's table unsatisfied. What Atreus' 'Vision' does accomplish is a comparably queasy elimination of the boundary between interior and exterior: the actor's audience are assimilated to the Furies within him, licking their lips in anticipation, and the theatre becomes his own gullet, as if he has swallowed us whole and we sit beneath the arches of his ribcage hearing the heartbeat thud of iambics through the bone, still watching the actor before us pondering, 'What crowd is this assembled in my Breast…?' Crowne locates Thyestes' meal in his 'breast' and 'bowels' interchangeably, indicating a lack of distinction between the politely figurative space and the grossly physical. In issuing Atreus' words, the actor's breast expands into a cavernous interior lined with ravenous spectators, engulfing the theatre itself.

The third member of the triad of 'Senecan horror plays' (Canfield 236) to accompany the Exclusion Crisis was Edward Ravenscroft's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.[16] Although related to Seneca only by the loosest of structural and thematic parallels, it deserves examination precisely because it illustrates such important differences between Restoration and Elizabethan theatre. Produced in approximately 1592 (Hughes [ed.]), the Shakespearean *Titus* still retained pronounced senecan features, in particular its use of densely-figured, hyperbolic monologue to represent extreme states. Furthermore, alongside its unmistakable intertextual links with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6.424-674, *Thyestes* remains an unavoidable blueprint behind any play that concocts a cannibal banquet as revenge for rape (*stuprum*, named as such at *Thy*. 222 and Shakespeare's *Titus* 4.1.79). Whether consciously or not, Seneca's *Thyestes* feeds into Ravenscroft's reformulation despite its pronounced revisions. The nature of these revisions, moreover, is characteristic of Restoration practice. The contemporary playwright Thomas Shadwell was of the opinion that 'Women and Scenes' were the most advantageous theatrical devices of the period, and Ravenscroft makes use of both (Diamond 522). Whereas Elizabethan cross-dressing produced instant dissociation between the speech of "Lavinia" and the body of the boy-actor who played her, making his suffering a rhetorical illusion and gender a part of his skill-set, the Restoration actress's body was implicated inextricably in her utterances. The boy-actor, in a sense, could only ever refer to his character in the third person, but

the actress could—and did—use herself as a referent (King esp. 81; Payne). Femininity could be visually authenticated as well as merely symbolised. Exploiting the actress as erotic object, Ravenscroft lingers on her desirability as Chiron and Demetrius prepare to 'rifle all her secrets' (Ravenscroft 3.1.137): her trembling, her tenderness, and the maidenly pallor that Demetrius would rather see 'glow with lust and appetite' (3.1.141). The casual brutality of their Shakespearean attack is here overlaid with lecherous banter, complemented by Lavinia's later appearance, which sets her horrific injuries against the sexually provocative 'Loose hair, and Garments disorder'd' (Reilly 139-43; Diamond 535).

The spectacle of feminine distress has little senecan currency, but as in Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* and Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*, it became a key motif of Exclusion tragedy when perpetrated in conjunction with abuses of royal power (Canfield; Kewes, 'Otway'). In his preface, Ravenscroft explains that Titus suited the season of the Popish Plot as it 'shew'd the Treachery of Villains, and the Mischiefs carry'd on by Perjury'. Furthermore, he undertook to improve upon what he calls Shakespeare's 'most incorrect and indigested piece'. His revisions remove most references to Ovid, thus cutting Lavinia off from the mythological connotations that would otherwise give her persona powerful dimensions beyond the merely personal. Although he seems to have constructed an altogether more cultivated Rome,[17] by making strategic use of the inner scene Ravenscroft rips away this façade of civilization during the play's concluding bloodbath (Murray 115-19). In a show-stopping, heart-stopping tableau like those in *The Empress of Morocco* and *The Massacre of Paris* (Iwanisziw 112-14), the scene is drawn to reveal the arch-villain Aaron, 'discover'd on a Rack' (5.3.130) 'Disjoynt his limbs,' orders Titus (5.2.141). The tortured body of Aaron and the ravished body of Lavinia thus provide visual assurance that the text's inflated rhetoric retains a definite collateral of flesh.[18]

During the Exclusion Crisis, then, Seneca and senecan hypertragedy made an appreciable contribution to the ways in which horror was stimulated theatrically. This could acquire distinct political overtones, as in *Oedipus*, or a take a more tangential approach to the public mood of insecurity, like Ravenscroft's *Titus*. At the same time, it should be noted that this horror came increasingly from visual images rather than poetic imagery, and relied in particular on an isomorphic relationship between the performer and the character he or she portrayed: the victim of torture or rape, the display of whose injuries ratified the verbal contract between actors and audience.

Words that Move

Even in his later works, Lee continued to exhibit an explicit and self-reflexive interest in the operation of language as a theatrical tool. The extent to which tragic (or hypertragic) discourse could be imagined as affecting its auditors is evident from the

power he attributes to a performance of Seneca's *Hercules Furens* in *Theodosius, or the force of love* (1680). Varenes reminds his old friend Theodosius of how they once played Hercules and Theseus in amateur theatricals:

> When on the stage to the admiring court
> We strove to represent Alcides' fury
> In all that raging heat and pomp of madness
> With which the stately Seneca adorned him;
> So lively drawn, and painted with such horror
> That we were forc'd to give it o'er, so loud
> The virgins shrieked, so fast they dy'd away.
>
> (1.1.257-63)

This brief metatheatrical digression shows Lee's fascination with the Roman tragedian surviving his engagement with other material. Not only specifying Seneca's Hercules instead of the more properly classical Euripides, Lee also adduces terms of approbation which suggest why he treats Seneca as the 'Ancient' most worth imitating. The Seneca in this passage is at once 'stately' and thrilling, his Hercules 'adorned' with baroque flourishes—Lee's own work has been described in similar terms—and elevated rather than degraded by his awe-inspiring 'pomp of madness' (Grayham 69). At the same time, fury, horror, and 'raging heat' make such an electrifying impression, rendering the figure of the stricken hero so vivid—'lively drawn'—that the response from Varenes' audience of virgins is both agonized and orgasmic: to 'die', of course, rarely escapes sexual connotations in Restoration drama. Seneca's Hercules, all-powerful and all-consumed, is singled out to represent a theatrical ideal. Here, however, it is not restrained classical decorum but rather all-out classical passion which is held up as the essence of ancient drama, not to mention as a certain desideratum: what Restoration actor, and what Restoration playwright, would find unflattering the tribute of a virgin audience yielding ecstatically to their manipulation, shrieking aloud and losing consciousness under the waves of pleasure and pain?

The sensory appeal of Lee's dramatic mode, according to one contemporary source, resembled that of music. In a rather backhanded assessment, Colley Cibber records, 'In what Raptures have I seen an audience at his [Lee's] furious Fustian and turgid Rants…When those flowing numbers come from the mouth of a Betterton, the Multitude no more desired sense to them than…in the celebrated Airs of an Italian Opera' (Cibber, *Apology,* quoted in Grayham 68).[19] Character and plot make minimal contribution to inducing the "Raptures" Cibber derides; rather, it is to Lee's arias, those bursts of high emotion set to streams of evocative language, that the audience respond. Lee's diction offers little respite from intensive figuration, creating the senecan atmosphere of oppression and hysteria by constantly sculpting experience into hyperbolic shapes that give it the protean cast of nightmare. This process can be observed in action throughout the banned *Massacre of Paris* (eventually staged in 1689), while its more politically acceptable substitute, *Caesar Borgia* (1678) comments self-reflexively on the imagined ability of speech to effect material transformations.

The characters in *Massacre* are defined by their obsessions (Powell 34, 88). Marguerite's passion for Guise exceeds all boundaries, including those of her own physical integrity:

> For Oh, I love beyond all former passion:
> Dye for him! That's too little; I could burn
> Piece-meal away, or bleed to Death by drops,
> Be flead alive, then broke upon the Wheel…
> And when let loose from torments, all one Wound,
> Run with my mangled Arms, and crush him dead.
>
> (3.1.21-27)

This is matched, however, by her lover's passion for revenge. Guise avows that he would 'Hurl her to the Sea! / The Air, the Earth, or elemental Fire,' if it enabled him to see his arch-enemy the Admiral, compared in an extended and rather ludicrous simile to a giant whale, 'Struck on those Scouring Shallows which await him' (1.1.120-28). As Hayne argues, laughter could be a legitimate and even appreciative response to such outbursts of heroic temper in which (as Cibber's reference to 'turgid Rants' suggests) size trumps sense (Hayne 348). Lee's Queen Mother lusts for vicarious power in similarly exaggerated terms (eg 1.2.6-9) while her hapless son King Charles slides into an ecstasy of remorse, relating nightmares in which his body disintegrates (1.2.51-55) and macabre visions in which he is led through a crypt or hunted by his victims' Furies (5.1.34-35; 5.5.14-16). To further magnify the intensity of their utterances, Lee traps his characters in a *huis clos* setting, the corrupt French court which the Protestant Admiral calls an 'Abyss' (2.1.103). For four acts, menace is gathered from cumulative linguistic association rather than scenic literalism. Anticipating the sight of his wife, for instance, the Admiral muses that

> The face of Beauty on these rising horrours
> Looks like the Midnight-Moon upon a murder:
> It drives the Shades that thicken from the state
> And gilds the dark design that's ripe for Fate.
>
> (4.1.247-50)

Horrors that 'rise' and shades that 'thicken' produce a ceaseless increase in tension; the unseen design is 'ripe', although not yet executed. No murder has so far been committed, so whatever the moonlight might fall upon remains invisible, implicit, swallowed in shadows and all the more ominous for its obscurity. The darkness, moreover, appears 'gilded', limned with a superficial glitter not unlike that of the ripe but rotten court, the *Coeur*, the core. Rather than sustaining this borderline surrealism, however, Lee dissipates it in the final act. Making spectacular use of the inner stage, he engineers a double reveal: the scene draws twice, first to show the Protestant leaders gunned down by a firing squad, and immediately afterwards to show the Admiral's mutilated body hanged and burning.[20] In thus bringing atrocity out brutally into the open, these pictorial tableaux perform what could almost be regarded

as a generic shift from horror to thriller. As depiction supplants reportage, the verbal superfluity which made Lee's French court so sinister and so senecan is cut off, exposing a more thuggish and institutionalised breed of terror. Execution is not performed under the midnight-moon, but rather under the dry sanction of daylight.[21]

The *Massacre*'s replacement, *Caesar Borgia*, is notable in terms of senecan characteristics mainly for the attention it pays to the haptic properties of speech. For Seneca, language acquires the ability to shape the world only under particular conditions: if the discourse is magical or prophetic, or delivered by a supernatural figure such as a goddess or Fury.[22] The metatheatrical aspect of such utterances is underscored by their identification as poetic song (*carmen*, *Oed*. 561; *canit*, *Oed*. 567 & *Med*. 739). Lee, however, is less restrictive, placing this kind of active, "live", galvanic language even in the mouths of ordinary characters. As in *Nero*, words in *Caesar Borgia* are attributed physical effects, particularly through the speech act of the curse. When Orsino curses his daughter Bellamira, she begs for death or dismemberment as a milder alternative, since 'There's not one fatal sentence, one dread Word / But runs like Iron through my freezing blood' (2.1.11-12). Bellamira delivers her own execration of Borgia accompanied by reflexive reference to how her 'thundering' voice as it howls the villain's name will 'shake the world':

> Methinks that Word, that spell, that horrid Sound,
> That groan of Air should cleave the neighbouring Rocks
> And scare the babbling Ecchoes from their Dens
>
> (4.1.396-401; compare esp. Seneca's *Troades* 108-14).

Borgia himself employs Machiavel as a surrogate voice, inciting him to 'Call up a friendly rage' to curse Bellamira and her lover (4.1.261). Machiavel obliges, imagining his breath to be 'sulph'rous as the lightning', a murderous blast of poison or plague. Although Machiavel's rage is feigned and conditional (*If* it were sulph'rous, *then thus* would he curse them), whipped up on Borgia's instructions, the physical impact of language which he imagines does not differ radically from that imagined by Bellamira as she suffers and inflicts quasi-magical linguistic damage. The spoken word can cleave and stab and infect, operating like a 'spell' as it shapes surrounding matter.

Conclusion

Despite his incorporation of striking visual effects, Lee continued to recognise language as a shape-shifting, mood-altering substance throughout his theatrical career. Even in works such as *The Massacre of Paris* which make spectacular use of the inner scene for their tableaux of graphic violence, he retained the poetic intensity inherent to senecan drama. In Seneca's work, and in later works composed under his influence, the theatricality (to paraphrase Eliot) is all in the word: the setting, scenic rhythm,

emotional range, and metaphorical connotations are all accomplished through the quasi-musical arrangement of figured discourse.[23] Lee's claims about the bodily efficacy of language in *Nero, Oedipus* and *Borgia* reflect his anticipation that tragedy could have similarly physical effects on its auditors, as suggested by his idealised reception of *Hercules Furens*. Like Seneca's, Lee's plays are works of hypertragedy, utilising strategies of verbal saturation such as *hyperbole, pleonasm, adynata, ecphrasis* and a universalising vocabulary to stimulate sensory overload, an overload which (unlike Seneca's) was additionally translated into the visual domain.

Although not the sole aficionado of Seneca among the Exclusion playwrights, only Lee appears to have maintained an interest in developing a poetics of excess. The senecan features in the work of Lee and his contemporaries were applied to a theatrical context quite different from the playhouses of the previous generation: the bare platform stage had been supplemented by moveable scenery, the apron was receding, the audience becoming spectators. The musicality of verse drama became less important than its efficacy as a vehicle for conveying complex plots. Overall, Lee's body of work represents Seneca and senecanism in a period of transition. English tragedy still retained elements which had been the core of pre-Interregnum drama (Bevis 7-16), but these now served as embellishments for a developing form that favoured dialogue, action and spectacle. As the visual progressively overtook the verbal to become Lee's preferred theatrical medium, passages of pure Seneca did remain, but they remain as shrinking dark pools in an increasingly colourful scenescape.

Notes

1. All references to Lee follow Stroup & Cooke; all references to Seneca follow Seneca: *Tragedies*, ed. Fitch.

2. 'They called me mad, I called them mad, and damn them, they outvoted me.'

3. It was re-staged in 1715-16 and again in 1745 in response to Jacobite uprising (Source: van Lennep et al.).

4. The expression *Hypertragödie* has been used by Hermand to describe Heinrich von Kleist's *Penthesilea*.

5. It is not clear whether Lee regarded Seneca *Tragicus* and Seneca *Philosophus* as the same person.

6. Senecan *scelera* often—but not invariably—refer to sexual transgressions such as Phaedra's, Clytemnestra's and Jason's. On visual dynamics, see Diamond. Hayne (344) notes in regard to the opening scene of Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* that 'sexual intercourse [is] perhaps an ideal example of a phenomenon which cannot be adequately contained in language.'

7. 'She runs here and there with frantic movements, / bearing the marks of frenzy in her maddened expression. / Face flaming, heaving deep breaths, / she cries out, washes her eyes with flooding tears. / She beams again; she suffers every kind of emotion. / She hesitates, threatens, burns, laments, groans.'

8. The script mentions only the execution of the conspirator Crimalhaz, but the scene is illustrated in contemporary editions with multiple bodies. Iwazniszіw (124) suggests that the actor playing Crimalhaz is the figure suspended in the centre, whereas the other (naked) corpses were represented

by dummies.

9. Although visual *coups de théâtre* were not uncommon in Jacobethan theatre—Tamburlaine's 'pampered jades of Asia,' for instance, or Giovanni brandishing Annabella's heart in Ford's '*Tis Pity She's a Whore*—these do not make the same use of the dynamics of suspenseful concealment and climactic disclosure as encoded in both the *récit* and the inner scene, which corresponds in many ways to the Greek *ekkyklema* (on which correspondence, see Hall & Macintosh 18).

10. The lines indicating this progression are: *Medea—fiam* (171); *Nunc aude, incipe / quidquid potest Medea, quidquid non potest* (566-67); *Medea nunc sum,* (910); *coniugam agnoscis tuam? / sic fugere soleo* (1021-22).

11. On the Herculean aspects of Tamburlaine, see Waith 60-87.

12. Creon is generally recognised as Shaftesbury: Battigelli 14; Kerrigan 240; Hall and Macintosh 27.

13. On other aspects of the connection between Charles II and Oedipus, see also Battigelli in particular, but also Johnson; Kewes, 'Otway'; and Hall & Macintosh.

14. The heifer in Seneca is emphatically *innupta*, although she is carrying a displaced and malformed foetus, described as a *nefas* omen (Sen., *Oed*. 373).

15. One way or another, the Underworld has an onstage presence in most of Seneca's plays, whether in the form of an apparition (*Agamemnon, Thyestes* and reported in *Oedipus* and *Troades*), or a return from Hades (*Hercules Furens, Phaedra*).

16. Canfield lists *Thyestes* and *Titus* along with two translations of the *Troades*: Sherburne (1679) and Talbot (1686). Marsden (175) identifies a 'cult of horror popular in the late 1670s' but does not mention Seneca.

17. Tamora claims to have been enticed not to a 'barren, detested vale' (*TA* 2.2.93-97) but merely to a 'secret and retir'd place' (Ravenscroft 3.1.102) in the palace gardens; Bassianus' corpse does not tumble into a grotesquely womb-like pit fringed with bloody brambles (*TA* 2.2.198-202; 2.2.339-40), but is rather more appropriately concealed in a vault (3.1.203-04).

18. As a useful comparison, Hayne discusses the contemporary mistrust of unsubstantiated discourse as played out in Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*.

19. On the musicality of Restoration delivery, see further Parsons 35.

20. It is not clear whether these appeared sequentially in the same scenic frame. Other possibilities are that the Admiral's body appeared above, or that a second set of shutters opened behind the fallen Protestants to reveal him in a deeper compartment; this is an attractive option and one available to Drury Lane at the time (see diagram in Langhans 41).

21. The onstage deaths in the Senecan corpus are relatively few: Jocasta, Phaedra, Medea's children and possibly the children of Hercules. The offstage deaths described in detail are Hippolytus, Thyestes' children, Agamemnon and Astyanax / Polyxena. Wholesale annihilation is an early modern enhancement.

22. For example, Tiresias raising the dead at *Oed*. 559-73; Medea's spell at *Med*. 737-39; the Fury's injunctions to Tantalus at *Thy*. 23-65, 101-21; Theseus' curse on his son at *Phaed*. 945-59; and Juno summoning demonic agents of madness at *Hercules Furens* 95-124).

23. Eliot famously asserted that 'in the plays of Seneca, the drama is all in the word, and the word has no further reality behind it' ('Elizabethan Translation' 67); the phrase was picked up by Mastronarde as the title of an influential article ('The Drama in the Word', 1970).