The Epistemology of Observation from Calvin to Bacon: Performance, Power, and the Regulation of Female Sexuality in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling*

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Introduction

The Jacobean stage was no stranger to the subversion of regulatory forces. In 1599, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London ordered that London’s printers burn and ban the printed works of over twelve major writers of the time, such as Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Nashe, and Thomas Middleton (Boose 185). The ban effectively censored printed material that depicted satire and overtly sexual and salacious scenes (Boose 185). Lynda E. Boose argues that this ban not only signals a shift from “poetry culture to theater culture,” but also “marks the theatrical shift to a style we generically associate with the core tragedies of Jacobean drama” (Boose 194). More specifically, Boose accounts for the “theatricalized and violent spectacles” traditionally associated with Jacobean tragedy by suggesting that displaying sexual representations on stage becomes about asserting authorial power as well as subverting state regulation (Boose 197). According to Boose, the uniquely spectacular style of Jacobean tragedies is subversive because of both the ephemeral nature of the theater, which makes theater harder to censor, as well as the overtly sexual and graphic content represented by Jacobean tragedies.

In addition to the subversion of state regulation, the style of Jacobean tragedy then serves as a method to critique the regulation of female sexuality. Not only is the regulation of female sexuality a key thematic and plot component of Jacobean tragedies, but the spectacular and visual nature of Jacobean tragedy creates ideal moments to understand how observation as a form of knowledge works in service of maintaining systems of regulation. Indeed, the use of spectacle in Jacobean tragedy to depict female sexuality reveals how the link between observable visual signs and regulatory practices
can unravel through putting bodies on display in performative settings. Thus, we can begin to account for the grand and excessive spectacle of sexuality associated with Jacobean tragedy by understanding how it troubles the connection between observation and regulation.

*Spectacle of the Scaffold and the Stage*

We can understand Jacobean tragedy and early modern systems of regulation through the vocabulary of observation. More specifically, both the theater and early modern regulation place the body in situations where it becomes legible before an audience attempting to form an understanding about the meaning of behavior through visual signs. Indeed, in his book *Discipline and Punish,* Michel Foucault examines early modern systems of regulation in a chapter called “The Spectacle of the Scaffold,” highlighting how early modern torture as a mechanism of regulation functions as perverse theater. Within the early modern penal system, torture becomes a ritualized and public spectacle that encodes the status of guilt or innocence:

> It is an element in the liturgy of punishment and meets two demands. It must mark the victim: it is intended, either by the scar it leaves on the body, or by the spectacle that accompanies it, to brand the victim with infamy; even if its function is to purge the crime, torture does not reconcile; it traces around or, rather, on the very body of condemned man signs that must not be effaced; in any case, men will remember public exhibition, the pillory, torture and pain duly observed.

(Foucault 34)

Both the marking of the body and the public nature of the torture function to establish a mechanism of regulation. In this regard, torture writes several scripts of guilt or
innocence that are “inscribed” on the body (Foucault 35). In other words, guilt or innocence becomes legible on the body—meaning that the signs produced by torture are subject to scrutiny by observers. To this point, the public nature of torture brings into focus the importance of an audience as a force of observation. In Foucault’s model, observation works to interpret the body under scrutiny and becomes the mechanism through which regulation is most easily sustained. More specifically, the public nature of torture also serves as a reminder to those watching of the potential pain that results from regulatory transgressions. Thus, early modern torture as a form of regulation highlights the ways that observation is used to interpret bodies under scrutiny, as well as how the act of observation itself can also serve as a regulation force.

According to Foucault, the way in which this model of observation places the body under scrutiny ultimately reaffirms the centralized power of the state. Foucault argues that confession, often produced by torture and an essential part of the early modern penal system, works to produce truth (Foucault 39). As part of the ritual of torture, Foucault explains how confession after torture takes away the secret nature of judicial investigation and hearings to create a “mechanism” for determining truth (Foucault 39). In several ways, then, torture serves as both the investigation and the punishment. As Foucault writes:

In the practice of torture, pain, confrontation and truth were bound together: they work together on the patient’s body. The search for truth through judicial torture was certainly a way of obtaining evidence. The most serious of all—the confession of the guilty person, but it was also the battle, and this victory of one adversary over the other, that ‘produced’ truth according to a ritual. (Foucault 41)
There exists an underlying assumption in Foucault’s model that the body not only reveals guilt, but also reveals encoded broader political and social beliefs due to the public and ceremonial nature of the torture since “punishment is also a way of exacting retribution that is both personal and political,” wielding the full power of the sovereign (Foucault 48). Torture, as such, works as a spectacle to demonstrate the absolute strength of centralized power, and those watching become complicit in reaffirming that same power that tortures or executes its citizens. The “pomp” associated with the ritual of torture is ultimately a “triumph of the law” (Foucault 49). In presenting a model of observation linked to regulation and power, Foucault helps us to understand how early modern observation in the penal system is used to sanction and reaffirm state power.

Thus, Foucault’s model of spectatorship and observation as it relates to the early modern penal system is indeed useful since it demonstrates how early modern regulation is tied to making the body legible under observation. However, even though we use the same language of spectacle to describe both the theater and the early modern legal system, I believe it is also critical to ask whether these two systems produce the same types of observations from their spectators.

As we’re considering different types of early modern observation with respect to the period’s mechanisms of regulation, theater is especially a useful art form to consider, especially given the relationship between early modern audiences and theatrical space. Several early modern accounts of theatergoing describe the audience as spectators—highlighting how the audience responds to visual cues based on the representation of the actors. For example, a letter from Henry Jackson in 1610 describes watching *Othello* from the audience:
Moreover, that famous Desdemona killed before us by her husband, although she always her whole part supremely well, yet when she was killed she was even more moving, for when she fell back upon the bed she implored *the pity of the spectators* by her face. (Dillon 86, emphasis added)

This quote aptly describes the emotional impact of theater on its audiences, as well as the general power of acting. Jackson does not describe the impact of the language or dialogue between the characters, but rather the power of the actor’s face as a visual cue to solicit a reaction from the audience. In her book, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early Modern Theater*, Janette Dillon uses this quotation along with others to discuss how audiences behave during tragedies. Dillon argues that “it is unlikely that the companies would have performed anything other than comedies and rabble-rousing heroics if audiences had not been capable of listening and responding to the full variety of plays that were in fact on offer” Dillon 86). Given the nature of Henry Jackson’s letter, we know that audiences responded to the theater in very specific ways, including through the use of visual cues given by the actors’ bodies. Thus, implicit in Dillon’s argument is this broader idea about *how* people experience the theater as spectators responding to observable moments on the stage.¹ Spectatorship as a form of observation helps us to understand that observation is not simply the act of seeing something, but rather requires a sort of active engagement with, or response to, the visual signs on the part of the observer.

¹ To this end, the *Oxford English Dictionary* has two definitions of spectator that are of worth for this paper. The first can be traced back to use in 1586, “a person who sees, or looks on at, some scene or occurrence; a beholder, onlooker, observer” (“spectator” *OED* defn 1.a). Four years later, there is evidence that the word was used to describe the theater specifically: “a person who is present at, and has a view or sight of, anything in the nature of a show or spectacle” (“spectator” *OED* defn 2.a).
Dillon further discusses the relationship between actors and audiences, arguing that Jacobean spatial features for viewing were “shared, open and interactive” between the audience and the actors, meaning that early modern drama straddled two worlds: the real world and the world of fiction (Dillon 89). The “fiction” of the play is located through the use of costumes and props, as well as through spatial use of the stage—the further from the audience a character “the more easily he is perceived as inhabiting that fictional world” (Dillon 89). Conversely, the actor loses his fictional markers when he moves closer to the edge of a performance scene or does not use props, such as during a monologue or soliloquy (Dillon 89). Props, costumes, and staging all share categorization as visible cues that are subject to observation by the audience. Indeed, the visual cues of theater uniquely situate the audience as an interpretive force within the shared space. By breaking down this distinction between the real world and the fictional world of the play through visual representation, it seems that early modern theater does not and cannot serve as strict escapism. In other words, the interactive space between the actors and the audience shape theatrical observation beyond the appreciation of a fictional story.

Instead, the relationship between the audience and the actors begins to demonstrate how theatrical observation functions as an interpretive tool.

In his book *The Shakespearean Stage*, Andrew Gurr similarly explores the relationship between the audience and actors in early modern theaters. He argues that early modern drama relies upon moments of spectacle to convince audiences that the action on the stage is “real” through using “special [effects] designed to intensify the inherent comedy or tragedy of its occasion” (Gurr 184). In other words, the visual and observable moments of spectacle are supposed to convince the audience of the play’s
realism despite also revealing the highly constructed nature of the drama. There indeed seems to be a relationship between the visual representation of actors, costumes, props, and, of course, spectacle in establishing the fictional portions of the play, while also maintaining the theater as a shared space between actor and audience. Moreover, this tension between visual representations of fiction and realism relate to the purpose of the theater and the audience. Since the action performed on the stage is not done in an escapist manner but rather acknowledges its connection to the world of the audience, it seems that the theater can serve as a tool of critique—allowing for its plays to hold more meaning that simply plot and storytelling. In turn, the spectators then are similarly tasked with understanding these plays through a critical lens and perhaps turning into forces of criticism themselves. Thus, this deconstruction of the fictitious and the real through a visual and observable manner in early modern drama demonstrates how theatrical observation works as an interpretative and critical force.

Although these characteristics apply more broadly to early modern drama, I argue that the spectacular nature associated with Jacobean drama also demonstrates how theatrical observation works not only as a mechanism of interpretation, but also as one of critique. Similarly, Anja Müller-Wood describes Jacobean tragedy as a theater of excess with “its bloody bombast, hyperactive, emotionality and graphic violence” (9). In a given Jacobean drama, we will most certainly find “a surfeit of blood, skulls and swordfights, mixed with a not inconsiderable amount of psychological terror” (Müller-Wood 10). In her book *Theater of Excess: New Perspectives on Jacobean Tragedy*, Müller-Wood gives a history of criticism on Jacobean tragedy that accounts for the genre’s aesthetic and theatrical excess (13). According to Müller-Wood, scholars writing in the mid 1960s “set
out to explain the excess of Jacobean tragedy as an expression of deeply-felt morality on the part of the playwrights” (13). In reaction to the moralizing scholarship, critics such as J.W. Lever in his book *The Tragedy of State* decided to “[foreground] the political quality of the plays’ excess” (Müller-Wood 13). In her reading of the aesthetic excess of Jacobean tragedy, Müller-Wood attempts to break down this dichotomy between viewing the excess as representative of a moral or political plight through using the works of Foucault and Lacan as interpretative lens to understand both the subversive and psychological aspects of Jacobean tragedy. As John Huntington describes in a review of Müller-Wood’s work, “her general thesis is that by depicting and acknowledging excess, whether of abscene or of surplus, the drama allows the author and the audience to gain power over those excesses and explore them at their leisure” (686). The excess or spectacle associated with Jacobean tragedy creates ideal moments when the role of the audiences as observers allows for them to be critically and interpretatively engaged.

In addition to visual excess, Jacobean tragedy also differs from other forms of early modern drama due to the rise of the indoor playhouses, which uniquely configures theatrical observation. In his essay “Why the Theatres Changed,” John H. Astington

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2 For example, Jonathan Dollimore’s *Radical Tragedies* “reads early modern revenge tragedies as staging the last resort of alienated individuals creating destructive sub-cultures ‘dedicated to revenge’” (Müller-Wood 13-4). Similarly, Francis Barker “links the excesses of early modern drama with the violence of early modern culture, suggesting that the violence of these plays reflected the violence of the Elizabethan and Jacobean crown” Müller-Wood 13-4).

3 Müller-Wood uses Foucault’s model of discursive containment to argue that “by putting violence, bloodshed and terror on the stage, early modern playwrights demonstrated their ability to rein them in…As I will suggest, Jacobean tragedy is less a mirror of fixed moral positions than a stage for the evolution of these positions; rather than teaching a specific morality, it illustrates how morality is achieved through the strategic representation of its immoral other. The problematic implication of this dialectic is obvious: discursively taming excess, these plays reveal that the moral messages they propose rely upon an unsettling underside” (19). In other words, Müller-Wood uses Foucault to understand the process by which a moral discourse is shaped through a theatrical imagination.

4 Both *The Duchess of Malfi* and the *The Changeling* were performed inside indoor playhouses, the Second Blackfriars and The Phoenix theater, respectively (Dustagheer 254, 257).
primarily gives social reasons for the rise of the indoor theater—ranging from the expansion of the city of London and increase in “civic wealth and power arising from foreign trade reached new heights,” particularly in the west end of London where many of the first indoor playhouses were built (Astonin 26). These indoor playhouses were smaller—roughly a third of the size of the globe by modern estimates—and had seats for the entire audience that were charged at a significantly higher price (Astonin 27). But more importantly, there were indeed features of the indoor theater that affected performances. In addition to the smaller size of the theater and the more expensive seating, the indoor theater also allowed for productions to experiment with lighting and musical accompaniment, which contributed to the theatrical nature of Jacobean tragedy.

The indoor theater also changed the ways in which the audiences interacted with or observed the actors. In her essay “The Audience of the Indoor Theater,” Penelope Woods examines how audiences engaged with dead, female bodies on the stage. Wood argues that “this different, voyeuristic regime of looking produces a different affect. Voyeuristic looking in a small space in greater proximity to the actor’s body, I suggest, has a more intense quality than in the amphitheatres” (Woods 154). Indeed, Woods uses the same letter from Henry Jackson observing the death of Desdemona in Othello to argue that “Jackson’s account…perhaps proposes a complex condition of proximate voyeurism instantiated at the indoor theater, in which doing certain things (rather than saying things) might move an audience to tears” given its proximity to the stage to fully engage with the actors and their bodies (Woods 156). In other words, observing actors in

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5 Both The Duchess of Malfi and The Changeling depict the dead bodies of the female protagonist on the stage. Indeed, the deaths of both Beatrice and The Duchess—along with the deaths of other female characters—are performed on the stage and serve as climatic and moralizing points for the two plays.
the indoor theater allowed for greater proximity and intimacy between actors and audience—meaning that the actors’ bodies could fully observed by the audience through an emotional connection.

Although the early modern penal system and early modern theater share a similar vocabulary based in spectatorship, the interpretation of bodies, and the role of the audience, these two systems ultimately present very different understandings of observation. For Foucault, observation itself works as a form of regulation that forces us to read the body in terms of the signs it produces. Although the body is placed under a type of scrutiny, there is little interpretation to the meanings of the signs produced by the body. Instead, those engaged in observing the spectacle of the scaffold are reminded of the power of the state, and the body itself becomes a sign of that power. Observation as regulation, then, reinforces the mechanisms of power that force the body to be subject to interpretation of potentially arbitrary signs of guilt or innocence. Similarly, theatrical observation places the body under scrutiny. However, the medium of theater seems to allow for interpretation and even critique of what is being observed. Although theatrical observation could represent authorial power as Boose suggests, I am more inclined to view the theater as form of decentralized power that takes into consideration the role of the playwright, the actors, and the audience in producing a given staging of a show. Thus, the visual signs produced by the theater can create potentially endless significance.

Below I argue that both The Duchess of Malfi by John Webster and The Changeling by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley examine this relationship between regulation as observation and theatrical observation through the plays’ uses of spectacle to depict the regulation of female sexuality.
Both *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling* feature strong female leads who transgress the prescribed bounds of female sexuality. In *The Duchess of Malfi*, the Duchess secretly remarries and starts a new family against her brothers’ wishes, while in *The Changeling* Beatrice-Joanna loses her virginity to her father’s servant as a form of payment for the murder of her fiancé so she can marry a man of her own choosing. In both of these examples, the female characters transgress the prescribed bounds of female sexuality by removing patriarchal figures from the process of deciding their marriages. In turn, both of these women are able to have a sense of agency—however limited in actuality once they are punished for their transgressions—over their sexual and reproductive choices. The themes of female sexuality and patriarchy are explicit in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling*, as evident by the copious amount of scholarly work completed through a feminist lens.

Feminist scholarship related to *The Duchess of Malfi* tends to focus on the power dynamics associated with the Duchess and questions the amount of agency that she exhibits throughout the play. Theodora A. Jankowski was among the first to analyze the Duchess as a political figure rather than a victimized, private figure. Indeed, this shift is significant for she reads the Duchess’ secret marriage as a threat to the broader social and political scene rather than simply disobeying her brothers. In her essay “Defining/Confining the Duchess: Negotiating the Female Body in John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi,*” Jankowski argues that the Duchess slips between embodying the body natural of a private widow and the body politic associated with her political position as a duchess—indicating both the public and the private significance of her decision to marry.
not only against her brothers’ wishes but also wed a man beneath her social station (229).

Through controlling her own marriage, the Duchess is able to subvert marriage as the major mechanism of regulating female sexuality and “legitimizing the means of inheritance between patriarchal families and governments” (Jankowski 234). Jankowski views this subversion on two levels:

First, in her decision to keep her marriage ‘private’ and separate from her ‘public’ identity as a ruler; second, in her unconventional concept of what a marriage between a man and a woman might be like. This marriage—both in choosing a virtuous husband and the ceremony itself—represents the major conflict between the Duchess’s natural and political bodies in the play. In actively choosing her own husband in marrying him in a way that scorns accepted legal practices, the Duchess reinforces her sense of self as a political person. (234)

Jankowski’s argument is indeed significant, for it highlights *The Duchess of Malfi* as a play not only describing family dynamics but also portraying the consequences of female subversion on political power.

The second area of focus dedicated to criticism on *The Duchess of Malfi* is Ferdinand’s obsessive and incestuous regulation of his sister’s sexual acts. In his essay “Incest and Ideology,” Frank Whigham argues that most readings of *The Duchess of Malfi* apply two types of analysis when discussing Ferdinand, “psychological inquiry (what are Ferdinand’s motives?) and moral evaluation (what is the status of the duchess’ marriage to Antonio” (263). Instead, Whigham turns to question the relationship between Ferdinand and the Duchess—arguing that we should read their relationship in terms of anthropological notions of incest (263). Essentially, Whigham argues that Ferdinand’s
incestuous desire of his sister is representative of his desire to only associate with the upper class and a fear of mixing with the non-noble class:

The taboo enjoins transfamilial bonding: when Ferdinand flouts the taboo he violently refuses such relations. His categorical pride drives him to a defiant extreme: he narrows his kind from class to family, and affirms it as absolutely superior, ideally alienated from the infections of interactives social life. The duchess then becomes a symbol, flooded with affect of his own radical purity.

(266)

Importantly, Whinghman’s project demonstrates the political impact of incestuous desire and reveals incest as a potentially perverse mechanism of patriarchal control over class structure.

Second, feminist scholarship on The Changeling circles around Beatrice’s sexuality and the consequences of her transgressive acts. Jennifer Panek is among the first to explore the relationship between female sexuality and shame in The Changeling. In her essay “Shame and Pleasure in The Changeling, Panek argues,

The idea of finding erotic enjoyment, for both men and women, in female sexual shame was very much available to an early modern audience…while The Changeling works to produce the audience’s shame-induced titillation at the moment of Beatrice-Joanna’s imminent defloration, it revisits this enjoyment with a devastating critical difference, to unsettle the audience’s acceptance of the moral order that Alsemero declares resorted by Beatrice-Joanna’s shameful death. (192)

Through examining shame, Panek offers a unique avenue to understand the impact of intensely regulating female sexuality. More specifically, her reading of The Changeling
demonstrates how “a culture that produces female shame by frightening female desire and arousal with prohibitions will end up transmuting its own anxieties” about the pleasure that other characters and the audiences receive from watching female shame.

The virginity test scenes in *The Changeling* also provide ample opportunity for feminist critique. Douglas Duncan gives us a foundational reading of how *The Changeling* demonstrates that virginity is an over-valued social concept. In his essay appropriately titled “Virginity in *The Changeling*,” he argues that the play treats virginity as a religious ideal “inseparable from virtue and holy marriage” (Duncan). Duncan uses biblical allegory to frame his reading of virginity, arguing that we can see similarities between Beatrice’s loss of her virginity to the fall of Adam and Eve. Ultimately, he argues that virginity in *The Changeling* serves as a “study of religious delusions leading to tragedy,” essentially labeling virginity itself as a delusion (Duncan). Although grounded in a reading based in scriptural interpretation, Duncan’s analysis is useful because it points how the play seeks criticize and delegitimize virginity.

This project’s readings of *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling* falls within these lines of feminist criticism. Broadly speaking, below I expand upon these readings of patriarchal power and incest and female sexuality and virginity in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling*, respectively, by giving consideration to the theatrical form and style of Jacobean tragedy. The spectacle of Jacobean tragedy presents a unique opportunity to understand the relationship between observation and the regulation of

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6 He discusses the difference between virginity in Protestantism and Catholicism, arguing that “With regard to virginity, Protestant and Catholic teaching diverged in that the former stressed the exercise of moral self-discipline involved in restating the flesh, while the latter laid its emphasis on the preservation of a spiritual state akin to innocence” (Duncan).
female sexuality, since spectacle highlights the visual nature of theater. As we saw with theatrical observation and regulation as observation, observation as an epistemology has many different modes, which is reflected in the observation portrayed in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling*. More specifically, I argue that *The Duchess of Malfi* uses a Calvinist model of observation that uses the interpretation of visual signs not only as a mechanism of regulation, but also as a method of maintaining the supremacy of power structures. On the other hand, *The Changeling* uses a Baconion model of observation that privileges observation as a form of skepticism and critique. However, looming in the background in both of these plays—despite their difference in depicting observation in relationship to the regulation of female sexuality—is the role of theatrical observation that invites the interpretation of the audience as integral to the theater-making process, giving the audience’s observation a status of power.
Chapter One: Calvinist Observation in The Duchess of Malfi

As the Duchess of Malfi opens, Ferdinand asks Bosola to become “an intelligencer” and to inform him of “What suitors do solicit” the titular Duchess for her hand in marriage (Webster 1.1.167, 1.1.160). Ferdinand’s request for Bosola to serve as a spy asserts the primacy of surveillance for the regulation of female sexuality within the microcosm of the family. The motives of the Duchess’ brothers for hiring Bosola—the Cardinal’s former servant who spent time in jail for murder—are quite explicit: Ferdinand and the Cardinal do not want their widowed sister to remarry in order to maintain legal power and authority over her estate. Indeed, Ferdinand and the Cardinal, with their respective positions within the nobility and Roman Catholic Church, represent overt sanctioned, systematic patriarchal power.

In her essay “Alice Arden’s Crime,” Catherine Belsey argue the liberal humanist family of the seventeenth century becomes an ideal mechanism of regulation because it operates in a less visible manner. The family, in other words, appears to be apolitical and private, when in reality it offers a microcosm of political and social orders (Belsey 145-6). Belsey focuses primarily on the ways in which marriage regulates female sexuality. As she argues, marriage during the Middle Ages in England was considered an institution of regulation and surveillance of sexuality through its implementation of monogamy (Belsey 138). Later, in the eighteenth century, various Anglican courts tried to regulate sexuality and marriage, but not without difficulty since the divorce debate attempted to liberate marriage by removing God and salvation from the discourse to define marriage as a civil union (Belsey 139).7 These conflicting meanings of marriage could not be

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7According to the Anglican and absolutist position on marriage, marriage “was indissoluble, that couples were joined by God for avoidance of fornication and the procreation of children, and there was no remedy
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separated from the realm of politics. As Besley writes, “both sides make explicit the parallel between the family and the state, marriage and the monarch” (Belsey 143). Ultimately, the evolution of the liberal-humanist family has come to represent a “mechanism of regulation” and replaces the ecclesiastical courts in a “less visible” manner (Belsey 145). As a result, the private family becomes the ultimate mechanism of surveillance—both internalized and invisible (Belsey 147). In The Duchess of Malfi, the micro/macrocosm relationship between the family and the political sphere becomes only more apparent through Ferdinand and the Cardinal’s dual roles in the play as brothers and public members of the ideological apparatus given their respective statuses as a duke and a cardinal. In other words, in addition to existing in the play as the Duchess’ brothers, they also exist as statesmen and clergy representing overt examples of patriarchal power. A main theme of The Duchess of Malfi, then, is examining how the family can serve as a regulatory force when women transgress the prescribed bounds of female sexuality. In the case of the Duchess, we can locate her own subversion in her decision to marry Antonio both in secret and against her brothers’ wishes—removing her brothers from their adopted patriarchal role of family planning. Upon learning of the Duchess’ secret marriage and secret family—the Duchess and Antonio have children at this point in the play—Ferdinand abandons the secret and silent regulation from Bosola’s observation and resorts to torturing her as a form of both punishment and enforcement.

These scenes where Ferdinand psychologically tortures the Duchess rely heavily upon spectacle and theatrics, making them inherently visual scenes that lend themselves

but patience for marital disharmony or discontent” (Belsey 140). On the other hand, the Puritans defined marriage “as a civil covenant, a thing indifferent to salvation” dependent upon Consent rather than the power of God (Belsey 140).
well to observation. In these torture scenes, *The Duchess of Malfi* explores the role of observation as a mechanism of regulation. More specifically, Jean Calvin’s framework of observation serves as an ideal lens through which to analyze how regulatory power of observation can maintain patriarchal control both in the family apparatus and more broadly at the level of the state. More specifically, the Calvinist model of observation centers on the interpretation of signs for visual discovery of God’s judgement, meaning that Calvinist observation is in service of maintaining a world order where God has the ultimate judgement on salvation. Indeed, a large component of Calvinist observation is also understanding how to interpret signs actively and correctly as well as how to self-regulate to maintain a good life and encounter signs of salvation. In *The Duchess of Malfi*, however, we are presented with a perverse mode of Calvinist observation that not only uses the interpretation of visual signs in service of regulation and maintaining of order, but also demonstrates how regulatory power can be abused in a devastating fashion. Moreover, by analyzing the spectacular torture scenes of the play through Calvin’s framework of observation, we see how the theater serves as an ideal medium through which to understand how the private and invisible microcosm of the family can reveal patriarchal power as a system that sanctions abuses such as incest, torture, and tyranny.

*Calvinist Observation: Interpretation of Signs and Omniscient power*

Calvinism privileges observation as a method of discovering knowledge of God’s plans for salvation, as Calvin notes in his seminal work, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. The *Institutes* was first published in Latin in 1536, with translations into English and French in 1559. The 1559 *Institutes* also expands more fully on the Latin
edition to explain how “how to understand scripture as a whole and how to practice the Christian faith in the church and the world,” making it a sort of guidebook for how Christians should live their lives (Mckee viii). In this regard, the 1559 Institutes formally presents divine providence and predestination as two key components of Calvinist doctrine (Mckee xiii). Now widely associated with Calvinism, divine providence “relates to God’s governing of all things; that is, his deciding, or willing, or (the theological term usually used) decreeing of all things” (Balserak 84). And among God’s decreeing of all things is predestination, or that God has “chosen” the people to convert, while all others are “bound to suffer eternally in hell,” although no individual knows for certain whether they are among the elect (Balserak 12). Thus, the practice of Calvinism attempts to discern God’s will in order to know who is among the chosen. Part of this discovery process concerns preparationism or when “a person is to search inside herself for signs revealing that she is one of those whom God has predestined—signs like sorrow for sin, a willingness to stop sinning, and a desire for forgiveness” (Balserak 20). In addition to the search for inward, invisible signs, Calvinism relies heavily on visual, interpretable symbols as a way of discovering God’s judgement.

As a mode of knowledge, Calvinism primarily concerns itself with how to understand God in service of salvation—including observing visual signs as a reliable confirmation of God’s intentions. According to Calvin, people have some limited internal knowledge of God since “the Lord has breathed into all people some understanding of his Majesty” (25). However, despite “the effect of planting in our hearts some seed of religion,” both the “errors and wicked ideas” of the world and the “incomprehensible” nature of God interfere with our ability to obtain “the right knowledge” needed for
salvation (Calvin 27, 30). Interestingly, Calvin uses languages of observation to posit that God’s “essential being is concealed from us” (Calvin 30). Calvin further claims that God’s intentions are at least in part made visible through “[engraving] in each one of His works certain signs of His majesty by which He offered himself to be known by us according to our small capacity” (30). Thus, the knowledge of God required for salvation—meaning the discovery of his judgements—is directly related to seeing “notable and obvious signs” (Calvin 30). For Calvin, the visible nature of these signs is indeed important, for not only do they make God’s power “continually visible before our eyes,” (30). Thus, Calvinist observation centers on discovering and interpreting signs related to salvation.

Rather than simply noticing signs of salvation, a Calvinist mode of observation requires a direct and contemplative engagement with the signs presented. More specifically, Calvinist observation dictates not only that there is a proper way in which to engage in observation in interpreting signs, it also defends God’s omnipotence. As Calvin writes:

Particularly you cannot look around and contemplate this beautiful masterpiece of the whole world, in its breadth and width, without (in a manner of speaking) being completely blinded by the infinite abundance of light. (30)

Although these visual signs are perhaps obvious even to the untrained eye, engaging with natural signs of God’s power is not without focus and the knowledge of how to observe the world for signs of God’s salvation. In other words, even though the “beautiful masterpiece of the whole world is on display,” its observation is not passive. More specifically, the use of the word “contemplate,” as chosen by the translator, in this
passage indeed is significant given its definition: “To look at with continued attention, gaze upon, view, observe” (“contemplate” OED defn.2). The interaction with nature described by Calvin is both active and deliberate, and it requires the knowledge to observe the world in a particular way. Observation is not merely looking at the world, but also a tool for understanding how God has arranged the world in such a magnificent manner. In other words, part of this active contemplation associated with observation also seems to include discovering God’s immense power over an individual’s salvation and the world. Indeed, to this point, Calvin suggests that observing God for the sake of having full and complete knowledge of his power would blind us, further pointing to God’s immense capabilities. More specifically, this type of active observation to discover signs of salvation is in service of maintaining a specific vision of order. In other words, I argue that Calvinist observation reaffirms both salvation as a practice as well as God’s power to have the ultimate judgement on salvation—making Calvinist observation a tool of maintaining a hegemonic and patriarchal world view.

A Calvinist mode of observation helps us to understand the nature of visual spectacle and forms of observation in early modern drama. The spectacular nature of Jacobean tragedy in particular heightens the visual components of theater—foregrounding spectacle as a medium for interpreting visual signs in in a contemplative and deliberate manner on behalf of both the characters on the stage and the audience. Furthermore, the intensely visual nature of spectacle tends take invisible forces—such as power structures and systems of regulation—and make them visual in a similar way to the manner in which God’s power revealed is to the world through the obvious physical beauty of the natural world. More specifically, we can locate Calvinist observation
through the ways in which *The Duchess of Malfi* uses the interpretation of visual signs in service of upholding systems of power to create cycles of containment. However, this form of theater as revealing power dynamics not only puts them on display, but also allows for us as the audience to critique how power structures can be abused. Thus, the use of observation in *The Duchess of Malfi* is two-fold. First, the Calvinist mode of observation reveals systems of power. Second—and most importantly—the nature of the theater as an interactive art form between audience and actors also demonstrates how the contemplative observation for which Calvin advocates can also serve as a mechanism of critique against systems of power that are not only subject to abuse, but perhaps themselves are inherently tyrannical.

*Torturing the Duchess: Revealing Patriarchal Power as Tyrannical and Abusive*

The Duchess’ brothers—particularly Ferdinand— are obsessed with regulating their sister’s sexual acts. This obsession with the Duchess’ sexuality not only links patriarchal control to the regulation of female sexuality, but ultimately reveals how patriarchal power is rooted in abuse and tyrannical control over women’s bodies. When Ferdinand explains to the Duchess why she cannot remarry, his language becomes increasingly violent and sexual. Ferdinand threatens the Duchess by saying “you are my sister; / This was my father’s poniard”—an obvious phallic symbol—to ensure that Duchess understands the consequences for transgressing Ferdinand’s regulation (Webster 1.3.38-9). We can read Ferdinand’s threatening of his sister with a phallic symbol as a threat of sexual violence. In threatening to effectively rape his sister and his controlling of her sexual acts, it makes sense to understand Ferdinand’s relationship to his sister as an incestuous one.
Interestingly, it is not until the Cardinal exits the scene that Ferdinand wields their father’s sword against his sister—making this a private moment between Ferdinand and the Duchess. Although this threat of sexual violence happens as a preemptive form of regulation within the family, the incestuous nature of Ferdinand’s advances prevents me from classifying this within Belsey’s model of familial regulation. Even though this interaction is private within the family, Ferdinand’s threat does not exist as an invisible mechanism of regulation, as is the case with Belsey’s formulation of the family as a regulatory microcosm. Instead, this form of regulation is visible and overt, bringing us to the role of observation in this scene. In making regulation observable, the sword acts as a visible sign for the Duchess to interpret as a threat if she commits any sexual transgression against her brother’s wishes, thereby reinforcing Ferdinand’s patriarchal power. Furthermore, as a form of Calvinist observation, the use of the sword as a visible form of regulation simultaneously condemns the Duchess’s transgressions while sanctioning Ferdinand’s incestuous and violent desires as necessary to regulate female sexuality within the realm of patriarchal power. Indeed, this threat of torture from Ferdinand is similar to Foucault’s understanding of the spectacle of the scaffold as a place where the body of tortured represents and sanctions violence in service of maintaining an absolute and centralized monarchial—or in this case patriarchal—power.

More specifically, Ferdinand couches his violent and incestuous threat with an outward and public consequence. Ferdinand warns that the Duchess will be shamed by wearing “a visor and a mask,” articles of clothing traditionally associated with women who frequent carnivals and the theater, places where sexual moral codes are consistently broken (Webster 1.3.41). Through threatening to mark the Duchess as sexually
transgressive and, as a result, of a lower class, we can understand the importance of the Duchess maintaining a moral image for her political position. This threat of forcing the Duchess to wear a visor and a mask demonstrates how the issue of female sexuality is both a private and public concern. If the two threats ever happened, the Duchess would encounter the sword in private between herself and Ferdinand, while wearing specific dress would mark her as transgressive in the public eye. Indeed, both the visor and the mask are visible signs that fit within the Calvinist mode of observation that use signs in service of regulation. Given the public consequences for transgressive sexual behavior, at first glance it makes sense that Ferdinand would be concerned with protecting his sister’s reputation and image. As the patriarch of his family, protecting the reputation of the Duchess would be part of his duties and within the norm of patriarchal power. In other words, patriarchal power can be legitimize as nonviolent—after all, the Duchess would only have to wear a visor and mask as her punishment. The public threat removes the bodily harm. It seems, then, that public nature of patriarchal power seeks to legitimize itself, while patriarchal power in private reveals itself as abusive, tyrannical, and incestuous—all of which we can consider as transgressive attributes.

Ferdinand’s threat of violence becomes a reality when he psychologically tortures the Duchess for marrying Antonio and having his children. This climatic scene between the siblings is riddled with lighting cues and intense props, which point to the use of spectacle in Ferdinand’s torture. In this scene, there are two main props: a wax hand and wax figures of the Duchess’ family. In the reality of the play, the wax hand is meant to figure as Antonio’s hand, while the wax figures exist as wax figures that Ferdinand pretends are the dead bodies of the Duchess’ children and Antonio. The visual cues for
this scene are complex and are deserving of time to describe what exactly is happening on the stage. To set the stage: when the Duchess first enters the scene, Ferdinand tells her that “this darkness suits you well,” indicating that this scene is happening in the dark and that the characters cannot see each other (4.1.31). Ferdinand tells the Duchess that he has come “to seal [his] peace” with her through offering a hand for her to kiss (4.1.43). At this point, due to the darkness of the scene, the Duchess believes that she is kissing Antonio’s hand, as Ferdinand tells her that she has “vowed much love” to the hand and gave “the ring upon ’t,” referring to the Duchess’ marriage and Antonio’s wedding ring (4.1.44-5). In actuality Ferdinand “gives her a dead man’s hand,” as directed by the stage directions (4.1). And as the Duchess “affectionately [kisses] it,” Ferdinand tells the Duchess to “bury the print of it in your heart” and that she can have both the ring and “the heart too” (4.1.50). Ferdinand exclaims “let her have lights enough” after the Duchess remarks that the hand is cold—revealing the dead man’s hand and the wax figures of her family and signaling that this scene is the psychological torture of the Duchess through visible signs (4.1.54).

In his essay “Light and Darkness in the Indoor Jacobean Theatre,” Martin White explains how both the Blackfriars theater and the Globe would have used different techniques to bring the stage to darkness and then reveal the action using light. White argues that The Duchess of Malfi was meant to be performed in an indoor theater given that the detailed use of light and darkness to create states that not only enhance the atmosphere of scenes but also reflect the shifting emotional moods of the play, so
enriching the theatrical experience for the audience in many ways unavailable on the daylit stage of the Globe. (132)

In order to achieve the necessary darkness for this torture scene, White explains that in between the third and fourth acts, candles in the chandeliers would have been extinguished, and the chandeliers would have been hoisted into a higher position (134). The shutters near the stage would have been closed and light outside would already be fading at 3:45 p.m., the start time of the fourth act; at the beginning of the fourth act, Bosola extinguishes and removes the candles on and near the stage on orders from Ferdinand (White 134). As White explains, “the stage will now not only appear, but of course actually be, darker than at any point of the play thus far” (134). Due to the near darkness on the stage, the audience would be in the same position as the Duchess: unaware that she is kissing a severed hand. When Ferdinand allows for light to reveal his diabolical plan, White argues that “a torch is used here, no doubt, not only because of its ability to focus the attention of specific things on stage, illumination them surrounded by darkness, but also because its intensity fits the violence and horror of these moments” (134-5).

In this torture scene—assuming that its performance in an indoor theater—the audience and the Duchess are aligned in their roles as Calvinist observers and experience the same shock upon realizing that Ferdinand is holding a severed hand. The light’s function as a revealing force has two purposes: to show us both the severed hand and the

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8 When *The Duchess of Malfi* was performed at the Globe, “it provided an example of how a play might be radically changed depending on its venue” (White 135). Unable to plunge the stage and its audience into darkness given the nature of an outdoor theater during the day, the Globe instead would use instruments to signify the darkness along with verbal references (White 136). As White argues, the audience at the Globe “where the audience could presumably see what Ferdinand was doing, they would observe the cruelty enacted upon her” rather than experience the same shock as the Duchess in revealing the wax bodies and the dead hand (136).
true nature of patriarchal power as abusive and tyrannical. As the Duchess kisses the hand in the dark, Ferdinand asks the Duchess to pour her heart and love into the hand and its wedding ring. But once light is added to the scene and all parties involved see the severed hand, we retroactively understand Ferdinand’s speech as a parody of wedding vows—signaling how Ferdinand uses incestuous desire to torture and punish the Duchess for her transgressions. If we take a moment, it would be helpful to envision how this scene would play on the stage: the Duchess is caressing and kissing a severed hand being held in her brother’s own hand. Thus, by extension, the Duchess is caressing and kissing her brother’s hand and his vows refer to himself and his sister. Indeed, the severed hand becomes a visual symbol of both Ferdinand’s incestuous desire and Ferdinand’s regulatory power, since he is torturing the Duchess for disobeying his orders. In other words, upon observing the hand, both the Duchess and the audience are aware that it serves as a visual form of torture similar to Foucault’s spectacle of the scaffold. Both Calvinist observation and Foucault’s observation as regulation allow us to understand the hand as a visual symbol of Ferdinand’s power. But unlike Foucault’s model of observation as regulation, the torture in this scene is done in private, and the use of lighting to create spectacle demonstrates how patriarchal power itself is transgressive through the use of torture, abuse, and incest.⁹

In addition to torturing the Duchess with the severed hand, Ferdinand also displays wax figures of the Duchess children and Antonio, which he hopes will trick her into thinking that her entire secret and illicit family is dead. Similar to the use of lighting,

⁹ Ferdinand is not the only male character who demonstrates the transgressive qualities of patriarchal power through the regulation of female sexuality. The Cardinal’s sexual relationship and murder of his mistress, Julia, provides another example of how patriarchal power reveals itself as abusive and tyrannical through torturing female bodies.
the role of the wax figures as props also highlights the spectacle of the torture scene. But rather than highlight Calvinist observation and observation as regulation, the wax figures especially point to the role of theatrical observation in the play. Indeed, wax is an interesting medium for the fake bodies.\textsuperscript{10} In her article “Wax Magic and \textit{The Duchess of Malfi},” Lynn Maxwell explains that “wax’s ability to mimic both the appearance and feel of human flesh led to its use in anatomy sculptures during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” (34). Maxwell further argues that the wax figures ultimately affirm Ferdinand’s power “since he need to actually catch [the Duchess’] family and execute them to destroy her” (40). Thus, this use of spectacle is indeed a deceptive one, and the Duchess and the audience learn at different moments in the play that corpses are just wax figures. As Maxwell argues, the wax figures highlight the artificiality of the scene:

To the extent that we sympathize with the plights of characters and mourn their deaths, we collapse together the actors playing and the characters being played, repeatedly forgetting that we are watching fiction. Indeed, moments when playwrights draw attention to the artificiality of their spectacle are noteworthy precisely because they rupture the illusion created on stage. (50)

In rupturing the illusion created on stage, the role of the wax figures uniquely draws the audience’s attention in a critical manner in a moment of theatrical observation. The wax figures demonstrate how theatrical representations can create meaning in a complicated way. More specifically, theatrical observation demonstrates how there can be multiple ways of understanding visual signs such the wax figures, including symbolic of the

\textsuperscript{10} However, it remains unclear whether productions of \textit{The Duchess of Malfi} would actually have access to wax figures, which were an expensive medium of art to be commissioned. Maxwell suggests that “the wax sculptures would have been played by actors in exactly the same way that corpses would have been” (50).
Duchess’s grief and transgression and representative of Ferdinand’s unwieldy and incestuous power. This form of theatrical observation, then, creates a dynamic understanding of theatrical representation.

Indeed, Calvinist observation and theatrical observation can support one another in understanding how *The Duchess of Malfi* patriarchal power reveals itself as transgressive through the regulation of female sexuality. Despite revealing the transgressive characteristics of patriarchal power, *The Duchess of Malfi* ends in a corrective measure that is hopeful of the ability of the state to work in a “normal” regulatory fashion. The last monologue of the play delivered by Delio—a courtier who was not involved in the mess between the siblings—attempts to restore patriarchal power as simply a force of non-corrupt regulatory power. After the murder of Ferdinand and the Cardinal, the son of the Duchess and Antonio is brought to the stage: he is now an only child without any parents, thus removing the possibility of incest. In removing the possibility for incestuous torture, it seems that the son would not have the same opportunity as his uncle to abuse patriarchal power in the privacy of his home. Delio wants “to establish this young hopeful gentleman / In ‘s mother’s right,” meaning that the son will inherit his mother’s station and position (Webster 5.4.8-11). This establishes the son who, too, will participate within the system that sanctions patriarchal power.

On the stage, the son becomes a visible sign that—in keeping with Calvinist observation—represents total and omniscient systematic power. This last visual on stage is supposed to be a hopeful one. The three siblings and Bosola are dead, and the rest of the court seeks normalcy after so much death—and the son indeed is meant to be understood as symbol of that hope. However, the use of spectacle in *The Duchess of*
*Malfi* highlights the role of the audience as an interpretative force through theatrical observation, and throughout the play’s darkest scenes the audience is aligned with the Duchess as she is tortured. But rather than simply creating sympathy for the Duchess, the use of theatrical observation allows for us to understand how Ferdinand’s transgressions are the result of unchecked patriarchal power—causing us to question the validity of continuing patrilineal lines through the Duchess’ son. Instead, the spectacle of torture overshadows this moment and we are left reminded of a system of power that is at its worst when regulating and punishing women for transgressing the boundaries of sexuality imposed by patriarchal power that allows abuse, incest, and tyranny.
Chapter Two: Baconion Observation in The Changeling

England, 1613—Frances Howard found herself at the center of a national sex scandal. During court proceedings to secure a divorce from her husband, the Earl of Essex, Howard underwent a physical examination by a group of female jurors to prove that her marriage had never been consummated and that her virginity remained intact. Despite the fact that Howard had previously submitted to the court a statement testifying to her virginity and the results of the examination declared her a virgin, many in the court remained unconvinced that Howard truly was a virgin. In fact, the entire divorce proceedings and Howard’s virginity became a matter of national importance and fascination. They brought into the spotlight the uncertainties and ambiguities of proving a woman’s status as a virgin, which was important in upper-class families for ensuring birth lines, property rights, and, of course, the validity and legality of marriage as an institution if a husband and wife could not consummate a marriage.

In her essay “Bodily Narratives and the Politics of Virginity in The Changeling and the Essex Divorce,” Sara Luttfring explains how, despite the widespread anxiety about virginity, the mechanisms for proving virginity were at best inconsistent—medical professionals did not agree if presence of the hymen was evidence of virginity and a woman’s blushing could be a sign of both sexual indecency and purity (98-9). Thus, since medical examination did not offer any type of definitive proof, a different method was needed to determine a woman’s sexual status. As Luttfring describes, people instead turned to “the assumption that a woman’s outward appearance and conduct would mirror her inward physical state” (100). Since a woman’s word could not be trusted, her virginity had to be proven through observable signs. But this method had its own
problems, for men quickly realized that women could easily fake or even perform purity (Luttfring 100).

It should come as no surprise that the Essex scandal served as deliberate inspiration for the scenes depicting virginity tests in The Changeling (Luttfring 97)—especially considering that the same anxieties surrounding the observable nature of virginity is also at the center of the play. As in the case of Howard’s own virginity test, The Changeling takes to task the regulatory power associated with observation when it comes into conflict with the power of performance and spectacle. In this chapter, I argue that Bacon’s mode of observation serves as an ideal lens through which to analyze the tension between regulation and performance in the virginity test scenes. More specifically, it seems that observation in The Changeling functions as a Baconion tool of skepticism through its demand for active experimentation and critical thought. Beatrice’s ability to perform virginity works as an observable subversion of the systems of regulation through creating an atmosphere of skepticism that questions the legitimacy of virginity as a mechanism to control female sexuality. Moreover, by analyzing the virginity test scenes through the lens of Bacon’s theory of observation, I argue that performance itself in The Changeling serves as an experimental laboratory that calls for the active questioning of regulatory systems—turning observation from an integral aspect of implementing regulation into a force of subversion.

Bacon’s Model of Observation: Skepticism and Subversion

In his book The Advancement of Learning, Bacon introduces his model of scientific observation, which includes a heavy reliance on experiential learning and the use of tools—two aspects that help us to distinguish Bacon’s model of observation. In
advocating for experiential learning, Bacon calls “upon men to sell their books and to build a furnace” (172). Books provide knowledge in a second-hand fashion, whereas the “building of a furnace” provides direct, hands-on experience that ultimately provides a builder with more knowledge about a furnace than a reader. As such, Bacon wants us to consider that books are “not only the instrumentals” for learning, and instead tools such as “spheres, globes, astrolabes, maps, and the like” are preferable because these tools require us to understand nature through observational and visual terms (172). Since the tools Bacon mentions are all related to the visual interpretation of the natural world or visual representations of the natural world itself, Bacon’s natural philosophy privileges active, visual engagement with nature, or what I will call Baconion observation.

In addition to allowing for experiential learning, the use of tools and instruments alleviates the mistakes that people are prone to make without tools since “by often seeing or hearing, we do not learn to see or hear the better” (Bacon 260). Bacon highlights this idea that natural philosophy differs from other and older forms of observation since naked eyesight cannot be trusted. The intersection between observation, experimentation, and tools is crucial for understanding how discovery functions as Bacon’s ideal mode of knowledge. Simply observing the natural world through the senses does not necessarily produce the best knowledge. As Lorraine Daston argues, Bacon explains that the use of tools allows for “reasoned experience” to take place, or for critical thinking to occur about what is observed (82). In fact, Bacon’s “artificial experiments” use the laboratory as a tool to imitate nature in order to understand nature, for “only once nature had been understood could it be commanded” (Daston 86). Thus, the use of tools not only manipulates the senses for accurate observation, but also nature to strengthen the control
over the experimental process. As Daston explains, “the language of artifice, invention, manipulation, demonstration…and casual inquiry defined the experimentum,” highlighting the importance of tools in relation to interpretation (86). Bacon’s use of tools and distrust of the senses on their own demonstrates how experimentation and observation become increasingly intertwined in Bacon’s world, since good observation needs to be supported by thoughtful and critical experiments. It seems, then, that observation and revelatory discovery would become increasingly related, too.

In addition to relying on physical instruments, Bacon also considers doubt and skepticism as tools of interpretation that work to combat human error and to advance knowledge. In this way, doubt directly relates to Bacon’s quest for discovering new knowledge rather than functioning to discount existing knowledge. As he explains:

The entry of doubts are as so many suckers or spunges to draw use of knowledge; insomuch as that which, if doubts had not proceeded, a man should never have advised but passed it over without note, by the suggestion and solicitation of doubt is made to be attended and applied. (Bacon 203)

Like a sponge, doubt absorbs knowledge and doubt has the capacity to touch all or seep into aspects of knowledge. Through this metaphor, it seems again that Bacon demonstrates not only the importance of critical engagement with the particularities of nature, but also defines doubt specifically as one form of that critical engagement. As such, doubt becomes a mode of interpretation that should be “attended and applied” to scientific observations when thinking about how particularities relate to the general. Doubt, however, is at its most useful when it “laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not … to make certain things doubtful” (Bacon 203). Doubt, then, also functions in
service to Bacon’s ultimate project of applying inductive reasoning to moments of observation to reveal knowledge. Thus, although explicit mention of observation is lacking from Bacon’s discussion about doubt, I argue the connection he makes between experimentation and observation makes them one in the same—allowing us to consider a broader definition of observation. In particular, Bacon’s observation privileges the relationship between experimentation and skepticism contributes to the ways in which observations based on experimentation, or active critical engagement, can become a subversive force.

I argue that the theater as a space of performances also privileges active engagement and observation—similar to the scientific tools of a telescope or microscope. More specifically, performative acts—the theatrical representations or moments of spectacle within plays—function as tools for us and the characters on the stage to engage in active and critical thinking about what is being portrayed on the stage. In relation to moments of regulation, the theater acts as an observational tool that helps to make mechanisms of regulation obvious when these moments typically otherwise behave like invisible forces. This form of theater as a tool of discovery is indeed subversive in the way that it challenges systems of order and the status quo—calling into question why we interpret certain bodily signs in a specific and regulatory fashion. It is in the overt moments of performativity and spectacle of the virginity test scenes in *The Changeling* that we can locate the Baconion model of observation that invites experimentation, skepticism, and ultimate subversion of the regulatory forces at play.

*The Results of Beatrice’s Tests: Virginity as Observable, Performable, and Subversive*
Throughout the play, Beatrice’s character experiences extreme cognitive dissonance if virginity is truly an observable, bodily state or, on the other hand, simply a part of what it means to identify as an upper-class woman seeking marriage. At the beginning of the play, she calls virginity “the dear companion of [her] soul” that she needs to part with “so rude and suddenly” upon marrying (1.1.185-90). Interestingly, although virginity is clearly an important part of Beatrice’s identity and perhaps religiosity with the reference to her soul, she does not view her virginity through bodily terms. In fact, her virginity almost seems like a private matter for herself and not part of the public scrutiny that we see in the Essex trial. However, upon marriage, Beatrice’s virginity is no longer just her concern, as indicated by her shift in tone from the gentleness and fondness of my dear companion when referring to her single life to the aggressiveness of rude and suddenly when referring to her upcoming nuptials—implying an outside force quite literally taking away her virginity. But more so than simply a reference to her wedding night, this transition of virginity from an aspect of individual identity to a communal anxiety suggests that the regulation of virginity turns the private into matters of public concern. But, as we learn from the Essex divorce scandal, the anxieties surrounding virginity and its regulation surface in the face of marriage.

Furthermore, once Beatrice is no longer a virgin, she seems to view virginity no longer as part of her soul, but rather part of her physical and bodily anatomy. In her monologue that opens Act Four, she worries about how she will “cope with in embraces” that is “ennobled in blood and mind” on her wedding night—highlighting the bodily aspect associated with virginity (4.1.4-5). It is once Beatrice herself uses language to highlight her own body that we also hear the language of regulation surrounding the
wedding night. For example, her use of words such as “judgments,” “crimes,” and “tribunals” to describe her wedding night— which she perhaps uses in part because her fear that her secret will be discovered—that the line between the bedroom and the courtroom is a thin one. A bride’s new husband can serve as the judge and jury when there is concern surrounding her virginity. Beatrice’s fear of regulatory judgement from her husband on her wedding night implies that there is also a way prove that a woman is not a virgin, and her use of bodily language suggests that her own body will betray her. Interestingly, it is once Beatrice comes to this realization that there is some bodily aspect of virginity is that she realizes it indeed can be performed and faked or, to put it more broadly, observable. Thus, through the character of Beatrice in particular, we can understand how virginity embodies what would appear as conflicting: simultaneously recognizing virginity as an essential, biological aspect of an upper-class woman and believing that virginity is a social phenomenon that can be performed. In both instances, the body is observed and interpreted for visual signs. In other words, highlighting the body and its ability to produce signs allows Beatrice to harness the power of performance, making the “realness” of virginity somewhat of a moot point. Instead, the relationship between the biological and the performative comes to the forefront in the scenes with the virginity test to create powerful moments for critique through observation.

The virginity test appears twice throughout the play: once when Beatrice administers the test to her handmaid Diaphanta in private and once when Beatrice fakes her virginity before her upcoming wedding in front of a panel of men. And in both of these examples, Baconion observation plays a key role in creating the skepticism
necessary to turn observation from a regulatory force to one of subversion. Beatrice first finds the virginity test in Alesemoro’s closet in a book called *The Book of Experiment, Called Secrets in Nature*, a title that alludes to natural philosophy. As evident from the title, this book aims to use experimentation to reveal nature’s secrets, which is indeed the first step of Bacon’s scientific method. The instructions for the experiment “to know whether a woman be a maid, or not” (4.1.40) read as follows:

> Give the party you suspect the quantity of a spoonful of the water in the glass M, which upon her that is a maid makes three several effects: ’twill make her incontinently gape, then fall into a sudden sneezing, last into a violent laughing—else dull, heavy and lumpish. (4.1.45–50)

Not only does the test involve some level of scientific precision with exact measurements and symptoms, but more importantly the itforegrounds both the body and the role of observation in relationship to experimentation. All of the symptoms of the test impact the body in some way—yawning, sneezing, and laughing—and are also all observable by the experimenter, associating scientific observation with the regulation of virginity. To this end, the virginity test very much so seems in line with Foucault’s spectacle of the scaffold where the body reveals inherent truths in an observable fashion—connecting observation and regulation.

However, given the somewhat ridiculous and random symptoms of the test that do not have anything to do with virginity, I cannot help but think that the virginity test in the play serve to parody virginity tests such as the one in the Essex divorce—giving us a hint on the play’s stance towards virginity and virginity tests. As Lutfring argues, people, courts, and books continually attempted to outline physical symptoms that could prove
virginity while simultaneously knowing that many of the methods could not give
definitive proof of a woman’s virginity status. In reducing virginity to the symptoms of
yawning, sneezing, and laughing rather than conducting a vaginal examination, it seems
that *The Changeling* is commenting on both the inaccuracy and therefore uselessness of
the tests themselves as well as critiquing standards on which virginity is based—making
virginity as a form of regulation seem arbitrary. More specifically, in relation to
observation, the use of parody in conjunction with the language of natural philosophy in
the virginity’s tests instructions suggests not only that we cannot expect to observe and
interpret visible signs in an accurate fashion, but also that the link between observation
and regulation has the potential to become a tenuous one. Thus, we can begin to
understand how and why we can classify the type of observation required by the virginity
test as Baconion—it invites skepticism and creates space for active, critical thought on
the systems of regulation in place.

This type of Baconion observation continues throughout the scene when Beatrice
administers the virginity test to Diaphanta. In this moment, Beatrice acts as the primary
observer and experimenter. It was actually customary for women, specifically female
midwives, to act as the sole examiners during virginity tests, meaning that “interpretative
authority over the female body fell to women rather than men, despite fears of male
medical writers that midwifes would misread or mishandle the female body” (Lutftring
100). However, in the case of the virginity test in *The Changeling*, I have to wonder
exactly how much interpretative authority Beatrice has over Diaphanta’s body, especially
considering that *The Book of Experiment, Called Secrets in Nature* was found in
Alsemaro’s closet and was presumably written by male natural philosophers. In fact, the
test itself leaves little room for any interpretation given that the signs are yawning, sneezing, and laughing—these symptoms are not very ambiguous.

That is not to say, however, that as the primary observer in the scene that Beatrice does not have any power or authority. Instead of gaining her authority as the examiner, I argue that we can locate Beatrice’s power in the scene through her power as an observer and experimenter. Beatrice has two objectives in giving the test to Diaphanta. First, Beatrice wants to see how and if the virginity test works. Second, if Diaphanta is able to pass the test, Beatrice then wants Diaphanta to take her place on Beatrice’s wedding night to continue to keep Alesemaro in the dark about her lack of virginity. Thus, Beatrice seems truly curious about the virginity test—and she herself even calls it an experiment before Diaphanta drinks the potion:

BEATRICE: Now if the experiment will be true, ‘twill praise itself, And give me noble ease. [Diaphanta gapes]—Begins already: There’s the first symptom; and what haste it makes To fall into the second, [Diaphanta sneezes] there by this time! Most admirable secret. On the contrary, It stirs not me a whit, which most concerns it. DIAPHANTA: Ha ha ha!

BEATRICE: [Aside] Just in all things and in order As if ‘twere circumscribed; one accident Gives way unto another. (4.2.104-12)

Interestingly, Diaphanta does not have any dialogue during the virginity test and instead simply acts out its symptoms—forcing both Beatrice and the audience to focus solely on
reading Diphanta’s body. In fact, the performativity of Diaphanta in this scene is also highlighted through the text’s use of stage directions dictating her actions. Beatrice, on the other hand, vocalizes her observations of the test—expressing relief that it works in the manner that the book says it will. Given that the experiment works exactly as it should, it seems at first glance that Baconion model of observation might not be present in this scene—especially considering that this scene does not produce explicit doubt or skepticism surrounding the validity of virginity tests.

However, we must also remember that this scene serves just as much to prove Diaphanta’s virginity as it does to demonstrate Beatrice’s power as an experimenter through observation. And while it does not cast doubt upon virginity just yet, this scene does link together performativity through the character of Diaphanta and observation through the character of Beatrice. Indeed, this connection between observation and performativity indicates where we can begin to find the experimentation within the scene. More specifically, through highlighting Diaphanta’s status as performer and Beatrice’s status as observer, it seems that the performance itself can be rebranded as a sort of experimentation. And, as we know from Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning*, proper experimentation based in observation is meant to lead to new discoveries or new ways of looking at the world—even if that discovery is as small as Beatrice realizing that the virginity test can be faked. In other words, the experimentation in this scene helps to subvert the hold that mechanisms of regulations have over observation. Instead, through linking observation to performance this first instance of the virginity test, we can understand that the body does not always produce signs that can be accurately interpreted and, in fact, has a subversive potential.
When Beatrice herself takes the virginity test in front of a group of men, the performative aspects of virginity come forefront. But even more significantly, Beatrice’s performativity also induces Baconion skepticism that allows for active questioning of the mechanisms of regulation at hand. Before Beatrice drinks the virginity test in front of a large group of men including her father and fiancé, she says in an aside, “I’m put now to my cunning: the effects I know, / If I can now but feign ‘em handsomely” (4.2137-8). Though the men in the scene seem to have the power in this scene because of their status as observers, Beatrice ultimately is able to subvert their power as regulators because they do not discover her secret. When Beatrice yawns, sneezes, and laughs, the men watching believe that they have been able to determine her status as “chaste as the breath of heaven, or morning’s womb” through interpreting her body through its visual signs (Middleton 4.2.149). More specifically, the two different types of observation as forces of regulation or subversion seems to be in direct conflict with each other—further demonstrating the complexities associated with observation as a form of knowledge. Although Beatrice subverts Alsemero’s regulatory power, since she does not face punishment for her transgression, I have to wonder to what extent that subversion can be if it does not cause those in power to question the validity of certain mechanisms of regulation, such as virginity. Between the characters on the stage, there certainly seems to be a lack of skepticism associated with the men’s observation, perhaps demonstrating that there is not space for skepticism within regulation as a mode of observation.

In addition to Beatrice’s ability to subvert the regulatory power of the men, the use of the aside as a dramatic technique is indeed significant because it draws attention to the audience—Beatrice breaks the fourth wall to speak directly with the audience. Thus,
although on the stage the group of observers is a group of men, the more important observers seem to be the audience itself, because the audience has the knowledge to read Beatrice’s taking of the test as a performance as well as the knowledge that Beatrice is tricking the other characters on stage. Through this additional knowledge, it seems that the audience is able engage in skepticism and critical thought related to the validity of virginity tests and perhaps virginity as a whole. For if a virginity test can be faked, what does that say about virginity as a mechanism of regulation? Beatrice’s performativity demonstrates the ambiguity and instability of not only virginity as an institution, but also marriage and other patriarchal institutions. As a result, I argue that the audience itself serves as the ideal form of Baconion observation due to its ability to invite skepticism. In this way, it seems that the theater itself can serve as a sort of laboratory that invites critical thought and allows audiences to imagine worlds where virginity can be scrutinized and destabilized—creating an ideal form of creative power through drama.

Furthermore, to use Foucault’s language, Beatrice’s body during the virginity test is put under trial to reveal a certain truth. In addition to its detectability by sight, virginity also follows scripts of womanhood that encodes the entire body. It is not simply that there are visual components to this test, but rather it places the body and its movements at the forefront of the stage, thus making it a moment of spectacle. In Judith Butler’s terms, Beatrice understands gender as the stylization of the body and “Hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self” (Butler 900). Even if this virginity test is not an example of a “mundane bodily gesture,” it does merit consideration under Butler’s framework since reveals the “illusion” surrounding
virginity. Furthermore, Butler argues that these stylized acts exist within a script “so the
gendered body acts part in a culturally restricted corporal space and enacts interpretations
within the confines of already existing directives” (Butler 907). The characters in the play
craft scripts of femininity, which the audience then realizes can be manipulated. In this
sense, spectacle becomes a tool for skepticism, since it makes such scripts obvious to the
audience. In a way, we can understand that there are several different scripts at work
during the virginity test. First, there is the actual script of the play that the characters
follow, an obvious connection given Butler’s metaphor of performativity in gender.
However, this first script is then influenced by the script of womanhood, since virginity is
perceived by at least Beatrice as a fundamental part of what it means to be an upper-class
woman. As tool of skepticism, however, the theater reveals an inability to perform
virginity as a biological truth. The audience also directly engages with these script of
virginity, but also is able to actively critique virginity as a mechanism for regulating
female sexuality. The skepticism of theater challenges this type of realness that is visually
interpreted.

Both Beatrice’s lack of virginity and her faking of the test have far-reaching
consequences in the play—ending with the entire castle burning and killing Beatrice. As
the play comes to a close, Beatrice fears that her secrets will be exposed and decides to
“set some part a-fire / Of Diaphanta’s chamber” in order to protect her marriage
(Middleton 5.132-3). And although Beatrice worries “that may endanger the whole
house” Deflores replies, “You talk of danger when your fame’s on fire,” meaning that the
entire structure of the castle needs to burn to save Beatrice’s reputation (Middleton
5.1.34-5). Throughout the play, the castle holds broader symbolic meaning than simply
serving as the setting for the play. I argue that the castle’s burning is emblematic of play’s consequences of delivering a destabilizing critique of virginity as performative. In other words, although the play invites skepticism of virginity through Baconion observation, the play’s ending with the castle burning and Beatrice’s death suggests that such skepticism—particularly skepticism of virginity as a mechanism of regulation—is not a benign force. For example, in her reading of the play, Luttfring argues that “women’s enactment of virginity gives patriarchal society structure coherence by providing at least the appearance of an orderly system of patrilineal descent, dynastic power, and stable sociopolitical hierarchies” (107). And although a virginal body must eventually “fall,” it must do so within the marriage system (Luttfring 109). In The Changeling, Beatrice not only removes herself from the linear patriarchal marriage system through losing her virginity outside of marriage, but that removal constitutes “a threat to the system of marriage and reproduction by which society perpetuates itself” (Luttfring 109). In other words, the skepticism about virginity produced in The Changeling demonstrates how women can manipulate virginity—instead of functioning as a mechanism of regulation in the service of patriarchy, it becomes a subversive force that threatens male power.11 Thus, I argue that The Changeling’s dramatic ending of burning the castle and killing of its protagonist indicate not only the extremely subversive nature of uniting skepticism with virginity through observation, but also suggests a

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11 Luttfring also gives us a reading of The Changeling as a political allegory for anti-Catholic sentiment. She argues that “as a political allegory, The Changeling reminds viewers and readers that women, both foreign princesses and homegrown English wives and mothers, might undermine male authority both sexually and politically, and that even those who, like Beatrice-Joanna appear to be ideal daughters, wives, and subjects might spread the Catholic corruption hidden within them via sexual and/or verbal persuasion” (Luttfring 114). Of course, Luttfring is referring to the Spanish Match—the proposed marriage between the son of James I and Infanta Maria Anna of Spain—which prompted fear of Catholic infiltration of England through marriage.
figurative burning of the patriarchal system itself that allows for virginity to serve as a regulatory force.

Although Beatrice and Diaphanta are the only two women in the play who are subjected to the virginity test, they are not the only women in the play whose sexualities face regulation. If we turn briefly to the madhouse subplot of *The Changeling*, we meet the characters of Alibius, Lolio, and Isabella. Alibius, the doctor of the madhouse, he wishes to lock up his significantly younger wife, Isabella, in the madhouse for the fear that she will cheat on him with a younger man. And he places Lolio, one of the residents, in charge of observing Isabella. When compared to the small, dark, and private spaces within the castle, the madhouse displays its residents and the space seems more communal—characters entering and leaving scenes and speaking from both on and offstage. Indeed, the combination of humor and madness makes it seems as if the characters are constantly in performance, since it remains unclear to us who is actually mad. Although the humor, play, and violence found in the spectacle of the madhouse does not embody the same type of Baconion observation found in the virginity scenes, the regulation of Isabella’s sexuality does highlight the power of theatrical observation more broadly.

Due to her husband’s fear of her infidelity, Isabella is locked in a cage guarded by Lolio. Isabella explains her house arrest:

Whence have you commission
To fetter the doors against me? If you
Keep me in a cage, pray whistle to me,
Let me be doing something. (Middleton 3.21-4)
The language that Isabella uses indicates that she is quite literally imprisoned in the madhouse—the use of the word fetter implying such containment, and defined by the OED as, “to impose restraint upon; to confine, impede restrain” (“fetter” OED defn 1.b).

The notion that a door confines someone in a room does not seem significant. However, the physical space of a cage is interesting for several reasons, because of the way that a cage both reveals and conceals its subject. In fact, the OED’s definition of the formal aspects of a cage also illuminates its function: “made wholly or partly of wire, or with bars of metal or wood, so as to admit air and light, while preventing the creature’s escape” (“cage” OED I.1). More than admit air and light, the physical structure of the cage invites observation and heightens the ways in which Isabella is on display as a character. Indeed, characters in a play are put on display through the very nature of performance and the use of a stage. However, the cage is a very interesting prop or setting choice in the sense that it simultaneously reveals and conceals Isabella—drawing our attention as the audience to her unique visual display and placing Isabella within the dual role of observer and observed. Through giving Isabella the power to observe her fellow housemates—Lolio parades the madmen around Isabella’s cage—she is no longer simply subject to Lolio’s observation as a form of regulation. Rather, her role of spectator seems to fall in line with the mode of theatrical observation that allows for active engagement between the observer and observed. In other words, rather than explicitly critiquing the regulation to which Isabella is subject, her imprisonment and position on the stage blurs the line between observer and observed to invite theatrical observation to the stage that can produce an endless number of significances of visual cues—as evident by how the “truth” of madness constantly in flux.
Thus, theatrical and Baconion modes of observation seem to serve similar purposes in *The Changeling*. Both not only highlight the role of the observer, but also demonstrate how observation can serve as a critical force of engagement through moments of spectacle. Baconion observation demonstrates how skepticism can serve as a subversive force, while theatrical observation highlights the ways in which theatrical representations are constantly being produced, meaning that both the ephemeral nature of theater and the relationship between the audience and the stage make the production of theater a dynamic process. The combination of theatrical and Baconion observation in *The Changeling* privileges the role of the observation as an interpretive force in the service of producing meaning—whether through the subversion of regulatory forces or through highlighting the theater-making process as collaborative between the audience and the action on the stage.
Conclusion

As examples of Jacobean tragedy that relies upon spectacle and intense visual aesthetics, *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling* demonstrate how theatrical observation can work as a mechanism to critique systems of power and the regulation of female sexuality. Indeed, both maintaining power and mechanisms of regulation also need observation to work effectively. But the theater provides an interesting space where mechanisms of power and regulation are made obvious through spectacle—allowing observation to transform from an implementation of regulation to force of criticism and subversion. As an epistemology, observation is multifaceted in the type of knowledge that it can produce. This project concludes with two additional points for consideration: the impact of Jacobean spectacle in a film adaptation of *The Changeling* and the capacity for observation to serve as a feminist critique.

The 1993 BBC adaptation of *The Changeling* is as cinematic as the play is theatrical. For example, instead of breaking the fourth wall and speaking directly to the camera, the BBC adaptation relies upon voice overs to convey the characters’ thoughts—adding to the sense of interiority presented by the characters. Indeed, theatrical observation and audience engagement with film differ in several ways. Laura Mulvey’s seminal essay “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema provides has strongly influenced the ways in which we understand the relationship between the spectator and visual art forms specifically in film. Using a framework grounded in psychoanalysis and film studies, Mulvey argues that the male gaze subordinates women in contemporary Hollywood films. Mulvey explains that the visual techniques of film—the camera and the screen tells us at what to look—creates a tension between a pleasure in looking and
controlling the gaze and identifying with the image on the screen (Leitch 2082). As a result, the male gaze creates an illusory world where women exist outside of the narrative portrayed on screen while men are allowed to exist within the film’s storyline (Leitch 2082). To put it simply, Mulvey creates a gendered binary between the male gaze as one of power and control and the female subject as submissive to the male gaze (Leitch 2082). As Clifford T. Manlove explains, “feminist film critics variously sought to question and/or redefine Mulvey’s focus on three issues: gender positions in the gaze, heterosexuality of the gaze, and seeing the gaze as exclusively (male) pleasure in voyeurism” (85). In his essay “Visual ‘Drive’ and Cinematic Narrative: Reading Gaze Theory in Lacan, Hitchcock, and Mulvey,” Manlove argues:

Analysis of the gaze in cinema from a Lacanian point of view can be useful for understanding more about the visual dimension of power, gender, and subjectivity in human cultures. Rather than being about image, light, and surface identities, the Lacanian gaze travels along the real, cutting edge that is knowledge. (104)

Thus, gaze theory as a form of spectatorship and observation does indeed work as a lens to understand the way that knowledge is produced in a film.

In the BBC film adaptation of *The Changeling* directed by Simon Curtis, the scene where Beatrice takes the virginity tests loses its performativity. More specifically, we do not get the sense that Beatrice is performing virginity in the same manner—only herself, Alsemero, and a servant are in the room. It does not feel as if Beatrice is on trial. Instead, the virginity test serves as confirmation for just Alsemero, transforming the test and virginity issues of public concerns to a more private moment. Indeed, the cinematography of the scene uses close-up shots of Beatrice and Alsemero discussing the
test—moving between individual shots of their faces. The use of the close-ups makes this scene feel like an intimate moment between them. Once Beatrice drinks the virginity test, Alsemero moves away from her and towards the door where the other courtier is standing. The camera continues to focus on Beatrice’s face and body—highlighting the symptoms of the test while using her voice-over to remind us that she is faking her symptoms. After the first symptom, however, the scene cuts to the men watching in the corner and focuses on their reactions in another close-up shot. The scene continues in this manner, cutting between Beatrice and the men and focusing on their individual reactions. We do not truly see all of them in the frame at the same time.

Although the same critique of virginity still exists in this version of the scene, it seems like Beatrice is faking rather than performing virginity. Instead of spectacle and performativity grabbing our attention, the use of the camera directs exactly what to observe in the scene. Through eliminating the theatricality of the theme, it seems as if the camera itself is the main observer in the scene rather than highlighting the role of the viewer. As a result, I argue that the critique of virginity is embedded within the plot and form of the film rather than relying on the audience as a mechanism of interpretation. Thus, Jacobean spectacle as it is performed on the stage seems unique in the sense that it highlights the role of audience as integral to the formation of meaning within a play.

Finally, throughout this project, I have suggested that observation can be rehabilitated as a subversive force. At first glance, it does seem as if there is space for observation to work as a form of feminist critique—especially if we consider the impact of observation as a form of regulation. Foucault’s model of early modern observation demonstrates how observation can be used to maintain not only mechanisms of
regulation, but also can be used to enforce supreme and absolute power structures. Similarly, Calvinist observation also works to maintain pre-existing worldviews related to power. Perhaps on their own, these forms of observation serve as forces of containment, but these types of regulatory observation themselves become visible and observable through theatrical representation. In becoming observable, forces of regulation are subject to interpretation just as any visible sign. In this sense, we can see how the theater in general can serve as laboratory for Baconian observation that invites skepticism and subversion of the status quo. Thus, it is not simply observation, but rather the role of theatrical observation that allows for observation to become a mechanism of feminist criticism.
Works Cited


