University of Huddersfield Repository

Borlik, Todd Andrew

"'Painting of a Sorrow': Visual Culture and the Performance of Stasis in David Garrick's Hamlet"

Original Citation

"Painting of a sorrow": Visual Culture and the Performance of Stasis in David Garrick's *Hamlet*

Todd Andrew Borlik
University of Washington

And how did Garrick speak the soliloquy last night?—Oh, against all rule, my Lord, most ungrammatically! Betwixt the substantive and the adjective, which should agree together in number, case and gender, he made a breach thus—stopping as if the point wanted settling;—and betwixt the nominative case, which your lordship knows should govern the verb, he suspended his voice in the epilogue a dozen times, three seconds and three-fifths by a stopwatch, my Lord, each time.—Admirable grammarian! —But in suspending his voice—was the sense suspended likewise? Did no expression of attitude or countenance fill up the chasm?—Was the eye silent? Did you narrowly look?—I looked only at the stop-watch my Lord.—Excellent observer! (Sterne 143–4)

*I*n this passage from *Tristram Shandy*, Lawrence Sterne satirizes persnickety critics baffled by the innovative delivery of the Shakespearean actor David Garrick. Garrick's legendary performances at the Drury Lane theatre, beginning with *Richard III* in 1741, are often hailed as signaling a transition from an emphasis on declamation to a more kinetic style of acting. Vowing "to shake off the Fetters of Numbers," Garrick experimented with dynamic pacing, even going so far as to insert his own caesuras mid-sentence, creating dramatic pauses that positively shook the London theatre world (*Letters* 1:92). In a letter to a critic, Garrick defended the technique by citing an example from *Hamlet* (*Letters* 1:350–1). When the Prince surmises the real reason for Horatio's return to Elsinore, he would utter only the first half of the sentence: "I think it was to see . . . "

At this point he would stop, lift his hand to his forehead, sigh pitifully, collect himself, and then conclude with a slight tremble in his voice, "my mother's wedding." The breach here lends weight to the second half of the phrase, insinuating that Gertrude's "o'erhasty marriage" is a leading cause of Hamlet's despondency. But beyond this insinuation, the upshot of this method is that Garrick manages to separate what Hamlet says about his feelings from the visual spectacle of pure feeling itself.

This moment presents a textbook example of the "open silences" that Philip McGuire detects in Shakespeare's plays—measures in the score in which an actor can purposefully rest before beginning or completing a phrase. At certain moments Shakespeare seems to invite actors to do precisely this, as in *The Winter's Tale* when the First Gentleman tells Autolycus of the stunned reactions to the news of Perdita's survival: "there was speech in their dumbness" (5.2.13). These "open silences" provide a rich field for performance criticism to till since, as McGuire observes, "the freedom they generate poses epistemological and ontological problems that defy the methods and assumptions of textual or literary analysis" (xx). Like descendents of Sterne's grammarian who stares only at his stopwatch, critics focusing exclusively on Shakespeare's playtext have sometimes failed to appreciate how performance enables a collaborative negotiation of meaning between the script, the actor, and the audience. Silence not only lends emphasis to the proceeding speech, it shifts the audience's attention from the aural to the visual aspects of drama and the actor's concentration from the verbal to the physical demands of performance.

While records of Elizabethan performances are scarce, those that survive suggest that Burbage and his colleagues took the liberty of silence only rarely, pronouncing their speeches, as Hamlet counsels, "trippingly on the tongue" (3.2.2). None of the accounts refers to an actor's experimental pacing of a speech and mention stillness only when the text clearly demands it, such as after a character has died on stage. One such report comes from the diary of an Oxford student who, after seeing *Othello* in 1610, noted that although Desdemona "pleaded her cause superbly throughout, nevertheless she moved [us] more after she had been murdered, when, lying upon her bed, her face itself implored pity from the onlookers."[1] As this diary entry suggests, early modern audiences were not blind to the power of a visual tableau. Like Mark Antony peeling the shroud off Caesar, Shakespeare knew the uncanny emotive power of the corpse and orchestrates many scenes to maximize its static impact; one can only imagine that in the days before Tate's saccharine adaptation of *Lear*, the pietà of the King cradling Cordelia elicited a similar response to that elicited by Desdemona.

In contrast to these death scenes, Garrick astonished audiences by both suspending his voice and sustaining postures in the midst of the most frenzied activity, creating both an auditory silence and a physical stillness. Paradoxically, his prolonged silences provoked a tremendous amount of discussion, as contemporary accounts of his performances repeatedly fixated on these intervals of stasis. Perhaps the most colorful can be found in the travelogue of G. C. Lichtenberg, a German professor from the University of Göttingen, who recorded a vivid play-by-play of Garrick's "start" at the sight of the Ghost in *Hamlet*:

> [He] turns suddenly about, at the same instant starting with trembling knees two or three steps backward; his hat falls off; his arms, especially the left, are extended straight out, the left hand as high as his head, the right arm is more bent, and the hand lower, the fingers are spread far apart; and the mouth open; thus he stands one foot far advanced before the other, in a graceful attitude, as if petrified. (*New Variorum* 269–70)

Another reviewer, identified only as Hic et Ubique, remarked that "as no writer in any Age *penned* a Ghost like Shakespeare, so, in our Time, no Actor ever *saw* a Ghost like Garrick."[2] The actor's first biographer, Thomas Davies, also singled out this moment for praise, reporting that the crowd's applause at the end of the scene was so clamorous it threatened to drown out the Ghost's tale. Such eyewitness accounts suggest a general distinction between sixteenth- and eighteenth-century styles of acting. At the Globe, where actors favored declamation, frozen moments seem to have come rarely and passed without much fanfare. Even Simon Forman's description of *The Winter's Tale*, which he saw performed there in 1611, neglects to mention the statue scene.[3] At Drury Lane, however, these frozen moments came frequently, often smack in the middle of a line, and ignited a sensation. Garrick's ability to recognize "open silences" in Shakespeare's plays and his willingness to translate them into static spectacles was unprecedented and, I would argue, a crucial factor in his christening as the "English Roscius."

But not everyone was dazzled by this novel approach. Dissenters included members of the old guard, often leading actors from the previous generation such as James Quin, who fumed: "By God, if he is right, we have all been damnably in the wrong!" (Buell 16). Presumably many others would have echoed Mr. Partridge, the country bumpkin in *Tom Jones*, who is incredulous when he learns that Garrick is the darling of the London stage.

"He the best player!" cries Partridge, with a contemptuous sneer, "why I could act as well myself. I am sure, if I had seen a ghost, I should have looked in the very same manner, and done just as he did . . . though I was never at a play in London, yet I have seen acting before in the country; and the King for my money; he speaks all his words distinctly, half as loud again as the other. Anybody may see he is an actor." (Fielding XVI:v)

Here Fielding, who knew the tastes of the theatre-going public first-hand and turned novelist in disgust, scoffs at yokels with outmoded notions of drama; ironically, Partridge faults Garrick's acting for being *too realistic*. While Partridge may be fictional, it is not difficult to locate real-life counterparts for Sterne's critic in the London press, as several theatre reviewers blasted Garrick for his "false stops." One such counterpart is the Rev. Peter Whalley, who corresponded with the actor in the 1750s and took him to task for his mangled grammar.[4] Oliver Goldsmith, who personally knew Garrick through Samuel Johnson, may also be numbered among his detractors. It seems Goldsmith saw dramatic pauses as nothing more than cheap stunts that distracted viewers from the verbal artistry of the playwrights. In the *Vicar of Wakefield*, a character grumbles "it is not the composition of the piece, but the number of starts and attitudes that may be introduced into it that elicits applause" (Goldsmith 4:96). The volley is unmistakably aimed in Garrick's direction.

But why did Garrrick's dramatic pause incur such heated opposition? What precisely was at stake in the debate over his apostasy from blank verse? First, rejecting declamation made the playtext sound less like verse, more like everyday speech. It enabled the lines to be delivered with a greater sense of spontaneity, creating the impression that the words originated *within* the actor rather than the playwright. Small wonder Goldsmith was envious. Perhaps even more worrisome was Garrick's tendency to downplay the text altogether in favor of the visual aspects of performance. While Hamlet instructed the players "to suit the action to the word, the word to the action" (3.2.16–7), Garrick often deliberately isolated the action from the word, relying on mannerisms and motions to telegraph the emotional states of characters. Every little gesture, from the length of their stride to the angle of their arms, provided a clue to their personality and disposition. Though small in stature (roughly 5'4" or 163 cm) Garrick was nonetheless able to convey a tremendous stage presence through his sheer physical vitality. But Garrick's real *coup de théâtre* was his patented dramatic pause. On a purely visual level, audiences marveled at his ability to sustain an awkward posture and, like Hermione's awakening in reverse, to transform himself into a temporary sculpture. More

significantly, however, the pauses spotlighted his powers of concentration, allowing viewers like Lichtenberg and Davies to perceive Garrick's body as bristling with psychic energy. Garrick's reaction to Hamlet's Ghost provoked the most comment on his ability to exploit the physiological to express the psychological. Arthur Murphy, another early biographer, noted that Garrick's face grew visibly paler as he stood riveted with fear (Murphy 146–7). Another curious anecdote about this scene appears in the 1826 memoirs of Frederick Reynolds, who reports that his wig-maker once told him that he had been commissioned by Garrick to design a special "fright wig" for Hamlet, the hairs of which would stand on end when he started at the Ghost's entrance (Reynolds 1:62). Though the wigmaker's story sounds apocryphal, it testifies to Garrick's reputation for an exceptional command over the signifying power of the body. Even in a moment of stillness Garrick's body did not cease to manifest inner turmoil. In terms of Hamlet's famous phrase, Garrick's seemingly spontaneous attitudes utilized "show" to evoke "that within which passeth" speech, rendering the actor's interiority accessible as never before.

Garrick's performances not only herald a visually compelling theatre, but a robust, impetuous subjectivity in eighteenth-century England. Tellingly, Garrick's innovative style of acting coincides with the ascendancy of what constructivist critics have identified as a "liberal humanist discourse" positing the bourgeois subject as the focal point of the historical process.[5] In a parallel development, for the audiences that flocked to see Garrick play Hamlet, the inwardness of the character—anatomized in moments of stasis—became the true focal point of the performance. While Garrick struck dramatic poses in other roles such as Richard III, they acquired a special resonance in the case of the melancholy Prince. Much of the plot of *Hamlet* centers on Claudius' and his underlings' frustrated attempts—through interrogation, observation, second-hand reports, intercepted letters, and eavesdropping—to access Hamlet's real motives. Likewise, Garrick became the "observed of all observers," the target of an extensive inquiry into whether he truly felt the emotions he portrayed so convincingly on stage. For some viewers, the silent moments offered conclusive proof that he did. Fielding's Mr. Partridge might be cited as a caricature of this camp: "Nay, you may call me a coward if you will; but if that little man there upon the stage is not frightened, I never saw any man frightened in my life." His bemused companion Jones replies: "And dost thou imagine, then Partridge . . . that he was really frightened?" Here Fielding associates this naive view with the tastes of a rustic buffoon. But more educated spectators reached similar conclusions. Lichtenberg noted

that while the Ghost recounted his tale, "Garrick stands as if he were Hamlet himself." Significantly, it is during a lull in the outward action that he perceives Garrick most possessed by the role. The acuity of the professor's observations may be due in no small part to his particular field of study: experimental physics. In the actor's "starts" and seemingly involuntary gesticulations, Lichtenberg found confirmation of contemporary theories of the mechanistic body's response to traumatic stimuli.[6] Another spectator sharing an interest in such matters was Roger Pickering, who also sought to defend Garrick's technique on physiological grounds:

> Terror retards the Motion of the Blood, and the Flow of Animal Spirits is check'd in Proportion. Were it for no other Reasons, a PAUSE at the end of the first Line is *necessary*, according to the usual Affection of Nature upon such Occasion. (Pickering 51)

In other words, stasis is a side-effect of a psychosomatic response. The sheer terror Garrick manages to conjure within himself during a performance short-circuits his motor functions and bridles his tongue. During the pause Garrick must have been executing, or so some viewers assumed, some kind of psychic labor before proceeding with the scene.

Others remained skeptical, or even downright hostile, toward the idea that actors should confound their own passions with those discharged in a performance. Perhaps the most outspoken critic of this viewpoint was Denis Diderot. In his *Paradoxe Sur le Comédien* (1773), he posits that an excess of "sensibility" (in the eighteenth-century usage that Jane Austen contrasted with "sense") represents a serious handicap for an actor. It results in an uneven, shoddy performance in which an actor's personality interferes with the illusion. Instead he asserts that truly gifted actors operate with complete detachment and sangfroid. The really captivating aspects of a performance emerge "not in the fury of the first burst ... [but] in moments of serenity and self-command; in moments completely unexpected" (Diderot 309; translations mine). Ironically, he too champions Garrick as the model of his ideal. According to Diderot, the English actor could, in a span of four or five seconds, contort his face to progressively convey jubilation, moderate delight, tranquility, surprise, astonishment, sadness, dejection, fright, horror, despair, and back to jubilation, as easily as musician plays a scale. He could, upon request, incarnate Hamlet, and immediately, afterwards, a jolly pastry-maker. To the French *philosophe*, this facility at portraying conflicting passions in quick succession testified that they were all purely simulations.

In addition to presiding as a Solomon of literary taste in the Parisian salons, Diderot was of course a political thinker, a formative figure in

the development of liberal humanist discourse. More than a manual for aspiring actors, *Paradoxe Sur le Comédien* is a fierce assault on neoclassical, aristocratic French drama and a clarion call for a realistic theatre that reflects bourgeois experience. For Diderot, Garrick is the standard-bearer of this revolution. His "self-erasure" [*abnégation de soi*] in moments of stasis or inaction, his capacity to have within himself "a calm and disinterested onlooker" [*un spectateur froid et tranquille*], was, for Diderot, a bravura display of the bourgeois citizen's capacity for self-government. Against classical theater and the emotional incontinence of its prima donnas, Diderot campaigns for a theatre that showcases the very qualities necessary for democracy to thrive: moderation, rationalism, and collaboration. This connection with social contract theory becomes explicit when he compares this drama to "a well-ordered society, where each person surrenders some rights for the good of the group as a whole." Recently Michael Dobson has expanded on Diderot's intuition, amply documenting how Garrick's career galvanized the construction of British national identity. Finally, Diderot's identification of Garrick as the poster-child of a new bourgeois theatre is supported by the actor's stunning commercial success. Audiences flocked to see his *Hamlet* and not just the "wiser sort" that Gabriel Harvey claimed preferred the piece when it premiered. It enjoyed multiple revivals during Garrick's thirty-year tenure as head of Drury Lane—including his farewell to the stage in the historically appropriate year of 1776.

Diderot's praise and box-office success, however, were not enough to satisfy Garrick. Though he had won both the critical and popular acclaim of his contemporaries, Garrick remained anxious about what sort of legacy he might leave behind. In an era before film, actors stood at a distinct disadvantage in comparison with other artists in that no artifact survived to preserve their talents for posterity. Garrick himself was acutely aware of this predicament. In the prologue to his comedy *The Clandestine Marriage*, he laments:

> The painter dead, yet still he charms the eye;
> While England lives, his fame can never die.
> But he who struts his hour upon the stage
> Can scarce extend his fame for half an age;
> No pen or pencil can the actor save,
> The art, and artist share one common grave.
> (*Garrick's Own Plays* 1:256)

Despite this professed skepticism about the adequacy of the visual arts, Garrick would over the course of his career employ hundreds of pens,

pencils, as well as brushes and chisels, to capture the most spectacular moments of his performances. Often the images depicted the exact static moments, or "starts" that generated so much controversy in the London press. The decision proved to be a marketing coup. While Drury Lane did well financially, the inherently ephemeral nature of drama had also failed to satisfy the acquisitive impulses of the merchant classes that comprised the largest portion of the theatre's clientele. Garrick's stardom, together with advances in print technology, would soon change that. The bourgeois interiority he projected on stage with his dramatic pauses would now be transmitted onto a two-dimensional surface, creating a frozen image of a frozen image that would be mass-produced and sold as a prized collectible to the urban middle classes. Garrick's shift from declamation to a physical style of acting punctuated by brief *tableaux vivants* coincides with the arrival of a vibrant visual culture in mid-eighteenth-century England—a culture that would greatly influence and abet his success.

***

In Act II of *Hamlet*, the Prince mocks his uncle's sycophantic courtiers who lay down "twenty, forty, an hundred ducats apiece for his picture in little" (2.2.349). A century and a half after Shakespeare wrote this line, legions of Garrick's fans would follow suit, handing over comparable sums for his image. By all accounts the actor did everything he could to encourage the practice.

A quick glance at his biography locates Garrick at the center of a burgeoning London art scene. As a subscribing member of the Society of Artists, he moved in a circle that included some of the most esteemed painters of the day such as Sir Joshua Reynolds and William Hogarth. When away from Drury Lane Garrick often dropped by studios and exhibitions to peruse the canvases. Once he even secured an invitation to Windsor Castle to examine John Michael Wright's portraits of the Restoration actor John Lacy—one of the few pre-eighteenth century examples of the genre of the actor portrait (West 29).[7] During the Georgian period, an appreciation for the fine arts was of course a hallmark of a distinguished gentleman and with his newly acquired wealth Garrick played this role to a tee. In addition to snapping up early Shakespeare quartos, he amassed a considerable private collection of artwork at his villa in Hampton. Finally, he enjoyed serving as a patron for upcoming artists. His financial backing enabled John Hamilton Mortimer to publish his 1775 series of etchings *Twelve Characters from Shakespeare*.[8]

Garrick's love for the visual arts set an indelible stamp on his technique as an actor. Evidence of the debt he owed them can be culled from his own writings, such as his 1744 *Essay on Acting*. In this passage describing Macbeth's return from Duncan's bedchamber, Garrick divulges his method for achieving the most hair-raising performance possible:

> He should at that time be *a moving statue*, or indeed a petrified man; his eyes must speak, and his tongue be metaphorically silent; his ears must be sensible of imaginary noises, and deaf to the present and audible voice of his wife; his attitudes must be quick and permanent . . . the murderer should be seen in every limb, and yet every member at that instant should seem separated from his body, and his body from his soul. *This is the picture of a complete regicide.*[9]

At least two artists agreed with the final comment; both Henry Fuseli and Johann Zoffany made oil paintings of precisely this scene [see Fig. 3]. In his prologue to *The Clandestine Marriage*, a play he based on one of Hogarth's canvases, Garrick acknowledges that poets and painters often "steal with decency from one another." But Garrick may have lifted more than just plotlines from the paintings he admired; they may also have inspired one of his signature innovations as an actor. As this prologue makes clear, Garrick's familiarity with the visual arts goaded him with vivid reminders of the impermanence of his own artistic achievement. Was his decision to introduce abrupt and dramatic pauses in his performances motivated by a desire to compensate for this impermanence? Whatever his motivations, this synergy between drama and painting resulted in a style of acting unlike anything London audiences had ever seen. Garrick's appreciation for the visual elements of performance, together with his unprecedented attention to the actor's psychic labor, made him uniquely gifted at rendering interiority perceptible on stage as never before. Visually arresting and psychologically charged, his theatrical poses would not only influence his fellow actors, but a whole generation of English artists.

From a historical perspective, Garrick's embrace of the visual arts could hardly have been better timed. The iconoclastic bent of the Reformation had long stifled the development of a distinctive native tradition of English painting.[10] In its aftermath, most patrons wishing to have their portrait done had to lure artists over from the continent. As a result, contemporary images of the Elizabethan playhouses and players are, to put it mildly, in short supply (the small, anonymous portrait of Richard Burbage housed in the Dulwich College library is a rare exception—but even it offers no clue as to the sitter's profession). What few exist, such

as Johann De Witt's sketch of The Swan, typically come from the hand of foreign visitors. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, things were beginning to change. In 1735 Parliament had passed "An Act for the Encouragement of the Arts" (better known as "The Hogarth Act"), granting artists copyright protection. This law together with a swelling urban middle class eager for the trappings of gentility created the right conditions for a generation of English artists to emerge. To bolster their prestige and compete with their foreign counterparts, many began seeking out grand subjects with an overtly British theme. Thanks in no small part to Garrick's productions of his works Shakespeare became a logical choice (Sillars 61–3).[11]

Around the peak of Garrick's popularity in the 1750s, Horace Walpole estimated that there were approximately 2,000 portrait painters active in the English capital (Walpole 4:244). Even if the figure is inflated, there is no question that the profession of a commercial artist had become a viable one as never before and that, judging by the flurry of canvases in which Garrick appeared over the next few decades, a substantial number made the pilgrimage to Drury Lane. His dramatic pauses presented living vignettes that many would have found irresistible. In addition to his friends Reynolds and Hogarth, Zoffany, Fuseli, Thomas Gainsborough, Benjamin Wilson, and Francis Hayman all made him the subject of ambitious studies (Bertelsen 308–24). While they invariably depict the actor on stage or in a naturalistic setting, the majority—such as Hogarth's famous image of Garrick in the role of Richard III [see Fig. 2]—were executed in the artists' studios. Though his shifting facial expressions reportedly frustrated Hogarth, Garrick's gift for sustaining stylized attitudes on stage made him an ideal model.

But it was prints, not paintings, that really made Garrick's face one of the most recognizable in all of Georgian London. The relationship was a symbiotic one: as his celebrity grew, demand for Shakespearean prints spiked and so did production. The British Museum's *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits* lists a total of 176 different prints of Garrick, more than any individual from the period—even King George III! (O'Donoghue II:276–86).[12] Many of the early prints were made from engravings on copper or steel plates known as mezzotints, an art form that reached its zenith, as did Garrick, in the middle of the eighteenth century (Wax 21). Because mezzotints could deliver only around 30 impressions before the plate wore down and had to be re-touched, they retailed at a high cost. Line-engravings, though superior in quality, took even longer to produce. A breakthrough occurred in the late 1760s with the advent

of stopple engravings, which could be churned out in larger runs at less expense. The stream of prints turned into a deluge as they became prized as collectibles, a slightly more glamorous forerunner of the baseball card. Garrick began to actively commission artists to depict him in some of his most famous roles with the express intent of converting the images to prints and disseminating them among the public. He hired printers to run a new batch of engravings of his performance in *Romeo and Juliet* to coincide with his 1765 revival of that play, and enlisted Gainsborough to produce commemorative prints of his famous Jubilee celebrations four years later. In the competitive world of eighteenth-century London theatre, visual publicity became vital to ensuring celebrity and, consequently, box-office success.

As stage manager of Drury Lane, Garrick also contributed to the increasing emphasis on the visual *within* the theatre. Toward the end of his career, he asked Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg to paint ornate background scenery for his Christmas entertainments. Loutherbourg, who harbored far grander ambitions, agreed but demanded total artistic control over set design on all future productions. By concentrating the responsibility for such matters in one individual, he aimed to makeover the stage to present a "harmoniously unified picture." A few of his sketches, including one for Garrick's 1772 revival of *Richard III*, survive. Depicting vast landscapes with a tremendous depth of field, they go a long way toward explaining Drury Lane's reputation as the most "picturesque" theatre in London (Baugh 34).

Inevitably, the popularity of prints affected viewers' memories of the performances. Indeed Lichtenberg, the German professor who gave the extraordinarily detailed account of Garrick's "start" at the sight of the Ghost, may not have had such a photographic memory after all. When placed beside Benjamin Wilson's portrait of this exact scene (engraved by James McArdell in 1754 [Fig. 1]), Lichtenberg's description reads like a verbal facsimile, down to the precise positioning of Garrick's arms and splayed fingers. Lichtenberg also introduced Hogarth's prints to the German public, rendering it even more likely that his written accounts were colored by his study of the visual arts. Another eyewitness whose testimony seems influenced by the visual arts is Thomas Davies. His biography of Garrick appeared five years after the actor's death, eight years after his farewell performance. At one point Davies recollects a scene from a production of *The Alchemist* and points readers to a print by Vanbleck to corroborate his account. The minute detail found in many of Davies' descriptions may be due to an exceptionally strong recall, but

Figure 1. James McArdell, after a painting by Benjamin Wilson (now lost), *David Garrick as Hamlet*, 1754, Folger Shakespeare Library. Garrick's celebrated "start" made this moment one of the most popular subjects for early artistic renderings of Shakespeare. (Reproduced by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.)

it is far more likely, as West conjectures, that he used the prints to jog his memory (26–7). An even larger gap of twenty-five years separates Garrick's last performance of Hamlet and Arthur Murphy's biography, which again raises questions about the accuracy of the reportage. Did the chiaroscuro in McArdell's engraving prompt Murphy to embellish his account of the pallor visible on Garrick's face?

Despite the general craze for artistic renderings of actors, some remained unconvinced that a frozen image could truly capture the dynamism of Garrick's performances. Although undoubtedly aware of the reams of prints available, Sheridan moaned in his eulogy on the actor that "matchless Garrick's art, to heaven resign'd, / No fix'd effect, no model leaves behind" (Sheridan 11). To his credit, Davies tempers his endorsement of the visual arts by conceding that painting, even from the brush of a master like Reynolds, could be but an "imperfect representation" of the actor's craft (Davies 2:319). The painters themselves of course also wrestled with the inherent difficulties of the transmitting the drama of a live performance to a two-dimensional surface. The solution they most consistently hit upon was to create a conspicuous tension between stasis and motion. Arguably, the most successful attempt was Hogarth's portrait of Garrick as Richard III, awakening from his nightmare on the eve of the Battle of Bosworth [Fig. 2]. Half-horizontal and sliding off the edge of the bed, Garrick reaches back for his sword with his left hand while he thrusts his right palm forward violently. His suit of armor lies in a jumbled heap near his feet, as if knocked over by his flailing. The overall impression is one of furious motion, suddenly arrested. The small picture of the crucifixion in the background seems placid in comparison, which no doubt was precisely the effect that Hogarth intended. Created in the painter's studio three years after Garrick premiered in the role, the image should not be taken as an accurate record of a theatrical performance. But it is a fascinating record of how painters responded to the particular challenges presented by the genre of the theatre portrait by compressing as much activity as possible into a single moment.[13]

A similar tension enlivens Hayman's painting of Garrick's rival, Spranger Barry. In a deliberate attempt to outdo the competition, Barry poses in one of Garrick's most celebrated scenes: Hamlet's start at the sight of his father's ghost. Although Hayman depicts the second encounter in Gertrude's closet, the debt to West's portrait of Garrick, reproduced in a popular engraving only the year before, is unmistakable. The image testifies to the tangled web of influence that linked the two art forms in this period: it is a painting of an actor imitating a painting

Figure 2. William Hogarth, *Mr. Garrick in the Character of Richard III*, 1746, British Museum. This image is thought to be the most-reproduced actor portrait of the eighteenth century. (Reproduced by permission of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.)

of an actor, an actor who, in his writings on the craft, thought of himself as embodying a "picture." What originality the canvas can boast lies in Hayman's clever arrangement of the background details to heighten the scene's theatricality. With his hands and feet spread wide apart, Barry stands beside a stool he has toppled in a spasm of dread. Meanwhile the Queen is only half-risen from her chair, over which her voluminous dress drapes precariously (like Richard's robes in Hogarth's canvas). At the image's far left edge the Ghost materializes in mid-stride, but has not even finished entering the frame. Amidst this bustle, a giant clock looms directly above Barry's head. At first glance, it may seem nothing more than a concession to realism—its hands even set at 12:40 as if to confirm that it is in fact around the witching time of night. Beyond this, however, the presence of the clock creates a significant friction between the illusion of stopped time and the reality of vigorous motion everywhere in evidence. This friction helps to simulate the drama that normally eludes capture in a frozen image. Like Garrick's stops, the painting manages to

be both dynamic and static; the stillness depicted here is like that found in the eye of a hurricane.

In act four of *Hamlet*, Claudius rebukes the impatient Laertes, asking him if he truly grieves for his father or if he is but "the painting of a sorrow / A face without a heart?" (4.7.90). Claudius's question raises a concern even more pressing in the eighteenth century: portraiture threatened to aggravate the notion that the grief and anguish the actors displayed were nothing more than actions that a man might paint. The crisis became particularly acute in the next generation. If Garrick skillfully exploited the visual to evoke the character's interiority, his imitators proved less adept. His most celebrated successor, John Philip Kemble, continued to strike statuesque poses on stage but with mixed results. Davies praised Kemble's pauses as "judicious," but noted that "to many they appeared too long" (3:149–50). Among the critics were William Hazlitt, who quipped that Kemble played Hamlet "like a man in armor" (Hazlitt) and a reviewer from *The Green Room Mirror* who compared him to a "still life" full of "pantomimical emblems" (*Green Room* 25–26).[14]

Along with sustained poses, other visual elements loomed even larger in productions in the decades following Garrick's retirement. As set designs grew more elaborate, costumes more colorful, and stages more spacious (both Drury Lane and Covent Garden were expanded during remodeling in the 1790s), the emphasis on spectacle was increasingly felt to obscure rather than elucidate the inwardness of the characters. The dramatic pauses that had been so revolutionary in 1741 came to be seen as derivative, stilted, and overdone by 1813. That year marked the debut of Edmund Kean, who eliminated dramatic pauses from his performances entirely. To some extent, Garrick's innovation fell victim to its own success. In the intervening 50 years, visual culture had become more entrenched and the popularity of actor portraits fostered a sense of the artifice of the pause. If Garrick presented a human being imitating a painting, Kemble, judging by the negative reviews, was perceived more as a painting imitating a human being. The pause no longer created the impression of the actor's inner life spontaneously interrupting the outward action of the play. Compared to Kemble, Kean's dynamic and fiery style seemed refreshingly life-like, as if calculated to answer Claudius's query with an indignant "no."

But the visual excesses of English drama post-Garrick drove some critics to conclude that theatre, by its very nature, trafficked in a bogus reality that misrepresented Shakespeare's works by inevitably sacrificing substance for spectacle. This argument was put forth most notoriously

in Charles Lamb's 1808 essay characterizing Shakespearean tragedy as closet drama. Though the piece appeared five years before Kean's premiere, Kean's acting would have done very little to deflect Lamb's critique. While Kean did away with the static intervals, his performances were nonetheless flamboyantly theatrical affairs. Today Lamb's diatribe is widely regarded less as a commentary on Shakespeare than on the decadence of early nineteenth-century theatre. But for Lamb the origins of the problem lay further in the past. The essay opens inside Westminster Abbey where the author encounters a statue in an "affected attitude" that upon closer inspection turns out to be David Garrick (Lamb 3:78–9). To Lamb's dismay, the ode inscribed on Garrick's statue sees the actor and playwright as "twin stars" of equal magnitude and even transforms Shakespeare into a painter clutching a "magic pencil." Crucially, the anecdote pegs Garrick's legacy as the triumph of the visual over the verbal in the popular understanding of Shakespeare. Later in the same essay Lamb complains that *Hamlet* could be re-written in plain, colloquial prose, but if its performance included all the visual trappings that audiences had come to expect—Hamlet "might see a ghost, and start at it"—people would applaud just as loudly. (Ironically, Lamb would write just such an account, along with his sister Mary, in his *Tales From Shakespeare*.) Though he confesses that he never saw Garrick perform the part, Lamb opines that his extravagant gestures and electrifying presence would be completely antithetical to the "shy, negligent, retiring" character of the melancholy Prince. While multiple factors contributed to the Romantic reading of *Hamlet*, Lamb's essay intimates that the backlash against Garrick's legacy was a major force driving nineteenth-century critics to focus on the "within which passeth show," the rich, palpitating subjectivity of the protagonist.

The fact that a statue provides the impetus for Lamb's critique is revealing. Since Garrick's performances survived only in paintings, prints, and sculptures like the one at Westminster Abbey, the assault on his acting style implied a rejection of a whole artistic aesthetic, and vice versa. Adapting to the Romantic zeitgeist, painters likewise rebelled against the artistic tastes and theories of their forebears. Rather than fixating on the tension between stasis and motion, visual artists in the nineteenth century scrutinized the tension between surface and depth in order to magnify the interiority of their subjects. The annotations William Blake scrawled in his copy of Reynold's *Discourses* offer a front-row seat to this clash of sensibilities. While Blake agreed that "All depends on form or outline," he challenged Reynold's belief that beauty is incompatible with the "distor-

tion and deformity" caused by the passions. Next to this passage, Blake sniffed: "what nonsense, passion & Expression is Beauty Itself" (Blake 529–30).[15] Like his fanciful drawings, Blake's comments are indicative of an increasing tendency to privilege an image's expressive energy over its purely mimetic qualities. Further evidence for this development can be found in the work of Fuseli, who made two notably different paintings of the closet scene based on Garrick's performance. The first, from around 1780–2, takes a wide perspective to record such details of the scene as Polonius' bleeding corpse. A decade later, the aperture narrows and blackness engulfs the background. Fuseli creates a gothic mindscape that foregrounds Hamlet's internal state of dread and isolation: Hamlet recoils in terror from the Ghost; Gertrude recoils in terror from her lunatic son. This shift away from pure representation is perhaps even more starkly apparent in his two paintings of Garrick as Macbeth. The first, dating from 1766, is more or less realistic. Details of the background are easily recognizable, as are Garrick and his co-star, Hannah Pritchard, in their contemporary dress. The 1812 canvas, in contrast, depicts two white, wispy, almost translucent figures against a pitch-black background [Fig. 3]. Fuseli creates a spectral X-ray, exposing the psychic trauma of the murderer.[16] The identity of the models would be a complete mystery to anyone unacquainted with the earlier work. Though at this point Garrick had been dead for over thirty years, he continued to haunt Shakespearean iconography well until the next century.

Thanks to his towering presence in early visual representations of Shakespeare, Garrick continued to affect the popular understanding of the plays in profound and sometimes surprising ways. For instance, since the nineteenth century the figure of Hamlet gazing into Yorick's eyeless sockets and meditating on human mortality has become arguably one of the most recognizable icons in the history of literature. But prior to that time images of this scene are extremely rare. Why? Garrick cut the grave-digger episode from his productions. So eighteenth-century artists deemed the two entrances of the Ghost, or rather Garrick's spectacular reaction to them, as the play's most compelling subject.[17] Garrick's acting influenced countless Shakespearean illustrations, even illustrations in which he himself does not explicitly appear. In turn the prints helped shape critical perceptions of the characters. If Lamb's essay was part of a backlash against visual culture, the proliferation of actor portraits also inadvertently reinforced his reading of the play. By repeatedly depicting Hamlet frozen in a posture of recoil, like Pyrrhus "a neutral to his will and matter" (2.2.461), these ubiquitous prints fostered the Romantic
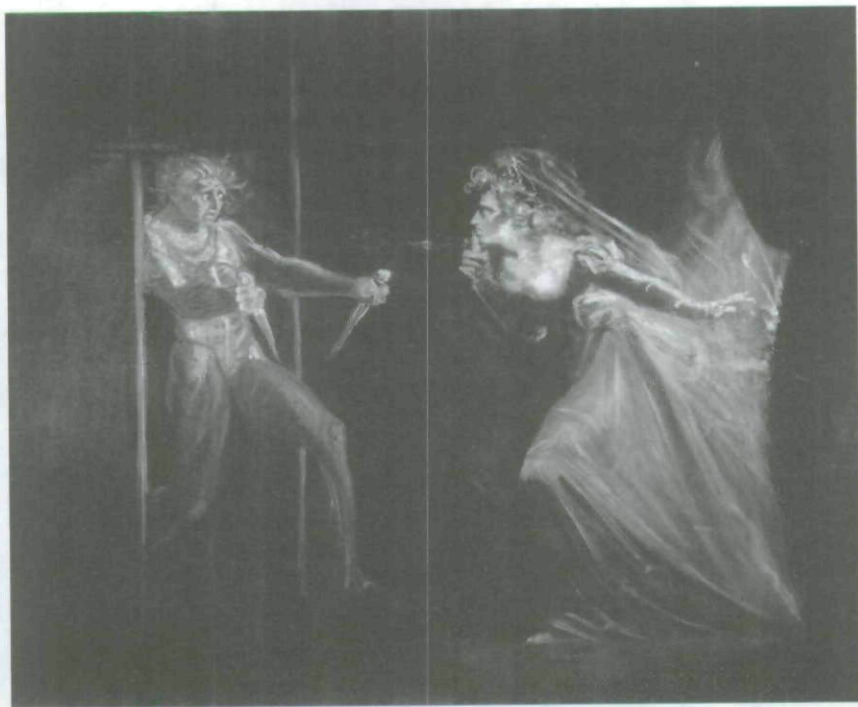
Figure 3. Henry Fuseli, *Lady Macbeth Seizing the Daggers*, 1812, Tate Museum. This haunting oil painting is based on a less well-known and more realistic watercolor from 1766, clearly depicting David Garrick and his co-star Hannah Pritchard. Johann Zoffany created a famous canvas of Garrick and Pritchard in this same scene. (Reproduced by permission of the Tate Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.)

interpretation of the Prince as the *in*action hero par excellence. Less than a decade after Garrick's final bow as Hamlet and the appearance in Germany of Lichtenberg's portrait-influenced account of it, Goethe famously summarized the play as the story of a "great action laid upon a soul unfit for the performance of it" (Goethe 200).

***

While Garrick's contemporaries hailed his acting as revolutionary, he was by no means the first person in the history of theatre to experiment with the use of stasis on stage. On the other side of the globe, actors who had never heard of David Garrick (or even of England) had already honed

a similar method to capitalize on the very quality of drama that seems to place it at a disadvantage in comparison to the other arts: its evanescence. Nor was England the only nation in which theatre prints became a booming industry. In the remainder of this paper I will strike out on a different, albeit parallel, route to highlight some peculiar connections between British and Japanese drama in the eighteenth century. Of course any attempt to do so must tread carefully: the two traditions developed continents apart from one another and Japan's window of contact with early modern Europe opened only briefly. Less than a hundred years separates the arrival of the Portuguese and the sealing of the borders by the Tokugawa shogunate. Further proof of this cultural chasm might be inferred from the fact that certain avant-garde playwrights of the past century, most famously William Butler Yeats, appealed to Japanese drama as an alternative to the psychological realism of Western theatre.[18] But several compelling resemblances between the cultures make a comparison of Garrick's acting style with Kabuki, a form of theatre still underappreciated by Shakespeare scholars, particularly germane to this discussion.

First, both early modern Japan and early modern England possessed an elaborate system of body language for signifying and reinforcing deference, such as bowing or kneeling in the presence of the ruler.[19] As such customs were enacted on stage, signaling the relative status of the characters, they schooled theatre-goers in appreciating the affective power of gesture. Second, despite some obvious divergences (government policies that promoted expansion as opposed to seclusion), the two island nations experienced broadly analogous phases of historical development during this period marked by urbanization, bureaucratization, and unprecedented material prosperity.[20] In the eighteenth century, Edo (present-day Tokyo) was the most populous city on the planet. Like London, it boasted a strong merchant class, a thriving visual culture, and a boisterous style of drama punctuated by motionless sequences. Investigating the relationship between the visual arts and the performance of stasis in Kabuki will help illuminate the similar rapport in the Shakespeare industry of eighteenth-century England that this paper has so far delineated.

While the ethereal Noh drama flourished among the aristocratic circles of Kyoto during the Muromachi period (1333-1568), Kabuki emerged in the early seventeenth century and won an enthusiastic following among the merchant classes of Edo. Noh is heavily steeped in Buddhist philosophy and its plotlines center on the appearance of masked ghosts, who lament their attachment to the material world through a haunting and highly stylized routine of chant, song, and dance. Although Kabuki

developed out of Noh, Kabuki is peopled with lovers, warriors, tradesmen, thieves, swindlers, and prostitutes, engaged in far more earthy intrigues. Yet by twenty-first-century standards Kabuki too seems highly artificial (even to the Japanese); in English the word has become shorthand for over-the-top theatrics. To Western viewers, one of the most distinctive features of this drama (besides the male actors impersonating women) is the manipulation of time through the modulated motions of the performers. In this case "manipulation of time" does not mean violating the Aristotelian unity. Rather it involves the playful tampering with both the actor's and the audience's experience of its passage on stage. Through a series of deft gestures the actors create the illusion of slowing down, or even momentarily suspending, time. In Kabuki performances are punctuated by frozen moments when the lead actors adopt (or in Japanese "cut") stylized poses called *mie*. During a *mie* the frenetic music suddenly stops, the actor belts out a fierce yawlp, crosses his eyes and emphatically sustains a picturesque posture. Typically *mie* occur at climatic moments of the play, such as the shedding of a disguise, the aftermath of a death-stroke in a battle scene, or when emotion overwhelms a pair of lovers. These *tableaux vivants* can last upwards of ten seconds, affording spectators a chance to gaze at the lavish kimonos set off against the colorful backdrops characteristic of Kabuki. These moments also signal a suspension of the dramatic illusion, an interval in which audience members reward a talented performer with wild applause and approbatory shouts of his family name. Actors and spectators alike regard *mie* as the high points of the performance.[21]

As Garrick's habit of striking stylized poses on stage stimulated the vogue for prints in Georgian London, the development of *mie* in Kabuki coincides with the emergence of a vibrant visual culture in Edo. In the early 1600s, local artists began to make and sell woodblock prints depicting characters from the city's demimonde. It soon grew into a booming business; printing techniques gradually improved and so did the quality of the designs. Eventually Hokusai and Hiroshige would elevate the genre to sublime heights, creating images destined to become some of the most replicated and recognizable the world over. But before *Japonisme* gripped Europe, woodblock prints were not considered high art nor were they particularly expensive. The original enthusiasts belonged to the same demographic who flocked to watch Kabuki. It didn't take artists long to spot a potential demand and by the dawn of the eighteenth century designs featuring actors had become so popular they were recognized as a separate genre known as *yakusha-e* (literally, actor-picture).

The first woodblock artist to produce actor portraits was Torii Ki-yonobu (1664–1729). Revealingly, Torii started out printing programs and posters for three of the most respected Kabuki troupes in town. His first efforts were essentially an elegant form of advertisement. But soon he began creating more studied and expressive likenesses of individual performers, almost always in mid-*mie*, and a marketing tool blossomed into an art form in its own right. Propelled by its success, Torii went on to found a school that carried on the tradition for nearly two hundred years. Today the *yakusha-e* tradition lives on in the glossy snapshots for sale in the lobby of Tokyo's Kabuki-za, capturing the performers in their characteristic poses. Regrettably the camera does not quite deliver the evocative dynamism found in some of the prints, particularly during the golden age of the genre in the late eighteenth century. Between 1794 and 1796, the woodblock artist Toyokuni Utagawa made a series of over 50 outstanding designs featuring Kabuki actors. This same period witnessed the sudden ascendance of Sharaku Toshusai, one of the most gifted and enigmatic figures in Japanese art. In a span of ten months, this man with no previous known body of work produced 145 astonishingly masterful prints, virtually all of Kabuki actors, then disappeared. No other records of his existence survive; the matter of his identity remains a source of fervent speculation among Japanese art historians.[22]

The allure of the mystery aside, the psychological penetration of Shar-aku's portraiture has garnered him comparisons with Leonardo Da Vinci and Rembrandt. His subjects are captured in Herculean exertions of will; whether their intents be charitable, wicked, or somewhere in between, their inner state of mind is transmitted with exceptional intensity. One of Sharaku's most famous images depicts the actor Otani Oniji III in the role of Edobei. The craning of his neck and the grotesque spread of his fingers convey an overwhelming sense of the character's grasping, rapacious nature. In another portrait, this time from a revenge play, a character named Bando Mitsugoro unsheathes his sword and glares with determination and unappeasable rancor in the direction of his father's killer.

Despite the manifest cultural differences, the nearly simultaneous development and widespread popularity of theatre portraits in eigh-teenth-century England and Japan presents some striking similarities. In both nations, actors forged strong commercial ties with visual artists. In England, Garrick initially sought to appropriate some of the cultural cachet of painting. After his success, artists and vendors of relatively inexpensive prints sought to capitalize on his cultural and commercial appeal. Likewise, *yakusha-e* first appeared as a kind of advertising for

Kabuki and rode to prestige on the kimono-tails of the theatre. The two traditions also intersect in their marked tendency to fixate on instances of stasis within the performance. Japanese prints, like those of Garrick, typically portray the actor in a flamboyant and immobile pose, creating a frozen image of a frozen image. They zoom in on the subject in a moment of not simply physical tension but psychological turmoil—often isolating the actors from their surroundings and from whatever stimulus may have triggered the outburst. Artists found these moments, and theatre portraits in general, congenial due to an impression of the intense psychic energy exuded by the performing body. The fact that these art-forms flourished among an increasingly powerful merchant class suggests that enthusiasts may have seen in them a strident assertion of their own rich and complex inner life.

Any study in comparative drama is wise not to insist too zealously upon the similarities between disparate traditions. Indeed the comparison of eighteenth-century Japanese and British theatre evinces some telling distinctions. First, audiences reacted to the emotional exhibitionism of the actors differently. Thunderous applause and shouts of the actor's name greet the *mie* in Kabuki.[23] Contemporary accounts of Garrick's attitudes, however, repeatedly comment on the "fearful stillness" and profound silence of the audience—apparently relatively rare occurrences in London theatres prior to that time. When spectators applauded, they did so at the conclusion of the scene. The silent awe with which the British audience responded to Garrick's simulated anguish suggests a willingness to identify with both the character and the actor. Another notable difference is that the Japanese artists, while also privileging the most popular actors, always depict them on stage. Of the 176 prints of Garrick listed in the British Museum, only 96 actually show him in character. The other 80 present him in private dress. The more pronounced interest in the private life of the performer, beyond foreshadowing the rise of the cult of celebrity, implies that the British public regarded him as set apart even when not literally performing. That is, he was an artist even off stage as Louis XIV was a king even on the commode.

Overall, however, the affinity between the two traditions is remarkable. In both England and Japan the genre of the theatre portrait takes off in response to the challenge presented by an innovative style of acting that projected bourgeois interiority with unprecedented clarity. Garrick, like Kabuki actors, hit upon a similar tactic for exploiting what Artaud would later call the "affective musculature" of the performing body "which corresponds to the physical location of the feelings" (133). Though of course

several caveats apply, it is possible that the *mie* still used in Kabuki today may provide the closest thing to a living example to the "attitudes" deployed by Garrick in his eighteenth-century productions of Shakespeare. Through a combination of exaggerated gestures and stasis both create the impression of vast reserves of psychic energy.

I have argued that Garrick's attitudes encouraged artists to experiment with new methods of portraiture to capture the internal spectacle interrupting and eclipsing the external one. In the case of Kabuki and *yakusha-e*, art historians have detected a similar trajectory of influence: "the Torii style," according to Menushige, "was in a sense a product of the flamboyant, stylized acting of the Kabuki theatre itself" (34). The squiggling "earthworm" lines characteristic of this school establish the same sort of tension between motion and stasis found in early images of the English actor. Roughly one hundred years after Torii pioneered the genre, Sharaku brought it to near perfection with his playful and imaginative portraiture exposing the characters' inner nature.

The performance of stasis presents a maddening spectacle; the stillness belies the activity beneath the surface. It is physically static but psychologically dynamic, problematizing the distinction between inward and outward to an unsettling degree. Actors, artists, and their public in England and Japan found these moments both captivating and epistemologically traumatic. Cultural differences, however, prompted the English and Japanese to react in divergent ways. In England, Garrick's pauses nurtured the sense of disconnect between outward stillness and inward activity that came to be seen from Coleridge on as the defining characteristic of Shakespeare's most famous character, and as the source of *Hamlet's* extraordinary power. In other words, Garrick's attitudes inspired and anticipated the critical obsession with Hamlet's interiority that continues to this day. In Japan, a similar interest in the inner/outer dichotomy in performance emerged not in literary criticism but in an unusual type of puppet theatre known as Bunraku that sought to manifest the psychic labor of the Kabuki actor. Bunraku differs from Western puppetry in several key respects: it is far more literary and targeted at adults, the puppets are much larger, almost life-size, and finally no curtain or mini-proscenium arch conceals the puppeteers, who remain visible at all times. It was this last feature of Bunraku that so fascinated Roland Barthes, who saw it as a kind of enactment of the post-structuralist critique of Western metaphysics. In Japanese puppetry, the actor's impenetrable interiority is displaced and revealed by the motions of the puppeteers. For Barthes, the moral is clear: "the inside no longer commands the outside" (62).

To contrast the divergent theories of subjectivity in England and Japan is beyond the scope of this paper, but a cursory sketch of some key cultural differences will help explain why Japan developed a sophisticated form of puppet theatre to externalize theatrical performance and England didn't. Unlike Protestantism, Buddhism did not instill a belief in an isolated internal self, inimitable as a snowflake and known only to God. Rather it preached that the ideal spiritual state is one of *anatman*, or selflessness. Nor did a discourse of liberal humanism construct the notion of the individual's privacy as sacrosanct. Finally, Japan didn't yet have a playwright whose texts possessed the same prestige as Shakespeare's. The "Japanese Shakespeare," Chikamatsu, wrote for the puppet theatre not Kabuki. Without these inhibitions, Bunraku plucked out the heart of the actor's mystery and insisted on the motion behind the stasis; in England, this deep subjectivity remained hidden and became the object of tremendous cultural veneration. To emphasize Garrick's contribution to this process is not to scant Shakespeare's achievement; his eloquence and psychological acumen as a dramatist played a decisive role. Indeed the psychic energy Garrick's Hamlet emanated on stage was to a great extent conjured by Shakespeare's words. However, in Garrick, the feeling itself rather than the sound of the feeling became the primary focal point of the performance. Despite the visual appeal of Garrick's motionless acting, to properly understand its significance and legacy we must reverse Barthes' formula: the outside no longer commands the inside.

Notes

[1]The student's name was Henry Jackson. Excerpts from his letters were first published in the *Times Literary Supplement* of July 20, 1933. The originals, written in Latin and transcribed by a fellow of his college, William Fulman, do not survive.

[2]The review appeared in the *St. James Chronicle* 22 February 1772. Grey has speculated that Hic et Ubique was the pseudonym of George Steevens.

[3]According to his journal entry, Simon Forman saw *The Winter's Tale* performed at the Globe in May 1611. While he provides a remarkably accurate synopsis of the first four acts, he makes no mention of Hermione's re-awakening. Perhaps he was distracted by Autolycus, whose antics prompted one of Forman's many moral observations: "Beware of trustinge feined beggars or fawning fellouss."

[4] In 1748 the Reverend Peter Whalley published *An Enquiry Into the Learning of Shakespeare*. Garrick corresponded with him briefly right after his book appeared and defended his unorthodox acting. See *Letters* 1:92.

[5] Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*. For a critique of the shortcomings of Belsey's model, see Grady.

[6] A stimulating account of the relation between Garrick's acting and Cartesian physiognomy can be found in Noda.

[7] West's *The Image of the Actor* is the most thorough study of the subject to date. A brief sketch of Garrick's relationship to the visual arts can also be found in Smith 51–59.

[8] After Garrick's death, Mortimer would return the favor by producing an etching entitled *Nature & Genius Introducing Garrick into the Temple of Shakespear*.

[9] Garrick published this pamphlet anonymously in 1744, perhaps to promote his upcoming performance of *Macbeth*. Ostensibly a critique of his acting style, the piece actually exalts his talents and satirizes his critics. The complete title is revealing: *An Essay on Acting: In which will be considered The Mimical behaviour of a Certain fashionable faulty Actor, and the Laudableness of such unmannerly, as well as inhumane Proceedings. To which will be added, A short criticism on his acting Macbeth*. The pamphlet is reprinted in Cole and Chinoy 133–5.

[10] The critical commonplace that the Reformation stifled the visual arts in Shakespeare's day has recently been challenged by Kiefer.

[11] Sillars traces the emergence of Shakespearean art as a genre in the eighteenth century "to the growing interest in and market for images related to the theatre" and notes Garrick's contribution in stimulating the industry (61–3). Like Dobson, Sillars argues that the 1769 Jubilee organized by Garrick cemented Shakespeare's reputation as "the embodiment of English genius."

[12] Of course the book-trade also contributed to the mania for prints, as bibliophiles began to purchase illustrations to bind inside their copies of Theobald's and Hanmer's editions of the collected plays. However, after Garrick's heyday, enterprises such as Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery often struggled to stay out of the red. My account of Garrick and the London printing trade is indebted to Alexander.

[13] An insightful look at Hogarth's *Mr. Garrick in the Role of Richard III* can be found in Sillars 46–8. See also Bate, according to whom this image was "the most frequently engraved and widely disseminated theatrical portrait of the eighteenth century" (12).

[14] The portraits of Kemble, particularly those by Thomas Lawrence, are conspicuously more sedate than those of Garrick. West, however, qualifies the typical reading of Kemble's style as eminently "classical," suggesting that his style may have grown more expressive over time. See West 68–77.

[15] See Haley's summary of Blake's quarrel with Reynolds (98).

[16] Incidentally, the chiaroscuro in Fuseli's later work, in which characters appear almost incandescent, sorts well with Coleridge's famous remark that watching Edmund Kean act was "like reading Shakespeare by flashes of lightning" (Coleridge 13). In a clever article, Davis links the simile to the improved illumination in the theatres when gaslight was installed shortly after Kean's debut.

[17]Garrick's influence on visual representations of *Hamlet* is duly noted by Young: "From the mid-eighteenth century, *perhaps as a direct result of the impact of Garrick's performances as Hamlet*, artists frequently chose as their subject the highly dramatic moment when Hamlet first sees the Ghost and utters the line 'Angels and ministers of grace defend us!'"(147–8).

[18]Yeats' interest was mainly in the medieval Noh theatre but he too observed the connection between visual culture and stasis: "I have lately studied certain of these dances, with Japanese plays, and I notice that their ideal of beauty, unlike that of Greece and like that of pictures from Japan and China, makes them pause at moments of muscular tension" (158).

[19]John Russell Brown connects the stylized motions of Noh to the use of deferential gestures in Japanese culture and traces some implications for English Renaissance drama.

[20]Further background on the history of the Tokugawa state can be found in Jensen.

[21]In Japan the acting profession is hereditary or by invitation only. Actors must begin their training in early childhood and, upon maturity, perform under an inherited family name, although not all members of a troupe are necessarily blood-related. Leiter discusses some of various types of *mie* in the epilogue to his translations (257–8).

[22]The unflattering nature of the portraits have led some to speculate that Sharaku was in fact a Noh actor, embittered by the success of Kabuki. For a review of the some of the leading theories see Menushige (37–44).

[23]The vanishing of the fourth wall during *mie* is not unlike Brecht's "alienation effect," which he first formulated in his essay on Chinese theatre.

Works Cited

Alexander, David. "Shakespeare and the British Print Market." *Shakespeare in Art*. Ed. Jane Martineau. London: Merrell, 2003. 21–8.

Artaud, Antonin. *The Theatre and its Double*. New York: Grove, 1958.

Barthes, Roland. *Empire of Signs*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Noonday Press, 1982.

Bate, Jonathan. "The Shakespeare Phenomenon." *Shakespeare in Art*. Ed. Jane Martineau. London: Merrell, 2003.

Baugh, Christopher. "Our Divine Shakespeare Fitly Illustrated: Staging Shakespeare 1660–1900." *Shakespeare in Art*. Ed. Jane Martineau. London: Merrell, 2003.

Belsey, Catherine. *The Subject of Tragedy*. London: Methuen, 1985.

Bertelsen, Lance. "David Garrick and English Painting." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 11 (1978): 308–24.

Blake, William. *Complete Poetry and Prose*. Ed. David V. Erdman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Brecht, Bertoldt. "Alienation Effect in Chinese Acting." *Brecht on Theatre*. Trans. John Willet. New York: Hill and Wang, 1964. 91–99.

Brown, John Russell. *New Sites for Shakespeare: Theatre, The Audience, and Asia*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Buell, Wiliam Ackerman. *Hamlets of the Theatre*. New York: Astor-Honor, 1968.

Cole, Toby and Helen Krich Chinoy, eds. *Actors on Acting*. New York: Crown, 1970.

Coleridge, Henry Nelson. *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. London: John Murray, 1836.

Davies, Thomas. *Dramatic Miscellanies*. 3 vols. London, 1784.

Davis, Tracy C. "'Reading Shakespeare by Flashes of Lightning': Challenging the Foundations of Romantic Acting Theory." *ELH* 62.4 (1995): 933–54.

Diderot, Denis. *Paradoxe Sur le Comédien. Oeuvres Esthétiques*. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1960.

Dobson, Michael. *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Fielding, Henry. *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.

Forman, Simon. *Booke of Plaies*. Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 208. Fols. 200–12.

Garrick, David. *An Essay on Acting: In Which Will Be Considered The Mimical Behaviour of a Certain Fashionable Faulty Actor, and the Laudableness of Such Unmannerly, as Well as Inhumane Proceedings. To Which Will be Added, A Short Criticism on his Acting Macbeth*. London: W. Bickerton, 1744.

———. *The Plays of David Garrick. Garrick's Own Plays 1740–1766*. Vol. 1. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980.

———. To H.H. [presumably Hall Harston]. 24 January 1762. *The Letters of David Garrick*. Eds. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1963. 1:350–1.

———. To the Reverend Peter Whalley. 15 March 1748. *The Letters of David Garrick*. Eds. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1963. 1:92.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. Trans. Thomas Carlyle. 1795.

Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Vicar of Wakefield. Collected Works*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Grady, Hugh. "On the Need for a Differentiated Theory of (Early) Modern Subjects." *Philosophical Shakespeares*. London: Routledge, 2000. 34–50.

Grey, Charles. *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.

Haley, Bruce. *Living Forms: Romantics and the Monumental Figure*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.

Hazlitt, William. "A View of the English Stage." *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt*. 12 vols. London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1903.

Jackson, Henry. Letters: Excerpts. *Times Literary Supplement*. 20 July 1933.

Jensen, Marius. *The Making of Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2000.

Kiefer, Frederick. *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Lamb, Charles. "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare: Considered With Reference to Their Fitness for Stage-Representation." *Works of Charles Lamb*. Vol. 3. New York: Armstrong, 1883.

Leiter, Samuel L., trans. *The Art of Kabuki: Five Famous Plays*. New York: Dover, 1979.

Lichtenberg, G. E. Rpt in the *New Variorum Edition of Hamlet*. Vol. IV. 1887.

McGuire, Philip. *Speechless Dialect: Shakespeare's Open Silences*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Menushige, Narazaki. *Sharaku: The Enigmatic Ukiyo-e Master*. Trans. Bonnie F. Abiko. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983.

Moore, Thomas. *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan*. London: Longman, 1825.

Murphy, Arthur. *Life of David Garrick*. 2 vols. London: Wright, 1801.

Noda, Manabu. "The Primacy of the Sense of the Body over the Sense of Line: David Garrick's Acting of Shakespeare." *Japanese Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*. Ed. Yoshiko Kawachi. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998. 180–96.

O'Donoghue, Freeman. *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in the Department of Printings and Drawings in the British Museum*. London, 1908–25.

Pickering, Roger. *Reflections upon Theatrical Expression in Tragedy*. London: W. Johnson, 1755.

Reynolds, Frederick. *Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Cary and Lea, 1826.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley. *Verses to the Memory of Garrick*. London: J. Evans, J. Wilkie, E. and C. Dilly, A. Portal and J. Almon, 1779.

Sillars, Stuart. *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Smith, Helen R. *David Garrick: 1717–1779*. London: The British Library, 1979.

St. James Chronicle. 22 February 1772. Cited in Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge, 1974–81. 5:450.

Sterne, Lawrence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.

The Green Room Mirror Clearly Delineating Our Present Theatrical Performers By a Genuine Reflection. London: E. Macklew and T. W. Swift, 1786.

Walpole, Horace. Letter. 25 February 1759. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, fourth earl of Oxford*. 16 vols. Ed. Paget Toynbee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903–5.

Wax, Carol. *The Mezzotint: History and Technique.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990.

West, Shearer. *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble.* London: Pinter, 1991.

Yeats, W. B. "Certain Noble Plays of Japan." *The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan.* New York: New Directions, 1959.

Young, Alan R. *Hamlet and the Visual Arts, 1709–1900.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002.