

A woman in a green dress is shown in profile, looking at a globe on a stand. She is in a room with bookshelves and a patterned curtain. The lighting is warm and focused on the globe and the woman.

Gary Waller

Late Shakespeare and the English Baroque

Amsterdam
University
Press

A
X
U
X
P
X

Late Shakespeare and the English Baroque



Amsterdam
University
Press

Late Shakespeare and the English Baroque

Gary Waller

Amsterdam University Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

Cover illustration: Johannes Vermeer, *The Astronomer*, 1668 © Bridgeman Images.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 90 4856 318 0

e-ISBN 978 90 4856 319 7 (pdf)

DOI 10.5117/9789048563180

NUR 632

© G. Waller / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2024

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.



Table of Contents

Introduction and Acknowledgements	9
1 Late Shakespeare and the English Baroque	15
2 Hyperbole and Melancholy The Baroque's Key Structure of Feeling	33
3 Plays, Players, Playing: The Multiple Theatricality of the Baroque	59
4 Shakespeare: Late Writings and the Female Baroque	83
5 Towards a Baroque Poetics I <i>Shakespeare's Sonnets</i>	111
6 Towards a Baroque Poetics II 'The Phoenix and Turtle' and 'A Lover's Complaint'	133
7 Shakespearean Baroque Tragedy in an Emptying World	153
8 Shakespearean Baroque From Tragedy to Tragicomedy	177
9 <i>The Tempest</i> Plateauing and the Gradual Immanentism of the Baroque: Shakespeare, Montaigne, Bruno, Vermeer	199
Index	221





Amsterdam
University
Press

For Katie
and as a memorial to our son
Philip McCormick Waller 1989–2024
Mercury Glass Theatre Company
director, actor, Shakespeare enthusiast



Amsterdam
University
Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

Introduction and Acknowledgements

This book examines Shakespeare's late (sometimes termed his 'later' or 'last') writings within the gradual emergence of a recognizable English Baroque culture. It is focused mainly on the plays and poems from *Hamlet* and 'Let the Bird of Loudest Lay' (a poem conventionally known as 'The Phoenix and [the] Turtle') to *The Tempest* and beyond, but looks especially closely at the plays written from around 1607 on, some (though not all) of which have been variously termed 'romances' 'tragicomedies' (or 'tragi-comedies'). I also include the sonnets and the poem 'A Lover's Complaint', published together in 1609, though mainly written earlier in the decade, even in some cases before, and anticipating the emergence of a distinctively baroque poetics.

Some of the origins of this project are scholarly and intellectual, some personal. One starting point was when as a research student at Cambridge I nervously promised my distinguished supervisor, L. C. Knights, that one day I would prove to him that what were then widely termed Shakespeare's 'romances' were as powerful and important as the tragedies and histories on which he had written so authoritatively. This was an ongoing discussion between us, which included LC's characteristically polite but firm scepticism about Shakespeare-in-the-theatre. That discussion coincided, on my part a little surreptitiously therefore, with my first taste of the RSC, where I saw Trevor Nunn's *Winter's Tale*, an experience which deepened a growing obsession with what, in Act four of that play, Time terms 'joy and terror' in my subsequent scholarship and teaching, and not least in my relationships and family life. It became a long-standing family joke (one, I am afraid, that over the years too many of my students learned to mock me with) that at any performance of *The Winter's Tale*, including years later a production directed by my oldest son, I can be expected not only to weep profusely at its conclusion, but worse, that when I first take my seat and open the playbill, I find it difficult to hold back such signs of the emotions I am anticipating experiencing.

Why this quirk should become a matter of scholarly analysis rather than a mere personal anecdote will, however speculatively, be explained, at least in part, in later pages: it has somewhat to do with characteristic

(perhaps mainly male) fears and fantasies, with the increasing awareness of the gap between youth and ageing, and the psychological and broader cultural origins of many varieties of 'joy and terror', all of which are readily locatable in and around the Shakespearean text, but which have also been stimulated by important cultural shifts in our own era. Our increasing awareness of issues of class, gender, environment, and other emergent markers, have demanded that we re-evaluate our interactions with past and present works of literature and art. Also, less subjectively and more open to scholarly debate, it has to do with wider cultural forces operating in and around the writing and staging of plays that were being shaped by the emerging culture of the Baroque in England, not only in art or architecture or what eventually becomes referred to as 'literature', but within the underlying 'structures of feeling', to use a concept acquired from my other major Cambridge 'influencer', as my students now (rather indiscriminately) say, Raymond Williams.

Go forward a few decades from my first RSC experience. This book acquired an important part of its distinctive focus, taking first conceptual and then eventual material shape, by being written during the coronavirus pandemic of the early 2020s. It became fashionable, if a little pretentious, among some scholars when we were faced with writing or study paralysis, or just feeling cut off from colleagues, friends, or loved ones, to console ourselves that after all, it had been in a time of plague that Shakespeare wrote *King Lear*, not to mention another half dozen and more plays, including *The Winter's Tale* itself. Between, say, the writing of *Hamlet* around 1601, and 1613 or 1614, when he seems to have effectively retired, the Globe and most other theatres around London were shut for something like half the time as a result of the plague. Almost certainly Shakespeare wrote and acted and took quarantine breaks in Stratford under circumstances not entirely dissimilar to our own, and one of my occasional assertions in this book is that the products of the last ten or so years of his career especially matter to us today given that we are now also living through such a time, except of course we have vaccines, and some of us have had, if only very briefly, a few political leaders who followed the science instead of indulging in vacuous dog-whistles and self-serving conspiratorial bluster. But both as I planned and wrote this book, I was all too aware of (and in some fear of) the enforced isolation, the barrage of statistics, and the endless stories of fearful experiences around me, situated in my initial research phase in England (admittedly in what, at least early in that period, was relatively calm Cambridge) and during most of the actual writing in Rye Brook, New York, a region in which the virus hit most viciously in 2020 and 2021 but

which nonetheless became, if only unfortunately for a very short period, something of a model for managing it. Even today, still in a time of the threat of increasing variants of Covid, the black death, the pandemic that lasted well into Shakespeare's time and beyond, remains symbolically one of the most persistent European cultural shadows. Eventually, though not in his lifetime, it led very gradually to a new confidence in empirically based medicine rather than superstition, but in the first decades of the seventeenth century the plague was out there, lurking, ready to strike, and the populace was ignorant of its origins and more or less resigned to its continual return.

Acknowledging the personal origins of this study, both distant and recent, cannot in itself justify it. The strategic use of self is common both in the therapeutic and pedagogical worlds, but a scholarly study, especially of Shakespeare, needs more justification. Shakespeare's late writings have attracted a variety of changing approaches in the last fifty years, even over the last century or more, when that common label for a particular group of the late (or 'last') plays to which I give special attention, the 'romances', has been given wide currency, sometimes overlapping with the invention of another equally porous category of plays, some written slightly earlier, the so-called 'problem plays'. The two terms share conceptual vagueness but more importantly, one of the characteristics I will fold into my discussion, they both incorporate the mixing of genres which became characteristic of Shakespeare's later writings.

Following an introduction to that perplexing and slippery term, the 'Baroque', four chapters focus on Shakespeare's place in the gradually emerging early seventeenth-century baroque culture in England. In chapter two I look at the recurring combination of melancholy and hyperbole and their manifestations in early Jacobean culture, not least in the drama. In chapter three, I examine the Baroque's propensity for multiple and often contradictory varieties of theatricality, both in theatre performance and in the broader culture. Then, notwithstanding Shakespeare's being a male, even though perhaps of ambiguous or multiple gender preferences, chapter four focuses on a vital aspect of the Baroque I have analyzed more broadly elsewhere, the emergence of the specifically 'female baroque' and the presence in his plays and poems, of a new awareness, including some uneasiness, regarding sexuality and gender. Those considerations become a prominent strand in the late plays and enable me to pose the paradoxical question asked by a number of recent feminist and queer scholars, if there is or even could be a specifically 'female' (or 'woman') character in Shakespeare?

Chapters five to nine focus more closely on the process of transformation that occurs in Shakespeare's career as poet and dramatist as he responds

and contributes to what we now can clearly label as the emergent signs of the Baroque. I speak of Shakespeare's 'late writing' or 'late Shakespeare' and thereby allow the inclusion of the sonnets (published 1609, though dating in part from over twenty years earlier), and two important poems, the mysterious 'Phoenix and [the] Turtle' (published 1601 as one of a number of contributions appended to a laboured poem by Robert Chester, 'Loves Martyr') and 'A Lover's Complaint' (published with the sonnets in 1609, and also probably originating some years earlier). In chapter five, therefore, I turn to the sonnets, to show how elements of the Baroque permeate Shakespeare's reworking of the sonnet form which throughout Europe was being stretched well beyond the conventions of the Petrarchan tradition. Chapter six focuses on the two other poems, both 'A Lover's Complaint', and 'Phoenix and Turtle', a poem that foregrounds brilliantly the characteristic baroque blend of hyperbole and melancholy, wrapped in what is recognizably a mix of spectacular contradictions, in miniature clearly anticipatory of developments in European-wide baroque poetics.

Chapters seven to nine focus on the plays: chapter seven on the tragedies from *Hamlet* (1601) to *Coriolanus* (1609); chapter eight on the emergent blend of comic, tragic, and romance elements in the plays from about 1607 onwards, from *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Pericles* to *The Tempest*, some of which we can usefully if tentatively label as tragicomedies. I look too at the 'late late' collaborative plays written with John Fletcher, *All is True* (*Henry VIII*), *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the lost, though partly restorable, *Cardenio*. I end in chapter nine with a consideration of Shakespeare's last single-authored and most philosophically prophetic play, *The Tempest*, viewing it in the context of what I term the Baroque's immanentist 'plateauing'. I present Shakespeare as, in effect, a baroque philosopher working through plays and poems rather than essays or treatises, a seer to be read alongside Montaigne or Bruno, and also anticipating future aesthetic developments in baroque art and culture with a parallel discussion of some of Vermeer's paintings.

None of the chapters of this book have been published as such. But some draw on, adapt, and in many cases significantly amend, parts of my earlier published work. The discussion of the culture of the Baroque and some of the illustrations in chapters 1, 2, and 4 originated in material used in (and in some cases omitted from) *The Female Baroque* (Amsterdam University Press, 2020). I have written extensively on Petrarchism in a number of publications, including *English Poetry of the Sixteenth Century* (Longman, 1983) and *The Sidney Family Romance* (Wayne State University Press, 1993); over the years my views on Petrarchan poetry have changed somewhat, and I hope matured, not least because of the remarks and critiques of helpful



colleagues, students, and reviewers. Some of the remarks on the cult of the Virgin Mary in chapter four and Vermeer in chapter nine have their origins in material in (and in some cases are expansions or corrections of) *The Virgin Mary in Medieval and Early Modern Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 2011) and *A Cultural Study of Mary and the Annunciation* (Routledge, 2015). My discussion of baroque time in the sonnets (chapter five), *Macbeth* (chapter seven), and *The Tempest* (chapter nine) have their (embarrassingly primitive and now barely recognizable) origins in *The Strong Necessity of Time* (Mouton, 1976) which developed from my Cambridge research directed by the aforementioned L. C. Knights.

As well as personal and scholarly origins, there are also institutional dimensions needing acknowledgement. While its hazy genesis goes back to my own far-off years at Cambridge, it has taken shape in part because of my own students, many of whom have developed into scholars, actors, and teachers. I want particularly to warmly acknowledge Michael Wheeler and the late Andy Brown at Magdalene College, Andrea Clough and Margaret McLaren at Auckland, Shawkat Hussain at Dalhousie, Kim Love, Gayle MacDonald, and Susan Rudy at Wilfrid Laurier, at Carnegie Mellon Craig Dionne, Stacia Vigneri, and especially Michele Osherow, and at Purchase College, Jessie Jones, Sadie Kalinowska-Werter, Kaitlyn Bestenheider, and most particularly Emma Steen, who generously provided me with access to books when the pandemic restricted my use of library facilities. Among the many friends and colleagues who over the years have been helpful and encouraging, I thank especially Bill Baskin, David Bassuk and Clista Townsend, Christopher Beach, Richard and Michal Bosworth, Bradley Brookshire, Michael Carroll, Jennifer Clarke, Peter Dane, Susan Donahue, Alison Findlay, Dominic Janes, Mary Ellen Lamb, Ken Larsen, Naomi Miller, Susan Morrison, Peter Sprague, and Susanne Woods. I wish also to salute the late Hugh Grady, with whom I had many brief conversations in passing over the years and to whose extensive work on Walter Benjamin and baroque drama I am especially indebted, even where we disagree.

I am deeply appreciative of the long-standing support from Erika Gaffney at Amsterdam, along with her colleagues and the valuable suggestions from the anonymous readers of my original book proposal, some of which made me rethink the organization and coverage of the whole study. Mike Sanders was a helpful and persistent Gatekeeper for AUP as this book took a final shape.

Except where otherwise noted, all quotations from Shakespeare's works are taken from *The Complete Works: Second Edition*, ed. Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

2005). Quotations from *Pericles* are taken from William Shakespeare and George Wilkins, *Pericles*, ed. Suzanne Gossett. (London: Arden, 2004).

The cover illustration, 'The Astronomer' by Johannes Vermeer, is reproduced by permission of Bridgeman Images.

As always, this book is dedicated to my extraordinarily and inspiring neo-baroque companion, wife, colleague, and expert in 'storying' of forty years (and continuing), Kathleen McCormick. Tragically and unexpectedly, it is also dedicated in memoriam to our son Philip McCormick Waller, who founded the Mercury Glass Theatre Company in New York, acted in and directed plays at Oberlin College, in New York, and Denver; in his all too short theatre career, he also worked for the Purchase College Performing Arts Centre, Actors Equity and, after returning from the pandemic which had closed so many theatre venues, the Tank Theatre Company in New York, before succumbing unexpectedly to an undiagnosed heart condition. Alas, he will not grow old, as we who are left grow old. My other sons, Michael and Andrew, one also working in theatre, the other in visual arts, both practitioners and teachers, have also contributed to the completion of this book with their love and support, not least since their brother's devastating death.

Cambridge, England

Rye Brook, New York



Amsterdam
University
Press

1 Late Shakespeare and the English Baroque

Abstract

The 'late' or 'later' phase of Shakespeare's career from around 1601 onwards, but especially from about 1607, can usefully be connected to the emergence of a recognizable baroque culture in England. I ask to what extent do his writings, poetry as well as plays, both respond to and contribute to the emergence of an English baroque culture? I review the complicated history of the term 'baroque' and outline the study's reliance on theoretical and historical approaches that stress the underlying cultural structures, not merely aesthetic or stylistic quirks, of the Baroque. I ask also how we can speak of the 'English' Baroque since it has long seemed alien to the residual tradition of English literary and cultural history.

Keywords: Theories of the Baroque; José Antonio Maravall; Raymond Williams; Julia Kristeva, Gilles Deleuze; structures of feeling.

In what turned out to be the last quarter of his career, Shakespeare moved increasingly to work on plays that involve what Russ McDonald describes as a 'new kind of story'.¹ In that same period, he also revised some earlier plays. As well, some remarkable non-dramatic writings, most notably his sonnets, appeared in print. It is my contention that this phase of his career from about 1601 onwards but especially from around 1606 or 1607, can usefully be connected to the emergence of a distinctive baroque culture in England.

The overriding question in this study is to what extent do Shakespeare's writings both respond and contribute to the emergence of an English Baroque in the early seventeenth century? What are the distinctively baroque characteristics of the era's theatrical activities, and how do the writings of Shakespeare's later career, plays and poems, both grow from and contribute

1 McDonald, *Shakespeare's Late Style*, p. 1.

to the Baroque's buoyant theatrical and literary culture as it starts to embrace England? And how does understanding the Baroque as epochal rather than merely aesthetic or stylistic impact our understanding of his works?

Placing Shakespeare within contexts derived more obviously from disciplines other than literary and cultural criticism has often proven to be an intellectually perilous task. 'Baroque Shakespeare' is a concept that, until recently, has occurred only sporadically and usually impressionistically in scholarship. Nicholas Brooke's *Shakespeare and Baroque Art* (1947) stands out as typical, with its somewhat sweeping parallels between Shakespeare's dramas and continental painting and sculpture. However well-intentioned, John Greenwood's 1985 study *Mannerism in Shakespeare*, and Jean-Pierre Maquélet's 1995 *Shakespeare and the Mannerist Tradition*, both provide largely impressionistic stylistic comparisons between painting and literary techniques, and for the most part scholars have been content to make understandably tentative rather than firm references to parallels between, say, Giulio Romano and *The Winter's Tale*, a comparison seemingly licensed by the play's actual (although anachronistic) mention of that Italian artist who had lived nearly a century earlier. More recently, however, in wide-ranging considerations of Shakespeare's conception of the universe and with something of a return to *Zeitgeist* or 'spirit of the age' scholarship, Jonathan Sell's pair of studies, *Shakespeare's Sublime Ethos* and *Shakespeare's Sublime Pathos* together argue for a trans-historically baroque Shakespeare in what he terms Shakespeare's 'bastard art', seen especially in its eruptive metaphors which are likened to characteristic baroque sculpture.² In 2022, Hugh Grady, notable for earlier studies of baroque aesthetics, including *John Donne and Baroque Allegory* (2017), published *Shakespeare's Dialectic of Hope* (2022), a more empirically focused study which analyses the relationship between the political and the utopian in a number of Shakespeare's plays. Grady brought a sharp philosophical approach to Shakespeare and the Baroque, especially through his reading of the influential insights of Walter Benjamin on the so-called *Trauerspiel*, the baroque 'mourning play'. But Grady was concerned primarily with histories and tragedies, and much less with my main interest here, the later plays, which were also only of occasional interest to Benjamin. Most recently, Robert Hudson Vincent's 2020 Harvard dissertation, to be published by Edinburgh University Press as *The English Baroque in Early Modern Literature*, argues that 'baroque' remains a foundational term in discussing European literary traditions, and provides a more appropriate

2 Sell, *Sublime Ethos*, p. 6.



concept for understanding early modern English literature than inward-looking terms like 'Metaphysical'.³

So, first, why 'Baroque'? Part of the problem is the variety of definitions of the term itself. Two centuries and more of scholarly discussion across a variety of disciplines has repeatedly and frustratingly shown that the Baroque is notoriously difficult or possibly all too easy, to define. Elucidating what Christopher Braider calls the Baroque's 'inherent slipperiness'⁴ and finding some overall aesthetic, intellectual, or ideological unity, is a goal, I have discovered from writing a number of studies of the Baroque, both theoretical and applied, to be as illusory as it is compulsive. Many of these attempts, including, I hope, my own, have not been entirely fruitless. In what follows I summarize, and in some cases modify or further develop, some arguments about the underlying ideological tensions of the culture of the Baroque that I set out in *The Female Baroque* (2020), and which here open into (or focus upon) the discussion of a topic I did not attempt in that study, how the emergent baroque culture in early seventeenth-century England impacted on the production, that term including writing, staging, publication, and reception, each of which carries significant ambiguities, of Shakespeare's later writings.

In histories of art and architecture it is conventional to associate the term 'baroque' with such figures as Caravaggio, Bernini, Borromini, Rembrandt, or Vermeer; when music is included, Bach, Scarlatti, Vivaldi, and the origins of opera. Characteristic traits of the baroque usually assumed to be shared across the arts include theatricality, indulgence in spectacle, and most especially, direct and strong engagement with audiences through the emotions and senses. The term has also been associated, variously and sometimes seemingly contradictorily, with the rise of empirical science, with absolutist political regimes, with the resurgent Catholic Church in the Counter-Reformation, the emergence of Jesuit-inspired art, architecture and, seemingly on the cultural margins but unquestionably relevant, with a widespread explosion of mass-produced devotional and decorative kitsch. The origins of the term itself have long been associated with an asymmetrically polished or misshapen pearl but may also derive, at least in part, from the misshapen syllogism *baroco*, a pattern of reasoning that moves from simple logic to intricate and perplexing argumentation, criticized by Montaigne in an essay on the education of children as making their disciples dirty, disfavoured and full

3 Vincent, *English Baroque in Early Modern Literature*; Vincent, 'Excesses of Romance'.

4 Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention*, p. 7.



of smoke: 'it is *Baroco* and *Baralipton* that make their disciples dirt-caked and smoky', he complains.⁵

To further complicate the struggle to define it, throughout its blurred history there has been a recurring argument that 'baroque' represents neither a set of historically locatable characteristics, nor a distinguishable historical period, or even a vague 'spirit of the age', but more broadly, a permanent potentially disruptive dimension of the human spirit that recurs, often cyclically, in all art forms and all cultures. Eugene d'Ors writes of the perpetual coexistence 'all throughout history' of the 'classical' and the 'baroque', one distinguished by stability and harmony, the other by dynamism and change. In another variant of this 'universal baroque' argument, theorists of modern 'neo-baroque' art argue for connections between the historical Baroque and post-modernism, thereby crossing the boundaries of any traditional periodization, creating a trans-historical global Baroque or, alternatively, a multiplicity of Baroques, and so seeing the term as a lens by which we can examine any historical period.⁶

Gilles Deleuze has advanced perhaps the broadest universalist account, the Baroque as a replenishing force or (in his recurrent metaphor) as multiple 'folds', that we can observe 'radiating through histories, cultures, and worlds of knowledge'. He writes that 'the baroque refers not to an essence but rather to an operative function, to a trait. It endlessly produces folds'. The metaphor of the fold allows a continual reconsideration of position and viewpoint; folds, with their constantly changing spaces, resist any final resolution. Their multiple undulations seem to correspond both to a critical material feature of baroque architecture and art and also to conflicting ideologies beneath the surface. The fold brings elements into unexpected encounters with one another before turning and folding again, so that we are no longer sure of our position, of what is inside or outside, what is the container and what is contained. The Deleuzian Baroque deliberately disrupts the boundaries that allow us to distinguish what surfaces and boundaries consist of, or where one architectural element or painting finishes and the wall surface begins. The fold is a metaphor that pries us loose from our sensory moorings so that we can no longer be sure what is real and what is deception. For Deleuze, the Baroque therefore becomes not a style, or even an era, but an all-encompassing idea. The 'fold' points not just to art or architecture but to thinking generally that at once aspires beyond the known world while at the same time denying ultimate access to the transcendent, a conception

5 Montaigne, *Essays*, p. 119.

6 Warnke, 'Concept of Baroque', p. 82; Spahr, 'Baroque and Mannerism', p. 78.

I shall explore in chapter nine when I examine what I see as the crucial baroque characteristic of ‘plateauing’.⁷

The age of the Baroque is frequently, and seemingly contradictorily, set against the background of the rise of empirical science or ‘natural philosophy’. Peter D. Skrine asserts that it is ‘no coincidence that the age between Galileo’s telescope (1609) and the establishment of the Royal Observatory (1676) was also the age of the great antiphonal choruses in sacred music and echo effects in profane song, and of the vast ceilings opening up into painted skies in the churches and chambers in which they were sung’.⁸ These apparent contradictions occur within the age’s sometime hesitant and anxious, frequently enthusiastic, transition from the residual assumption of a fixed theocentric universe and the later materialist and logocentric world of the later seventeenth century and beyond, a perspective I will especially discuss in my final chapter when I juxtapose Shakespeare’s scientist-magician Prospero with Vermeer’s astronomer, thereby tracing the Baroque’s transition from a magical universe to an empirically measurable and describable one.

For some scholars, an easy solution to the problem of defining the Baroque is to settle for a set of stylistic markers and not struggle to relate them, except in a general way, to broader ideological factors. J. Douglas Canfield is an advocate of the ‘unexpected’ or occasional Baroque style in literature; he defines the term not as epochal or ideological but as recurring stylistic quirks remarkable for ‘disorder, excrescence, exuberance, the irrational, the grotesque, the cryptic’. These are experiences, he argues, that almost arbitrarily may burst through a serene Renaissance or neo-classical surface: the Baroque ‘surprises. It puzzles. It pops up where we least expect it’, often with ‘unintended’ effects.⁹ Canfield’s approach certainly provides a tempting way of avoiding frustration in defining the Baroque in that it does point to identifiable stylistic characteristics that seem to distinguish, however impressionistically, the material culture of the early modern era from the earlier ‘Renaissance’ or subsequent ‘Classical’ or ‘Modern’ periods.

Far more helpful and persuasive, however, is the approach of a key modern theory of the Baroque as an expression of a general cultural crisis, that of José Antonio Maravall’s *La cultura del Barroco. Análisis de una estructura histórica* (English translation, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*). Although Maravall’s work focuses mainly on Spain, it does not

7 Deleuze, *The Fold*; Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

8 Skrine, *The Baroque*, p. 47.

9 Canfield, *Baroque in English Neoclassical Literature*, pp. 15, 17, 30.

neglect examples from all across Europe, nor is it restricted to the conventional preoccupations with art, architecture, and music. Most importantly for my purposes, Maravall avoids limiting the discussion of the Baroque to formalist aesthetic categories and instead puts ideological questions at the hub of his discussion, including political power and developments in the technologies of communication, in order to analyze what John Lyons terms the ‘experience of shock, as the foundations of European culture crumbled within two or three generations’.¹⁰ Underlying Maravall’s overriding concept of the ‘structure’ of the Baroque is the conviction that an age’s whole cultural crisis – its religion, art, politics, literature, and its multiple popular cultural preoccupations – all manifest a pervasive unifying quality. His analysis has sometimes been accused of reductionism for focusing on such broad over-arching epochal structures and downplaying both individual agency and cultural contradictions. But he does acknowledge that change is achieved through chance and negotiation, processes especially observable in the era’s most powerful and popular art forms, court painting, design, and sculpture, and what is most directly relevant to Shakespeare, popular theatre. His idea of the Baroque as a ‘guided culture’ (*una cultura dirigida*) controlled by both religious and civic versions of absolutism, seems initially to be a rigid concept, but nonetheless opens spaces (more than his argument acknowledges) for the insertion and recognition of counter-hegemonic discourses.¹¹

My reliance on Maravall is supplemented by drawing on the British cultural critic Raymond Williams, whose approach to the analysis of culture can be productively aligned (despite wide political differences), with Maravall’s concept of the Baroque as an underlying epochal structure. Williams’s more flexible view of culture is as an apprehended but not necessarily fully articulated (or articulable) structure to which all the characteristics of an age, not merely those articulated in the documentary culture, must be referred. Although never aligned with a Marxist reading of post-medieval history – culture and mentality are never for him simply ‘reflections’ of the material basis of society – Maravall’s ‘historical structure’ draws partly on Gramsci’s ‘hegemony’, a major influence in Marxist cultural theory; in Williams’s case, his analyses are closer to the later Marxist writings of Louis Althusser and Pierre Macherey, as he attempts to shift the analysis of ‘literature’ into a discussion of the social relations of cultural practices.¹²

¹⁰ Lyons, *Handbook of the Baroque*, p. 2.

¹¹ Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, pp. 58, 62, 82.

¹² Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 126–134.



Williams observes that ‘no analysis is more difficult than that which, faced by new forms, has to try to determine whether these are new forms of the dominant or are genuinely emergent’. It is often on the apparent margins of society – in Shakespeare’s age, that would include theatre, playwriting, and poetry – that cultural change can often be first sensed and where eventual ideological transitions may be starting to take a felt if not yet definable shape. Signs may be found not only in ‘new forms or adaptations of forms’, but may also within, without directly confronting, residual social forms.¹³ To modify Maravall’s seemingly rigid emphasis on the ‘guided’ aspect of Baroque society, therefore, I use what Williams terms *archaic*, *residual*, *emergent*, and *pre-emergent* dimensions of the whole area of lived cultural experience, a view that constitutes a more nuanced understanding of the ideological contradictions of an epoch.

In particular, I use Williams’s vital argument that a society’s changing ‘structures of feeling’ may best be seen as ‘social experiences *in solution*’ as opposed to those that ‘have been precipitated’ and are more evidently and more immediately available. The key to emergent structures of feeling often are found, as Alan Sinfield likewise comments that ‘ideology functions not, in the main, through spectacular breaks, but by processes of steady drip, in which no one can be sure that his or her efforts will not tilt a local balance, in some direction or another’,¹⁴ the sociologist Keith Tester puts it, in the streams not the main rivers, and in the ‘eddies disturbing the otherwise calm surface’ of a culture.¹⁵ Throughout his work, Williams identified how inherited, seemingly unassailable, cultural texts and practices can become unsettled by such emergent ‘social experiences in solution’. Changes in structures of feeling are therefore best found, he argues, in the tensions and contradictions of works of art, in stories, and even in everyday rituals where an experience begins to disturb what was previously assumed to be solid. So we need to examine art, literature, popular culture, but focusing in particular on what Macherey describes as the gaps and silences of texts, not only what is apparently ‘there’ but the ‘not-saids’ as well as the ‘saids’.¹⁶

In the light of both Maravall’s and Williams’s analytical models, the historical Baroque is therefore presented here not as a fixed period but as an ongoing historical transition, in which Europeans began to feel, if not always to articulate willingly or easily, the implications of the accumulated social,

13 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 132–134; Williams, *Culture*, p. 205.

14 Sinfield, *Shakespeare, Authority, Sexuality*, p. 25.

15 Tester, Review of Waller, *A Cultural Study of Mary*, p. 741.

16 Macherey, *Literary Production*, p. 89.



intellectual, religious, and geographical shocks of the century of Reformation and the early seventeenth century. It is only gradually, as Braider puts it, that the 'moral and ontological consequences' of new philosophies and their underlying economic and social movements started to 'sink in'. The impact of newly discovered continents, transatlantic and round-the-world voyages, new civilizations, new discoveries in astronomy dislodging the earth from its centrality in the perfect circle of planets, allow Rupert Martin to speak of how the Baroque is the last period in which the secular and religious seem to be in equilibrium and in which cultural movements can still be confidently associated with the remnants of a metaphysical view of the world.¹⁷ My choice of a cover illustration for this book, Vermeer's *Astronomer*, shows a key symbolic figure of the Baroque, the astronomer pouring over both the heavens and what in *The Tempest* are termed Prospero's 'books'(1.2.167). The scientists, artists, poet-dramatists of the baroque age are caught up into what becomes a long ideological and cosmological transition, conveyed in Max Weber's over-general yet still alluring and influential concept of 'dis-enchantment'.¹⁸ As Alexandra Walsham comments, Weber's thesis regarding desacralization has suffered from a degree of simplification and caricature that has eclipsed some of its original subtleties. In less nuanced versions, it has regrettably served as 'a master narrative or founding myth of Euro-American civilization'.¹⁹

Walter Benjamin's *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (1922) also sees the Baroque as an age in which the transcendent continues to be affirmed but alongside increasing suspicions of its threatened or actual absence. More blatantly than Weber, Benjamin writes almost apocalyptically about how in the Baroque, 'the false appearance of totality is extinguished' and replaced by an 'empty world'.²⁰ My modification in chapter seven in the discussion of baroque tragedy of Benjamin's concept of the 'empty' world to an 'emptying' world is designed to emphasize the continuing hold of fragments of the 'totality', which I see as gradually, even reluctantly, disappearing, and so not yet fully emptied. As Terry Eagleton comments, the 'plot' of traditional providential history has been 'reduced by God's apparent withdrawal to certain signs and fragments urgently in need of

17 Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention*, p. 10; Martin, *Baroque*, p. 119.

18 Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 105, 125; the phrase is more bluntly rendered in this first English translation as 'the elimination of magic from the world'. See Svenungsson, 'Reappraising Weber', p. 32.

19 Walsham, 'The Reformation and "the disenchantment"', p. 497; Svenungsson, 'Reappraising Weber', p. 32.

20 Benjamin, *Tragic Drama*, p. 176.



decipherment'.²¹ We need to acknowledge the extent to which withdrawal was felt by early modern men and women, and the extent to which baroque societies remain tied, seemingly inextricably, to the authority of the supernatural and the providential and their varied manifestations in such institutions as the papacy and absolutist monarchies. Yet by the end of the seventeenth century, through the reactions of a panoply of baroque philosophers from Hobbes to Spinoza, and in artists like Vermeer, the felt power of the supernatural is certainly sensed to be lessening, or as Walsham suggests with more nuance than the popularizers of Weber's generalization, the decline of belief in divine immanence rather than the rejection or marginalization of religion *per se*, and the emergence of a period in which increasingly 'men and women came to think of' supernatural powers 'primarily as metaphors rather than real physical entities'.²² Shakespeare, I am arguing, is very much part of that transition, most especially in *The Tempest*, the main focus of chapter nine.

In analyzing the complexities of baroque culture, my use of Maravall and Williams is frequently further supplemented by the rich combination of history and psychoanalysis in the work of Julia Kristeva, most particularly expressed in her emphatically neo-baroque 'novel', the long and speculative quasi-biography of Saint Teresa of Avila, *Teresa, Mon Amour* (2007; English translation *Teresa, My Love*, 2011). Putting Kristeva in dialogue with Maravall is an approach that I developed in *The Female Baroque* for analyzing baroque women's writings in England from Mary Sidney to Aphra Behn, and here adapt for my reading of the late(er) Shakespeare's writings, both plays and poems. Kristeva provides us with another necessary corrective to Maravall's often rigid insistence of the Baroque as a 'guided' society. By drawing on the life and writings of her Spanish saint, and especially pointing to Teresa's cultivation of language and 'storying', a phrase I borrow from the writing women in the 'Protestant baroque' community of Little Gidding in the 1630s,²³ Kristeva shows how 'impulses, desires, energy, conflict, and hidden abysses' can be opened, thereby allowing us to explore the possibilities of language and its hinterland in the unconscious and thereby providing at least a potential revolt against the rigidity of any fully 'guided' society. Above all, Kristeva argues, it is not just the mystical or devotional experience of 'entering into ecstasy' but rather on 'writing down' through the 'folds of

21 Egleton, *Walter Benjamin*, p. 11.

22 Walsham, "The Reformation and "the disenchantment"", p. 519. See also Benjamin, *Tragic Drama*, pp. 66–67.

23 Waller, *Female Baroque*, chap. 4.



language' that provides us with a sense of what in her study of Teresa she calls the 'underneath' of baroque culture, placing the 'turbulence of desire in full view and in common', and so encouraging her readers, her audience, not just to 'feel rapture' themselves but 'to tell it'.²⁴ That struggle towards finding language, even when language seems inadequate, is a recurring note of the Baroque, most notably for women (and, by indirection and the process of ventriloquizing, woman characters) as chapter four will argue.

What, then, about 'English' Baroque? Until recently, only spasmodically (and usually, awkwardly) has the term been found in discussions of English culture. Writing in the 1980s, with Britain's internal controversies about joining the European Community in the background, Skrine comments that Britain's historical tensions with Europe had always made the notion of an English Baroque 'a vexed and complicated one'.²⁵ Peter Davidson likewise notes that before the 1950s, the idea of English Baroque was treated with disparaging unease, likely based on a nationalistic, even xenophobic, rejection of a term associated with continental Europe, and therefore identified with 'the arts of the enemy, of a group of peoples' against which certain modes of national identity could define themselves 'by negation', and against which 'Englishness' could be defined. The Canadian scholar Roy Daniells tartly observed the residual prejudice among many English scholars that the Baroque was 'more suitable for describing foreign achievements', as German or French, or perhaps Italian, but definitely un-English.²⁶

Such prejudices have acquired a popular narrative. A recurring British (though usually, more specifically, English) separatist fantasy, before the late twentieth century and found widely among literary scholars, assumes that by the mid-seventeenth century, the Counter-Reformation had been repulsed, England had triumphed over French absolutism, and in 1688 had achieved a peaceful political (and certainly firmly Protestant) coup. Within this nationalistic, even populist, exceptionalist myth of unique destiny, a fantasy that in the twenty-first century underpinned the problematic severance of Britain from Europe in Brexit, English literary scholarship came to choose period labels based not on European-wide cultural affinities, but on reigning English monarchs or historical events, like 'Stuart', 'Georgian', 'Restoration' or 'Victorian'.²⁷ Seventeenth-century English poetry, for example, was conventionally not linked to European movements but

24 Kristeva, *Teresa, My Love*, pp. 479, 5, 47, 97, 9, 69.

25 Skrine, *The Baroque*, p. 107.

26 Davidson, *Universal Baroque*, pp. 26, 33; Daniells, 'English Baroque', pp. 115–121.

27 Davidson and Shell, 'Brexit and the Baroque'.

considered separately as a native 'Metaphysical' tradition, using a term that had been invented as a pejorative by Dryden and Johnson, and became what Grady calls 'an arbitrary and somewhat happenstance coinage that became accepted for want of a better term in English literary history'.²⁸ Those writers who, like Richard Crashaw, were most receptive to Continental influences, were often seen as regrettable exceptions to the native English 'tradition' (a favourite ideologically charged term of the cultural populists), especially if they went into enforced or voluntary exile in Catholic Europe or the New World.

In contradiction to such nationalistic suspicion, and perhaps just a little over-definitively, Daniells has asserted that 'the commencement of English Baroque is not as hard to fix as at first appears': by 1590, he claims, one might 'drive in a tentative peg' and by 1600 'there is a well-defined Baroque sensibility'.²⁹ The choice of 1600 for showing firm signs of baroque elements in English culture coincides fortuitously with my own choice of 'pegs' or markers for the emergence of baroque elements in Shakespeare: 1600 is the approximate date of my two earliest clear examples, *Hamlet* (likely written 1600 or 1601) and the poem 'Let the bird of loudest lay', conventionally known as 'The Phoenix and [the] Turtle' (published 1601). Notwithstanding Daniells's definitive tone, however, his acknowledgement of 'tentative' is crucial, for as Bernard C. Heyl points out, 'the problem of *the degree* to which any particular seventeenth-century artist, of any nationality or allegiance, is baroque' is always present.³⁰ That is a central insight for my analysis of the baroque elements of Shakespeare's writings in what I will frequently term the 'emergent' baroque qualities. Williams argues that we should talk of writers, artists, and cultural movements as emergent and displaying signs of certain tendencies, in accord with Davidson's argument that we consider the Baroque as a 'flexible and permeable' system that 'operated in different degrees' within different communities and individual artists, even differently in the texts and cultural events produced by the same writer, or within the same theatrical company or cultural environment.³¹ Some of my analysis proceeds by differentiating emergent characteristics from those where 'baroque' would not be an appropriate term.

There has been some useful recent scholarship on the development of a distinctive English baroque culture. A new era, it is often asserted, requires a

28 Grady, *Donne and Baroque Allegory*, p. 17.

29 Daniells, 'English Baroque', p. 117.

30 Heyl, 'Meanings of Baroque', p. 283.

31 Davidson, *Universal Baroque*, p. 19; Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 121–127.

new aesthetic, and Grady argues persuasively that what he terms 'a Baroque aesthetics' can be seen at work in Shakespeare's turn to tragedy and, late in his career, to the tragi-comic, but his analysis remains primarily of aesthetic or stylistic markers, and focuses largely on the histories and tragedies.³² Robert Hudson Vincent's *The English Baroque in Early Modern Literature*, which I was fortunate to read as a Harvard doctoral dissertation, provides illuminating stylistic parallels and echoes in mid- and later seventeenth-century English poetry, especially Donne, Crashaw, and Milton; he also points out that English translation and imitations of baroque poets and theorists like Giambattista Marino were circulating in England earlier in the seventeenth century.³³ Exponents of *Marinismo* characterized their writing by the terms *ingegno* and *acutezza*, 'wit', or 'ingenuity', and saw poetic creativity designed to achieve intense emotional affect. Starting in the later years of the sixteenth century, the centrality of mimesis in the production and evaluation of contemporary artworks began ever more insistently to be called into question. Increasingly all across Europe theorists and practitioners alike came to abandon long-cherished aesthetic principles inherited from classical antiquity, such as proportion, harmony, unity and decorum. Petrarchan conventions come under intense critique, or even ridicule, from poets. Varieties of hybridization, dissolving the borders traditionally differentiating genres, arts, and disciplines, in favour of the transgressive and the extreme, were increasingly sidestepping the unity, harmony, or decorum that supposedly distinguished both nature itself and its greatest imitator, classical art. The aesthetic of the Baroque, writes Kristiaan Aercke, was presenting itself as an 'arrogant attempt by Artifice to outdo Nature, a hyperbolic statement of excess and profusion, an extreme signifier of Illusion and Reality'.³⁴

However useful as a starting-point, the goals of such examples, which consist of predominantly comparative aesthetic or stylistic analyses, are achieved without digging too deeply into the age's underlying ideological currents, its contradictory mixture of deeply rooted residual patterns and cultural innovations, or speculating upon the pre-emergence or anticipations of later ideological shifts. A desire to stay on the cultural surface may be reassuring but is highly problematic, not least when approaching the textual, performative, and broader cultural complexities of dramatic writing and performance shared by Shakespeare's works along with an increasing

32 Grady, *Dialectic of Hope*, p. 6.

33 Vincent, *English Baroque*.

34 Aercke, *Gods of Play*, p. 3.



number of English and European playwrights and poets. I propose rather to view the Baroque as correlating, however messily, both stylistic features and ideological movements. There are underlying structures of feeling and ideological dynamics (what an older historicism might have termed the 'spirit of the age') that help us identify the Baroque as a major transitional period in our cultural history.

The chapters that follow this introduction to my approach to the baroque elements of Shakespeare's later writings use four basic terms of analysis. They are *Hyperbole* and *Melancholy*, *Theatricality*, and *Plateauing*. In chapter two I deepen my attempt to define the Baroque and discuss a key aspect of baroque culture, its distinctive combination (or sometimes confrontation) of melancholy and hyperbole. Both terms are familiar in the scholarship of the period; neither is unique to the Baroque, but they are given unusual intensity and above all occur in combination as a major structure of feeling of the era. In chapter three I move closer to Shakespeare's career as dramatist. I look at the Baroque as a theatrical and story-telling culture and discuss the broad theatricality of Shakespeare's England as well as fashions and innovations in the repertoires and staging practices of plays and the London entertainment scene. Chapter four introduces a crucial element of Baroque culture on which I have written more generally in *The Female Baroque* (2020), a broadening of gendered possibilities and especially the specifically 'female' dimension of baroque culture that enables me to pose a deliberately directed question to Shakespeare's writings, one asked by recent feminist and queer scholars, 'is there or could there be a female (or woman) character in Shakespeare?'³⁵

Chapters one through four are therefore flexibly synchronic, asking for signs of Kristeva's 'underneath' of baroque culture. Chapter five through nine focus (also flexibly) diachronically, looking in closer detail on specific poems and plays to show how the gradual emergence of the Baroque in England emerges in Shakespeare's later writings. Chapter five moves to *Shakespeare's Sonnets Never Before Imprinted*. We cannot be sure that Shakespeare initiated or even approved the publication of his sonnets. Scholars have long debated whether the 1609 Quarto was authorized or was a 'pirated' edition. Although many of the sonnets were originally written in the 1590s, we can see the gradual emergence of connections with broader European-wide baroque poetics. In chapter six I consider Shakespeare's other non-dramatic writings of the period: the perplexing but triumphantly baroque 'Phoenix and [the] Turtle', published in 1601, along with the poem appended to the sonnets, the

35 Cottegnies, 'Gender and Cross-Dressing', p. 257.



rime royal *A Lover's Complaint*, also most likely written early in the first decade of the century but then added, probably although not certainly, by Shakespeare himself, to the sonnets volume, and so emerging within 'late' Shakespeare and displaying some connections with the plays of that period.

Chapters seven, eight, and nine turn to the plays, definitely major sites of Shakespearean baroque. Most commentators have followed Walter Benjamin's influential discussion of the baroque *Trauerspiel*, and have seen the tragedies from *Hamlet* onwards as a place where one can, to quote Daniells again, place 'a tentative peg' for the emergence of the English Baroque.³⁶ My argument, however, looks rather to the writings that largely emerge after the great tragedies, and particularly (in chapters eight and nine) to what loosely can be described as tragicomedy as a distinctive Shakespearean baroque dramatic form, although among the tragedies, *King Lear* is especially interesting in that Shakespeare most likely carried out some significant revisions to the play after it was first published in Quarto in 1608, and therefore about the same time he was writing *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline*. I also include a brief discussion of the frequently but awkwardly named 'problem' plays, written among the tragedies between 1601 and 1608 or thereabouts. 'Problem plays' is not a label I find helpful, since it has been applied to virtually all of Shakespeare's plays, but the mixing of genres so characteristic of the later plays is already complicating Shakespeare's writings in the early Jacobean years and it is instructive to look at them in the context of their growing baroque affinities.

My analysis of Shakespeare and the emergent Baroque culminates in chapter nine which especially focuses on *The Tempest*. The argument is centred on 'plateauing', my adaptation of a phrase popularized by Deleuze and Guattari although derived from the work of anthropologist and ecological pioneer Gregory Bateson who sees Western culture, including the Western philosophical tradition, yearning for transcendence, for a climactic absolute existing outside nature, as a 'regrettable characteristic of the Western mind'. What Bateson terms the habitual Western yearning for 'orgasmic culmination' leading to an 'idealised apex' can be replaced, he argues, by recurring plateauing, experiences of falling short, accompanied by a melancholy awareness that the apex, the climax, however hyperbolically evoked, may be delusional. Bateson proposes the baroque 'plateau' as the replacement for a 'climax', a process by which a 'continual plateau of intensity' avoids what he sees as the European obsessive fixation on

36 Daniells, 'English Baroque', p. 117.



the orgasmic climax and its 'exterior and transcendent ends'.³⁷ Bateson's metaphor is echoed in Benjamin's description of the Baroque world as haunted by feelings of lost transcendental traces amidst a melancholic fear of nothingness.³⁸ Plateauing is a powerful, indeed iconic, metaphor for the last single-authored play by Shakespeare as a culmination of his later and increasingly baroque, writings. My chapter on plateauing in *The Tempest* and its analogies with other articulations of the culture of the Baroque, including Montaigne, Bruno and (reaching further into the seventeenth century) Vermeer, suggests why Kristiaan Aercke can triumphantly state that *The Tempest* constitutes 'an invitation by Shakespeare to ponder the values and functions' of baroque art.³⁹

Bibliography

- Aercke, Kristiaan P. *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Aercke, Kristiaan P. 'An Odd Angle of the Isle: Teaching the Courtly Art of The Tempest', in *Approaches to Teaching Shakespeare's The Tempest and Other Late Romances*, ed. Maurice Hunt. New York: MLA, 1992, 146–153.
- Bacon, Francis. *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral*. Auckland: Floating Press, 2014.
- Bateson, Gregory. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne. London: NLB, 1977.
- Beverley, John. *Essays on the Literary Baroque in Spain and Spanish America*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008.
- Braider, Christopher. *Baroque Self-Invention and Historical Truth: Hercules at the Crossroads*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Canfield, J. Douglas. *The Baroque in English Neoclassical Literature from Milton and the Wits to Dryden and the Scriblerians*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003.
- Chung, Jaesik. 'Where Angels Fear to Tread in Deleuze and Bateson: On a New Baroque of Plateaus and the Ecology of Non-Human Ecstasy'. *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* 41.2 (2015), 121–141.

37 Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, p. 113; Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, p. 22. For the links between Deleuze and Bateson, see Chung, 'Where Angels Fear to Tread', pp. 125–128.

38 Benjamin, *Tragic Drama*, p. 66; Skrine, *The Baroque*, pp. 9, 145.

39 Aercke, 'Odd Angle', p. 152.

- Cottagnies, Line. 'Gender and Cross-dressing in the Seventeenth Century: Margaret Cavendish Reads Shakespeare'. *Testi e linguaggi* 7 (2013), 257–266.
- Daniells, Roy. 'English Baroque and Deliberate Obscurity'. *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 5.2 (1946), 115–121.
- Davidson, Peter. *The Universal Baroque*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Davidson, Peter, and Alison Shell. 'Brexit and the Baroque'. *Oxford Review of Books*, 7 July 2019. <https://www.the-orb.org/post/brexit-and-the-baroque>. Accessed June 2020.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism*. London: Verso, 1981.
- Grady, Hugh. *John Donne and Baroque Allegory*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Grady, Hugh. *Shakespeare's Dialectic of Hope: From the Political to the Utopian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Heyl, Bernard C. 'Meanings of Baroque'. *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 19 (1961), 275–287.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Teresa, My Love: An Imagined Life of the Saint of Avila*, trans. Lorna Scott Fox. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Lyons, John D. ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- McDonald, Russ. *Shakespeare's Late Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Macherey, Pierre. *Theory of Literary Production*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Martin, Rupert. *Baroque*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989.
- Montaigne, *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*. Trans. Donald M. Frame. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965.
- Sell, Jonathan P. A. *Shakespeare's Sublime Ethos: Matter, Stage, Form*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Sell, Jonathan P. A. *Shakespeare's Sublime Pathos: Person, Audience, Language*. New York, Routledge, 2022.
- Sinfield, Alan. *Shakespeare, Authority, Sexuality: Unfinished Business in Cultural Materialism*. London: Routledge, 2006.

- Skrine, Peter N. *The Baroque: Literature and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978.
- Spah, Blake Lee. 'Baroque and Mannerism: Epoch and Style'. *Colloquia Germanica* 1 (1967), 78–100.
- Svenungsson, Jayne. 'Reappraising Weber's Disenchantment Narrative: (Second) Thoughts about the Re-Sacralization of Nature and Matter'. *Eco-Ethica* 10 (2022), 25–42.
- Tester, Keith. Review of Waller, *A Cultural Study of Mary and the Annunciation*. *New Blackfriars* 97 (2016), 740–743.
- Vincent, Robert Hudson. *The English Baroque in Early Modern Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2025.
- Vincent, Robert Hudson. 'The Excesses of Romance: Shakespeare's Pericles and the Baroque', in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook 20: Special Section, Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, eds. Tom Bishop, Alexa Alice Joubin, and Deanne Williams. New York: Routledge, 2022, 32–49.
- Waller, Gary. *The Female Baroque in Early Modern English Literary Culture: From Mary Sidney to Aphra Behn*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
- Walsham, Alexandra. 'The Reformation and "the disenchantment of the world" Reassessed'. *The Historical Journal* 51.2 (2008), 497–528.
- Warnke, Frank J. 'The Concept of Baroque in Literary Scholarship'. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art History* 5.2 (1946), 77–109.
- Weber, Max. *Essays in Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons. London: Allen & Unwin, 1930.
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture*. Glasgow: Collins, 1981.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Long Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

