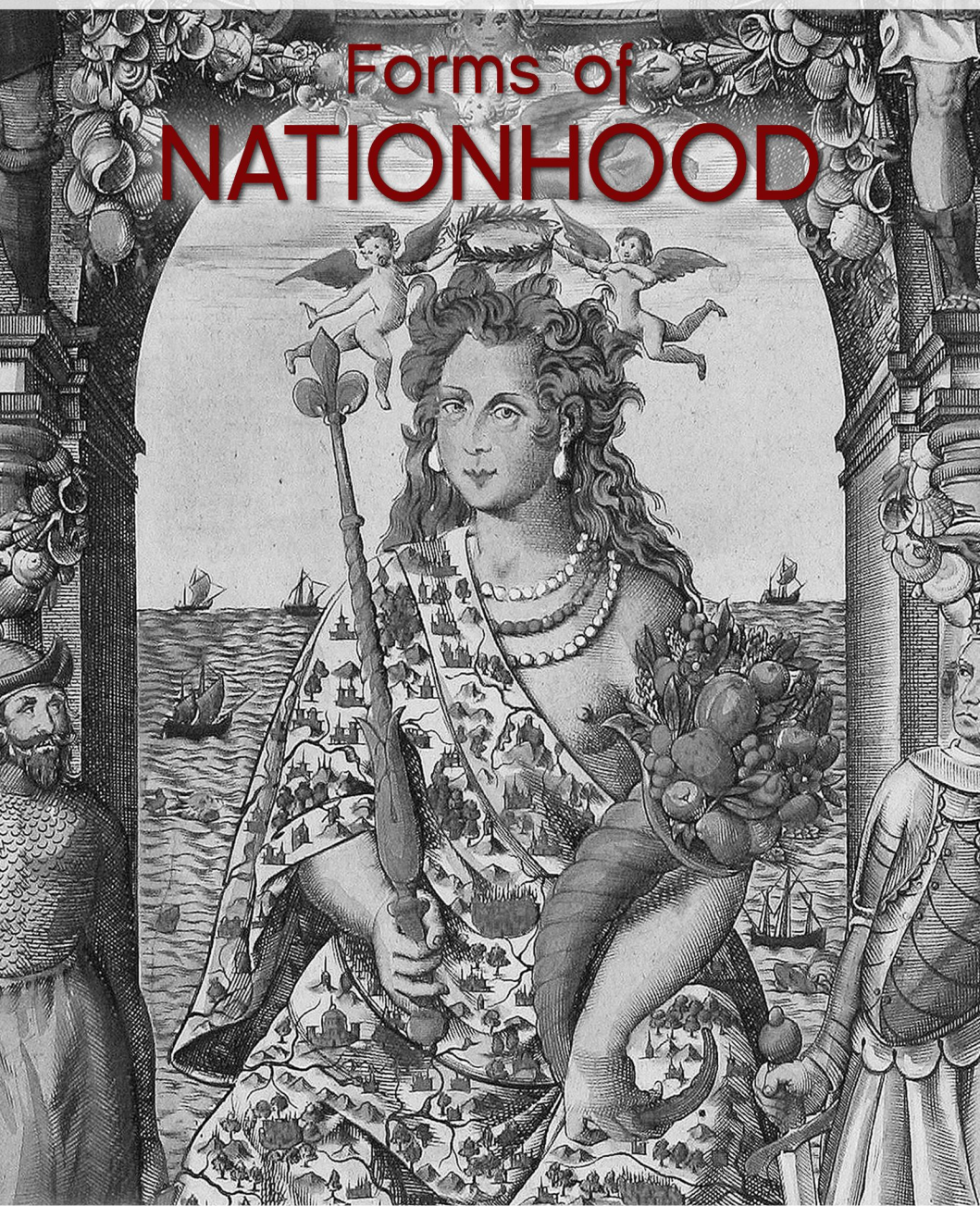# Forms of NATIONHOOD

Selected Papers
from the 'Shakespeare and his Contemporaries' Graduate Conference
Florence, 10 April 2014

edited by
Luca Baratta and Alice Equestri

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Graphic design by Luca Baratta and Alice Equestri

Front cover: title page of Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, London, 1612 (private collection).
Back cover: title page of William Camden, *Britain or A Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland*, London, 1637 (private collection).

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Contents

Acknowledgements

Luca Baratta

A Prism called Nation. An Introduction

Nationhood(s): a Single Concept imagined in the Plural

This collection of essays brings together the contributions of some of the scholars who took part in the *Shakespeare and His Contemporaries Graduate Conference*, a one-day conference organised by the British Institute of Florence and the Italian Association of Shakespearean and Early Modern Studies on 10 April 2014.

The title of the conference, *Forms of Nationhood*, explicitly recalled an important volume published in 1992 by Richard Helgerson, whose intuitions and arguments run, in outline, through all the texts that make up this collection, and constitute the common ground and the main theme.[1] In his *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England*, Helgerson attributed to a group of writers (all born between 1551 and 1564) a generational project, in which England itself was investigated and examined within the various fields of poetry, the law, antiquarian studies, overseas explorations, the theatre and religion. The project aimed at founding an image of the English nation, in which contemporary readers could identify themselves; this common project, once realised, produced a prismatic image which deeply influenced English history over the centuries.[2]

In his ambitious plan, Helgerson took up and adapted to the English case the historiographical concept of the 'invention of tradition', formulated in 1983 by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, a construct according to which the creation of a complex cultural model, founded on principles of identity, often corresponds to the neces-

sity of giving an answer in times of crisis or during a period of rapid social change. One of the most developed aspects of the book edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger is the connection between the invention of a national cultural model and the construction of the modern state.[3] Strongly emphasising this connection, Helgerson showed how, in a crucial moment in the history of England, the response of an entire generation of intellectuals had been equally crucial and fundamental.

The 1530s had constituted a significant *caesura* in English history, a moment of change whose singularity has been effectively summed up by George R. Elton:

> the sixteenth century saw the creation of the modern sovereign state: the duality of state and church was destroyed by the victory of the state, the crown triumphed over its rivals, parliamentary statute triumphed over the abstract law of Christendom, and a self-contained national unit came to be, not the tacitly accepted necessity it had been for some time, but the consciously desired goal.[4]

In the 1530s, Henry VIII declared 'this realm of England is an Empire',[5] he sanctioned the separation from Rome placing himself as Supreme Head of the national church and, contextually, put into effect a revolution in government, transforming what had been until then a medieval monarchy, a legitimate possession of the King administered by a restricted circle of his family, into a modern and national state organism; a revolution too complex for its results to be received and accepted without political instability and readjustments. As it unravelled in the fragile monarchy of Edward VI, the bloody reign of Mary Tudor and finally in the grandiose hegemonic and stabilising project of Elizabeth I, the next fifty years were therefore an age of growing and widespread anxiety, a

moment of lacerating conflicts together with a continuous rewriting of the national self.[6] A realm so much renewed, which aspired to an imperial role, could not avoid facing a profound debate on its own cultural identity. The identity-building process, which England had undertaken in the sixteenth century appears to us, therefore, to be continually run through with confrontation and negotiations.

Conflict is the keyword in understanding the intense cultural effort that leads the Elizabethan writers to writing (or rewriting) England; a confrontation that is inherent in the project of constructing a national identity. All the authors taken into account by Helgerson in their various fields of activity (poetry, the law, geography, the theatre) 'belonged to different discursive communities and, as a result, wrote England differently'.[7] Conscious of the fact that the relationship between each writer and his own cultural community is at the same time fertile and mutually influencing, Helgerson explicitly placed his analysis in continuity with the idea of nationhood elaborated by Benedict Anderson.[8] With his concept of 'imagined community', Anderson had described the nation as a 'mental community', whose members do not directly relate to each other but nevertheless share a most powerful sense of belonging: in the formation of this sense of adhesion to a community that was embryonically national (and completely abstract), Anderson attributed an eminent role to texts written using national languages and to their quicker dissemination with the aid of the press.

According to these scholars, the idea of the nation is born on the written page, and embodied in various works by distinguished authors; consequently, as these authors had in mind a different readership (a different discursive community) for their works, they also had a different image of the nation being referred to.

Each of these communities imagined a different form of nationhood, which therefore becomes a concept to be imagined in the plural: in the melting pot of the various debates, readerships and authors who occupied themselves with writing England, the identity of the nation appears yet to be a construct in the making, still a dynamic equilibrium between points of strength that must be weighed up and compared.[9] Nationhood is always an ambiguous concept, strictly depending on the interests of the discursive community in which it is figured out: this insidious ambiguity could not be resolved in the Elizabethan age, and lasted into the successive decades, leaving in some contexts – as we will soon see – seeds of conflict destined to blow up in the lacerations of the Civil Wars.

The vagueness of the concept of nationhood may be profitably investigated in the religious writings, a field in which radically different and profoundly conflicting ideas of nation emerge. Nothing, in fact, gave greater momentum to the profound thinking of the English national idea than the separation from the Church of Rome. As Helgerson writes,

> if one event more than any other determined the extraordinary sixteenth-century outpouring of writing about England – poetic, theatrical, legal, chorographical, historical, antiquarian, mercantile, or whatever – it was the separation of the English church from the church of Rome. And if one issue kept England unsettled both in the sixteenth century and the century to follow, it was the question of church government.[10]

The birth of the Church of England constituted, simultaneously, a breath-taking occasion for founding the national self, and the breeding ground of future conflicts, already discernible, in outline and perspective, in the two types of religious writing that were developed during the

Elizabethan age: the apocalyptic writings on the one hand, and the apologetics on the other.[11]

In the apocalyptic writing (well embodied in the work by John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 1563), the construction of identity is based on a Manichean definition of the fields of action of the true church of the faithful and the false one of the persecutors: good against evil.[12] On one side stand the English martyrs, who will one day see the glory, and on the other side the persecutors, the papist hierarchy, destined to divine punishment: 'fundamental to apocalyptic as a narrative form is the continuing struggle between mighty opposites […]. For the godly, triumph follows persecution […]. For the adherents of the Antichrist, the plot goes the other way: from worldly exaltation to punishment'. In this narrative construction, events 'reassure the suffering elect[s] that the deaths of their fellow Protestants have not been in vain, maintain the apocalyptic hope on which such self-sacrifice depends, keep believers believing'.[13]

This dichotomous and simplistic narration was particularly effective while Protestants were persecuted by Mary Tudor, but later posed a notable problem of narrative coherence and political cohesion; if in fact it was easier to draw the dual picture of persecuted/persecutors when the Pope of Rome fulfilled the role of the Antichrist, what would happen in the period when, under Elizabeth, the new reformed religion became triumphant and therefore persecutor in its turn of the Catholics (or of the radical dissidents)? Foxe had resolved this difficult ambiguity placing Elizabeth herself among the persecuted, in a narrative progression from imprisonment to the throne, and presenting her finally as the one who restored the true church, constructing the nation of true followers of Christ. In this operation, the English national church, and the State incarnated in the figure of the Queen, could

Luca Baratta

coincide at the centre of a narrative strongly permeated with tones of finality

> from persecution to an unseen triumph, a triumph that was figured but not exhausted by Elizabeth's assumption of the English throne […]. In suffering persecution and exile, these English Protestants could feel themselves part of an invisible church that stretched back to the beginning of human history and that would triumph with the end of time.[14]

But in this construction of the English religious identity in a finalistic and apocalyptic key, there was a serious danger: a national religious identity constructed on the theme of suffering and resistance was difficult to reconcile with the hierarchical order that the English State had to adopt.

Apologetic writing (exemplified by the work of Richard Hooker, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1594-1600) answered decidedly better the needs of the second phase of the Elizabethan reign.[15] The apologetic discourse, centred not on a narration but on investigation, that is presented as purely rational, defends the rationality of the *status quo*: it does everything possible to keep things as they are. And to keep the internal order of the State nothing is as necessary as the maintenance of the hierarchy.

However, to be able to defend the hierarchical structure of both the church and the state, it was necessary to deconstruct the central node of the narrative apocalyptic construction. Not every moment in history can be seen in terms of the Manichaean contradistinction of good and evil, Christ and Antichrist; the persecuted do not necessarily stand on the side of good, nor persecutors necessarily on the side of evil. Each event needs to be analysed historically, to bring to light the historical contingencies

in which it occurs. As a historicist *ante litteram*, Hooker can deny the existence of a unitary (that is apocalyptic) design, and see in the community of the believers the product of a historical process, in which no moment is ever identically repeated. In this way, he can maintain that the existence of different Churches (differently caused by different historical contingencies) is completely legitimate. What for Hooker is totally aberrant is the possibility of a divergence within a single church; or, worse, that the State can have more than one Church; for him the body of the national church and body politic must coincide.

On this level, apocalyptic and apologetic discourses disagree profoundly: 'apocalyptic is always a discourse of struggle; apologetic, at least when used in defence of an established state church, always a discourse of order'[16] – order of reason, then of historical contingency, and of human convenience.

The two typologies of religious writing briefly summarised here had two radically different communities of reference, two different 'Churches', implicit in the readership of the works, and which these same works contributed to creating:

> One of these churches, dispersed through a wide variety of evangelical sects, was identified with a scripturally inspired and sometimes disruptive movement of God's word through time. The other, established in a single, official church of England, took its identity from a particular institutional order and a particular order of service. […] Where one was drawn toward an ever-receding apocalyptical horizon, the other remained apologetically attached to a tradition that abandoned as little of the sacred residue of the past as it could. And where one leveled distinctions of rank and gender, the

other was intent on preserving a seemly hierarchy in both church and state.[17]

These immanent differences in religious thought, in thinking of a reformed Church in two radically discordant ways, met therefore in two profoundly different forms of *nationhood*. For the apocalyptic writers the national Church, although implicitly aspiring to assume a statutory status, would have difficulty in coinciding with the State: the identity path of these writers was rather an ancestral resistance to the State, the habit of sufferance inflicted by the machine of the State. For the apologists the national identity was, instead, inseparable from the authority of the State: together Nation, State and Church had to constitute an indissoluble social, political and religious node.

It is possible to follow these two forms of *nationhood* rising from the religious discourse and to identify how they developed and survived in parallel over a long period, perpetuated by various social groups and political factions, until they came into conflict in the great Civil Wars. This connection between two ideas of a national Church and two opposite ideas of nation has been investigated by Conrad Russell, who analysed the speeches in Parliament in the 1620s and the 1640s in order to show if the opinions expressed by members of the Parliament in the '20s could anticipate the position that they would assume later on during the conflict. Russell examined various topics: the organization of court ceremonial, the discussion of laws, the rights of Parliament, the persecution of the *recusants*, for example. In none of these topics was it possible to find a correlation between the speeches of the 1620s and the future position between Cavaliers or Roundheads in '40s. Only religion offered an element of connection: in the '20s the future royalists thought that

religious reform had been pushed far enough (if not too far), and that a centralized, hierarchical control of the Church had to be re-established; the future parlamentarists, on the contrary, believed that reform had to be taken further and radicalized.[18] Again the basic differences between the apocalyptic and the apologetic discourses which had originated in the religious debate of the Elizabethan age were contributing to the Civil Wars, with an irreconcilable ideological conflict.

Apology and apocalypse or, if one prefers, a maintenance of order and a radicalization of religious opinions, constituted two powerful and conflicting mental attitudes: the different forms of nationhood that apologetic and apocalyptic writers expressed, taken to the extreme, finally led their readers to take up arms against each other.

The Language, the Geography, the Face of the Other: the Facets of a Prism called Nation

The religious debate constituted one of the most important and conflictual areas within which the construction of an English national identity developed, evolving, as it did, the conflict on the written page to a bloody fight on the battlefield in a couple of decades. Nevertheless, the topic of *nationhood* can be profitably investigated in many other fields. One of these, which is in some way related to the religious field, is the history of language: the translation of the Bible into English constituted one of the key stages in making the word of God available to the *non-literati*, with all the inevitable consequences, from the point of view of the invested hierarchy, to the national church; on the other hand, as I have already mentioned, Anderson attributed to the development of

printed texts in the various national languages an eminent role in the process of the formation of *nationhood*.[19]

The first contribution of the present collection of essays is focused on the construction of identity through language. Through an articulate reading of some Shakespearean dramas, Alessandra Petrina investigates the relationships that Shakespeare weaves between linguistic use and the construction of the self (individual and national).[20] The first part of her article, devoted to an analysis of some passages drawn from the history plays, brings to light Shakespeare's intention to present his own dramatic view on a specific period of English history (the years in which the houses of York and Lancaster fought each other for the throne): the autumn of the Middle Ages, in which England was emancipated from the Francophone orbit, and English is established as the national language.[21] Defining identity through language (which coincides chronologically with a self-determination that comes from the ordeal of arms) is therefore a conflictual definition in Shakespeare (as always in the processes of emancipation and self-determination). Even the celebrated praise of England, that fuels the monologue of John of Gaunt in *Richard II*, which is often quoted (out of context) as proof of a shining Shakespearean patriotism, assumes a much darker tone in Petrina's reading; an ironic admission and manifestation of England's weaknesses, of the vulnerability of her borders. The beauty of the island is a fragile garden, and danger is just around the corner. The second part of her essay broadens the scope of the analysis, and explores the Shakespearean concept of *nationhood* through an examination of some Othello's lines. Projected into the nearly metaphysical distance of Cyprus, contested between Christians and Arabs, the growing extraneousness of Othello from the national group of the Serenissima is manifested by specific linguistic indi-

cators that bring to light his progressive loss of a sense of belonging to the Venetian community. What emerges, in the end, is an extraordinary ability of the dramatist to construct the awareness of a national identity through specific thematic and linguistic choices: this identity is embodied in the language, as well as in the geographic specificity.

On this field of analysis (identity founded on awareness and knowledge of a common space), Gabriella Del Lungo's contribution is focused. It investigates the moment in which, during Henry VIII's reign, England began to reflect upon her national borders and their clear delimitation: the study of the territory itself as the key to the spread of a "sense of place, or spatial belonging". In Del Lungo's view, this process began with the antiquarian John Leland, who, in the middle of the sixteenth century, officially authorized by the king, had undertaken a cognitive journey through the religious libraries of England. During this voyage, he collected an incredible number of notes that came together in his *Itinerary*. This work constituted the basis for all successive English chorographic surveys.[22] In Leland's intellectual project, Del Lungo finds two important elements: on the one hand, the relationship established between space and identity; on the other, storytelling techniques which characterise travel writing. Leland creates a specific English landscape, a purpose achieved not only through the description of the physical environment, but also – and above all – by taking into consideration the signs of human passage preserved in the same environment. He creates a real "anthropomorphised territory" that prefigures, among other things, the contemporary definition of landscape.[23] Moreover, the chorographer is shown to possess and command a specific narrative strategy, elaborated pur-

posely from travel writing, and which Del Lungo defines as 'temporal and locative discourse'.

Through these writing strategies, Leland, and later chorographers, contributed notably to the creation of a sense of identity based on spatial belonging, in a one-to-one process by which the space is both described and created at the same time. As Helgerson synthetized it, 'Saxton, Camden, Norden, Speed, Drayton, and the many country chorographers […], had an inescapable part in creating the cultural entity they pretended only to represent'.[24] In such a way, both representing and creating English identity space, the chorographers established the basis for a knowledgeable exploration of the rest of the planet.

As Del Lungo emphasises, 'Leland's writing of a map of Tudor England provides the first insider's definition of the nation and this in turn complements the exploration that early modern England began to promote overseas'. The knowledge of international geography through the travels overseas meant, in the Elizabethan season, above all, projecting England onto an expanding horizon: the sea that encircles and defines the British Isles would become the great road that leads to the empire.[25]

And indeed it is to the symbolism of water, and its ambiguity in the construction of the insular and imperial identity of England that Caterina Guardini's contribution is devoted. The objective of her study is to examine the aquatic elements, fictitious and not, present in the celebrations destined for the Creation of the Prince of Wales. In Guardini's reading, water becomes an element of multiple and changing meanings, a symbol of defence of the national borders, but also an instrument by which to expand them, making new discoveries and acquiring knowledge. Guardini analyses the formation of two different (and complementary) identity images of the Eng-

lish nation, based on two contrasting perceptions of the aquatic element: on the one hand, water – above all, that of the sea – as a natural instrument of protection from external attacks. Such a reading emerges in the words of James I Stuart who described England as a 'sea-walled garden'. On the other hand, Guardini describes the sea as a means of knowledge and expansion, through which it is possible to pursue a kind of universal unity: a vision of the sea as a tool of power which led back to the imperial ideology of Elizabeth I.

Chorography and knowledge of international geography were the two complementary modalities through which the knowledge of places and landscapes contributed to the development of the perception of the national self. But a third possibility of identity investigation was also given through space, in that intermediate place located at the junction of real and utopian geography. While the recently discovered lands and the communities that inhabited them were mapped and described, it was possible to describe imaginary territories, and populate them with societies which were thought to be ideal.[26] In this way utopia became a representation and projection of a perhaps unreachable but always enticing perfection, which contributed powerfully to the marking out of a perspective horizon of nationhood. It is from this point of view that Valeria Tirabasso reads Shakespeare's last play, *The Tempest*, and its binary contrasts, *us* versus *others*, *inside* versus *outside*. The process of *self-identification* is always realised through comparison with the Other, intended as the dialectic pole of the Self. Starting from this binary scheme, Tirabasso analyses the similarities that occur between the process of defining the spatial borders and the description/delimitation of the human body, when together they represent the unknown Other (the island that is the play's setting on the one

hand, the Caliban monster on the other). Once again, the definition of the Self crosses the difficult path of marking out boundaries, real or metaphoric, always fugitive, always imprecise.[27]

The topic of the identification of one's Self through the encounter/clash with the Other is a particularly fertile aspect in Shakespeare's theatre and, more generally, in the Elizabethan theatre. From this perspective, the contribution of Cristiano Ragni analyses the representation of foreigners on the London stage between the end of the 1500s and the early 1600s, beginning with the first London comedy: *Englishmen for my Money* (1598) by William Haughton. In this play an idea of otherness emerges, steeped in cultural stereotypes, focused on feelings of xenophobia and repulsion: unacceptable feelings that find a precise correlation with contemporary legislative acts aimed at regularising the presence of foreigners in England. In particular, Ragni emphasises that the attention of the authorities was concentrated on two groups, Italian and Spanish, who were considered possible infiltrators and Catholic conspirators. In Ragni's contribution once again there emerges the theme of a nationhood formed through the relationship (often conflictual) with the Other, in this case the foreigner examined from the special angle of the stage.[28]

An analogous course is undertaken by Nagihan Haliloğlu, who analyses how, in the Elizabethan theatre, the definition of the English national identity was nourished not only by the comparison/conflict with the Catholics – particularly Spanish and Italian – but also with the Ottoman power.[29] In the imagination of the Elizabethan dramatists, Catholics and Turks were the foreigners who represented most effectively the metaphors of despotism and treachery and even dangerous ghosts of half-breeds: subversive figures, coinciding and often interchangeable,

they were the enemy figures and were represented as powerful catalysts of vice and immorality: the English *nationhood* was defined in terms strongly opposed to them.

Finally, Alice Equestri shows how the process of forming the national identity goes beyond the Elizabethan age. She explores how a dramatic genre, the city comedy, deeply connected with Jacobean social and political issues, constructs and deconstructs notions of Englishness and Britishness and, in doing so, seeks to raise patriotic ideals in the audience. Offering a case study of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, she discusses how national identity and nationalism in city comedies are deployed through the kind of mirth or entertainment offered by London and its suburbs. Even mythology is successfully distorted to match the reality of the city. Yet, London is also a more cosmopolitan city where Welsh, Scottish and Irish citizens gather. So not only is the English identity defined further – by means of contrast – but we are also shown a broader picture of Britain as it came to be known under the reign of James. The King himself, with his role, personality, attitude and tastes, as well as the institutions he patronised, are at the centre of Jonson's display of British identity, though ultimately political authority and healthy social principles collapse under the anarchical strength of carnival at the *Fair*.

From the various contributions that comprise this volume, it emerges – once again – that *nationhood* can be understood as a prism with multiple sides, a multifaceted (and productive) picture of friction between various imagined communities, and various ideas of the nation. Each of the contributions focuses on specific literary works, whose authors undertook great efforts to make the nation they imagined coincide with their readers' expectations. And from the sum of the contributions an image

of conflict emerges, the description of a constant attrition that surrounds the topic of nationhood, a concept that presents therefore a persistent blurring. Such an indefiniteness, as pointed out at the beginning of this introduction, derives from the fact that every literary work devoted to the topic of the national identity is destined to a specific discursive community, whose visions and interests it expresses. The consciousness of this ambiguity is unavoidable for any analysis that seeks to investigate the birth and evolution of the English national identity (or a national identity *tout court*). On the one hand, one has to be aware of the borders between the various intellectual territories in which the nation is designed, thought of, imagined; on the other hand, it is essential to cross those same borders in the conviction that all the various identity discourses (those of geography, language, the theatre, religion) are exactly that, discourses, *lògoi* which must be studied and compared, in order to bring to light the tensions or affinities between the various imagined forms of nationhood.

The comparison of these discourses can be a very fertile one. The forms of nationhood thought of by various authors are diverse and divergent, but the political topics (and the underlying conflicts) that their works deal with can be reduced to two: on the one hand, the centrality more or less asserted by the sovereign and his power; and on the other hand, the inclusion (or exclusion) of some social groups from the national community and its representation.

The figure of the sovereign was already the ancestral unifying element of English history, but with Henry VIII's *Act of Supremacy* and with Elizabeth's political action, the monarch's role had been strengthened even further. Although the younger Elizabethan writers were perfectly aware of the royal supremacy, nevertheless in their works some other cultural construct emerges, which

rivals that royal power as the unifying and irradiating centre of the national unity. As Helgerson again remarks,

> in seeking to establish their own authority and the authority of the different groups they represented, the younger Elizabethans were often guilty of an involuntary (and sometimes not so involuntary) lèse-majesté. They pushed claims that subverted the absolute claim of the crown. In their books […] we thus find traces of the difficult and, in England at least, never quite complete passage from dynasty to nation.[30]

Thus, if the chorographers and the geographers placed the monarch as the unifying centre of the national identity because he (or she) had authorised their travels (and their writings), nevertheless these travels and the lands were the subject of narration (as in the work of John Leland analysed by Gabriella Del Lungo) or even a symbolic abstraction (like the watery element investigated by Caterina Guardini), that tended to conflict with the monarch as the originating pole of *nationhood*. The polarization, as evident in Alessandra Petrina's essay, can be found even in the work of a single author: the attention given to the role of the Lancaster monarchs in the emancipation of England from the French orbit coexists, in Shakespeare, with a narration of freedom which comes – above all – from linguistic emancipation.

The second political topic involved in the debate about nationhood is that of inclusion or exclusion from the national assembly: who can call himself/herself, with good reason, a member of the nation? Who can be represented as such? In what way (and in opposition to whom) can he/she be represented as belonging to the nation? It all depended, obviously, on the interests at play:

> England's overseas expansion depended on the participation of merchants, so mercantile interests were

included. The social elevation of the London Theater depended on separation from the base commoners who originally made up a large part of the theater's audience, so commoners were excluded. Apocalyptic was radically inclusive. Ordinary craftsmen and laborers, even women, had a significant part in it. Apologetic was fundamentally exclusive. It reasserted order and hierarchy.[31]

Although schematic, this list of contrasting positions proposed by Helgerson strikes the right chord, for it highlights that every process of self-definition must engage a phase of inclusion or exclusion of an Other in relation to which the Self is perceived (and represents itself). Sometimes it is a highly imaginative and fabulous Other, placed in an elusive space of utopian geography (such as analysed by Valeria Tirabasso); sometimes it is an Other that seeks to present itself as real, but is equally imaginary, in the dangerous territory of the ethnic stereotype (as emerges in the contributions by Cristiano Ragni, Nagihan Haliloğlu and Alice Equestri). In any case, the process of formation of *nationhood* is always forged in connection with the specific interests of the various communities that take part in it, through the strong intellectual tension that they imprint within the definition process, trying to make their own identity objectives coincide with those of the nation, and the nation coincide with their own identity objectives.

The nation, Benedict Anderson continues to remind us, is always an imagined community. And nothing as much as literature contributes fantastically (and sometimes dangerously) to imagining it as such.

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[1] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[2] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 1-18. The authors of the works of this fundamental canon are listed by Helgerson as a sort of an epigraph in the book: Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590-96), Edward Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England* (1628-1644), William Camden's *Britannia* (1586-1607), John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611-12), Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612-1622), Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1589-1600), William Shakespeare's English History Plays (1591-1599), Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594-1600).

[3] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[4] George R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government. Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 3.

[5] "The Act in Restraint of Appeals" (1533) 24 Henry VIII, c. 12, quoted in George R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 344.

[6] The perception of the Elizabethan age as the fulcrum of all English identity history had already emerged during the reign of Elizabeth, and continued to reverberate until the historiography of the 20th century. In 1958, for example, apropos of the centrality of the figure of Elizabeth in the formation of the national identity, Sir Roy Strong wrote: "For the Elizabethans all history led up to them. For the Stuarts all roads finally led back to Elizabeth" ["The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21:1/2 (January 1958): 86-103 (89)]. The centrality of this moment in the process of forming the English national identity has been acknowledged also by Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Shrank's point of view is, however, different from that of Helgerson: whereas Helgerson maintained that the events of the 1530s made the new idea of nationhood mature only much later, placing the development of a national self entirely within the Elizabethan age, Shrank instead anticipated this process to precisely the years

between 1530 and 1580. Already in the early Tudor age the impact of the separation from Rome influenced the development of a national language, of a new literary style, a new canon. Authors like Andrew Borde, John Leland, William Thomas, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Wilson, who participated in the formation of a renewed idea of nation, ensured that the Reformation had an immediate impact on the English cultural system.

[7] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 5.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006 [rev. edn]).

[9] Helgerson's image of the nation as a product of the discursive community of belonging, and therefore the dynamic equilibrium between the various nations imagined by various authors is expounded in the volume by Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). In her contribution, McEachern analyses in particular, beginning from the Act of Appeals (1533) with which Henry VIII proclaimed 'this realm of England is an Empire', the relationships between three great works of literature (*The Faerie Queene* by Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare's *Henry V* and *Poly-Olbion* by John Drayton) and three great themes around which three different elements of nationhood – the church, the crown, and the land – substantiate.

[10] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 251. On the central role of the Reformation and religious thought in the construction of English *nationhood* see also Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger, eds., *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), and in particular the contributions of Claire McEachern ("Introduction", 1-12) and Patrick Collinson ("Biblical rhetoric: the English nation and national sentiment in the prophetic mode", 15-45).

[11] I follow here the polarization proposed by Helgerson between apocalyptic and apologetic writings. According to the American scholar, two diametrically opposite formulations of religious discourse arose in the Elizabethan age, representing a sort of dualistic system; on the one hand, the writing was narrative and emotional, and on the other it had a speculative and rational approach: narration against thought, producing two radically

opposite constructions of the English religious identity. Even though much schematic here, this dichotomy (purified from its most extreme features) seems to me particularly effective in order to collect into two macrocategories the immense output of writings about religion published in England between 1500 and 1600. On apocalyptic writing, see Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978); Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1978); Charles A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Esther Gilman Richey, *The Politics of Revelation in the English Renaissance* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1998). On Anglican apologetics, see Avery Robert Dulles, *A History of Apologetics* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2005); Torrance Kirby, *Persuasion and Conversion: Essays on Religion, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[12] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes touching Matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and decribed the Great Persecutions [and] Horrible Troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousande, vnto the Tyme nowe present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies [and] Wrytinges Certificatorie, as wel of the Parties them selues that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the Doers therof, by Iohn Foxe* (London: imprinted by Iohn Day, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate. Cum priuilegio Regi[a]e Maiestatis, 1563). On the work of Foxe, I refer to William Haller, *Foxe's First Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963); Daniel M. Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Leicester: Scholar Press, 1997); Christopher Highley and John N. King, eds., *John Foxe and his World* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002); John N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). In particular, on the idea of *nationhood* in the *Acts and Monuments*,

see Janet M. Mueller, "Pain, Persecution and the Construction of Selfhood in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*", in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger, 161-187.

[13] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 256.

[14] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 266-267.

[15] Richard Hooker, *Of the Lavves of Ecclesiasticall Politie, Eyght Bookes* (London: printed by Iohn Windet, dwelling at the Signe of the Crosse Keyes neere Powles Wharffe, 1593). On Hooker's work, I refer to Robert K. Faulkner, *Richard Hooker and the Politics of a Christian England* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1981); Arthur S. McGrade, ed., *Richard Hooker and the Construction of Christian Community* (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997); Michael Brydon, *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). In particular, on the idea of *nationhood* in *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, see Debora Shuger, "«Society supernatural»: The immagined community of Hooker's *Laws*", in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger, 116-141.

[16] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 278.

[17] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 284.

[18] Conrad Russell, "Issues in the House of Commons 1621-1629: Predictors of Civil War Allegiance", *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 23:1 (Spring 1991), 23-39.

[19] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[20] For a general picture of the use of language in Shakespeare, see Catherine M.S. Alexander, ed., *Shakespeare and Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), with particular attention to the contributions of Jonathan Hope (chapter 1, "Shakespeare and Language: an Introduction", 1-17) and Muriel St Clare Byrne (chapter 3, "The Foundations of Elizabethan Language", 44-67).

[21] For an excursus on the progress of the canonisation of English as the national language, cf. Fredi Chiapelli, ed., *The Fairest Flower: The Emergence of Linguistic National Consciousness in Renaissance England. The International Conference of the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California (Los Angeles, 12-13 December 1983)* (Firenze: Accademia della

Crusca, 1985); and John H. Fisher, *The Emergence of Standard English* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

[22] Unpublished until the eighteenth century, Leland's *Itinerary* represented an extraordinary source of information for all the chorographers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; on John Leland's importance in the process of formation of the English national identity, see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England,* 65-103; in the 'chorographic canon' of early modern England may be included: William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1577); Christopher Saxton, *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1580); William Camden, *Britannia* (1587); John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae* (1598); John Speed, *Theater of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611); John Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (1612). On the development of chorography in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England, see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Charles Lancaster, *Seeing England: Antiquaries, Travellers and Naturalists* (Stroud: Nonsuch Publishing, 2008).

[23] On this theme, see Maurizio Vitta, *Il paesaggio. Una storia tra natura e architettura* (Torino, Einaudi, 2005).

[24] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 147.

[25] On the symbology of water and the ocean in the process of constructing the British Empire see Carl Schmitt, *Land und Meer. Eine Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtung* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1954), especially chapters. 9, 16 and 17.

[26] On the political (and highly imaginative) use of geography and cartography, see Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. by David Fausett (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

[27] The relationship between the dislocation at "the margins of the world" and the marginalization of the Other (the exotic, the barbarian, the foreigner) on the stage has been studied by John Gillis. Such exclusion was not, according to the scholar, only a matter of social position, but also of belonging – literal and above all visual – to the margins of the contemporary geographic map: *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), in particular 1-39.

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[28] Many studies have been devoted to the representation of foreigners in Shakespearean drama: see at least Anton J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cranbury, London and Missisauga: Associated University Press, 1992) and Lloyd E. Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 2009).

[29] On the representation of the Turk in the Elizabethan age, see Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University, 1999) and Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). In particular, with reference to the theatre of Shakespeare, see Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Stranger in Shakespeare: Studies in the Archetypal Underworld of the Plays* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), 1-42.

[30] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 10.

[31] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 11.

Alessandra Petrina

Speaking the Nation:
Identity through Language

One monologue in William Shakespeare's *Richard II*, over the centuries, has become especially memorable, and especially so in its own country, as a celebration of England. It is spoken by John of Gaunt, uncle to King Richard and one of the most powerful men of the English court in the late fourteenth century. Gaunt is portrayed as a 'prophet new inspir'd' on his deathbed:

> This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands;
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England
> […].[1]

The passage has often been cited out of context, as a testimony of Shakespeare's own patriotism, a paean to the glory of England. Yet, especially if it is read within the action of the play, it is not without ambiguities. As he speaks it, John of Gaunt, formerly one of the most powerful men of the House of Plantagenet, hopes to see the young king, his nephew, once more and make him understand his mistakes, which will cause the beginning of the

end of his reign, as the spectators well know; this is not a scene of triumph, but of nostalgia. As has been noted,

> Shakespeare's apparently definitive pronouncements on Englishness are not always what they seem or what they are taken to be. John of Gaunt's famous description of England as 'this sceptered isle' […] is shrouded in ironies. Of course, England is not an island and the speech should be read as a potential reminder that its boundaries are exceptionally porous and liable to be penetrated, a lesson the 'skipping king' has failed to learn.[2]

Shakespeare's spectators were of course aware of the ultimate fate of Richard II, forced to abdicate, imprisoned, and possibly killed; for them, these ironies would have been quite evident.

Given these premises, it is natural to wonder why Shakespeare would insert this extraordinary speech in his history play. He may have wanted to make us aware that geography is not what it seems: a definition of England in geographical terms is also a definition of its weaknesses. This nice balancing of jingoism with a salutary warning is what we also observe at the end of *Henry V*: here, after the conquest of France (evoked in its turn as 'the world's best garden', in the words of the Chorus) and the announced marriage between the English King and the French Princess, the playwright concludes this scene of undiluted triumph with a wry reminder that, in the space of a few decades, 'they lost France, and made his England bleed' (Epilogue, l. 12), passing from the present of immediate action to the past of historical contemplation.[3] Geographical and national boundaries are porous and flexible – simply a reflection of a wider philosophical attitude. Space, like the gardens to which both England and France are compared, is an organic construction, growing

and flourishing with the nation's own development and well-being, but liable, like all organisms, to illness and decay. In fact, the image of the garden as a metaphor for England is recurrent in Shakespeare: in *Cymbeline* the Queen evokes an analogous image, enjoining Cymbeline to remember

> The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
> As Neptune's park, ribb'd and pal'd in
> With oaks unscalable and roaring waters,
> With sands that will not bear your enemy's boats,
> But suck them up to th' topmast (III.i.18-22).

Here the phrase 'Neptune's park' evokes a water-garden, a felicitous conjunction of botanical imagery and of the central idea of England as an island. In *King John*, the shore is personified as spurning the ocean with its foot and 'cooping' its islanders (II.i.23-25); as for the symbol of the garden, it is of course one of the *leitmotifs* in *Richard II*, developed into a fully-fledged, articulated symbol in the garden scene in III.iv, with one of the gardeners explicitly evoking the image of 'our sea-walled garden, the whole land' (III.iv.43).[4] England as a garden becomes thus an ambiguous signifier: gardens are sites of beauty, but their very beauty bespeaks their fragility, and their openness to attack and penetration. Such connotations were particularly relevant in the use of the *topos* of the Garden of Love, as it is explored most famously in the *Roman de la Rose*: by setting this medieval symbol to new use, Shakespeare appears to highlight the femininity of the idea of nation (the whole garden scene in *Richard II* has at its centre, in a sort of *mise-en-abyme*, the figure of the Queen; Richard himself calls England 'gentle earth' upon his return, at III.ii.12), and at the same time to hark back to a previous tradition in English literary history: a tradition of gentleness and bravery evoked

through the images of courtly literature, or, as in the case of Bolingbroke at the end of *Richard II*, through nostalgia for a time of heroic deeds and crusades.[5]

Space is malleable, as shown by the literary symbolism in which it participates, and may be dependent on technology or ideology. In the opening act of *The Tempest*, Ferdinand declares 'space enough / Have I in such a prison' (I.ii.493-94), since love gives him the liberty his confinement denies him; nature defeats the space created by fortune in *All's Well that Ends Well* (I.i.222-23); 'The world's large spaces cannot parallel' the beauty of Helen of Troy (*Troilus and Cressida*, II.iii.162). The very fact that the action of the plays needs be confined in the limited space of the stage prompts a number of reflections on Shakespeare's part: the Prologue of *Henry V* invokes the strength of the spectators' minds against the physical boundaries of the stage. Space and its confinement can be overcome by imagination: as Hamlet notes, 'I could be bounded in a nutshell, and count myself a king of infinite space' (*Hamlet* II.ii.254-55). If space can be controlled or changed by an effort of will, time is instead the force that ultimately defeats mankind, and time is expressed in human terms through history. Throughout his work, Shakespeare shows a radical mistrust for what Feste, in *Twelfth Night*, calls 'the whirligig of time [which] brings in his revenges' (V.i.376-77); time is almost an object of terror in the *Sonnets*, insofar as it manifests itself not as a hostile force but as a relentless agent of change, as shown for instance in Sonnet 5:

> Those hours that with gentle work did frame
> The lovely gaze where every eye doth dwell
> Will play the tyrants to the very same,
> And that unfair which fairly doth excel:
> For never-resting time leads summer on
> To hideous winter and confounds him there,

> Sap checked with frost and lusty leaves quite gone,
> Beauty o'ersnow'd and bareness every where.

Here time is represented through the medieval image of a wheel on which good and bad fortune blindly alternate, just like the seasons, with their effects on human life. Shakespeare borrows an image first presented in Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* – one of the key texts for English culture, translated in turn by King Alfred, Geoffrey Chaucer, and Elizabeth I – offering the reader an individual reworking of its connotations within the frame of Petrarchan imagery.[6] It is a fascinating 'medieval' moment in Shakespeare's exploration of the lyric form, and one clue to his fascination with the past, both in political and in cultural terms.

It is, I would contend, at his strong sense of history, rather than at his garbled concept of geography, that we should look when we consider Shakespeare's idea of nation, and above all, of the English nation. This is obvious in his history plays: although in a number of works, such as *King Lear* or *Macbeth*, Shakespeare draws upon ancient British or Scottish history, he is mostly concerned with recent English political history – mainly the deeds of the House of Lancaster and the War of the Roses, as shown by the two tetralogies. The re-tracing of English history over the late Middle Ages defines also the emergence of the very concept of national identity; at the same time, by focusing on the Lancastrian and York dynasties Shakespeare chooses to concentrate on a very special period in English, and indeed European, history: what is today known, with a fairly antiquated terminology, as the *waning* of the Middle Ages.[7] In more specifically English terms, this also means that he is focusing on the emergence of English as the national language, and for a playwright obsessed with the power and role of

language, this cannot be coincidental, as shall be seen presently.

Over the last century much effort has been made to overcome the traditional, Jacob Burckhardt-inspired dichotomy between the 'dark ages' and the Renaissance, to the point that the very term *Renaissance* has become suspect, charged as it is with a superabundance of meaning.[8] Yet, in spite of the efforts of cultural and literary historians, and even of the creation of an *ad hoc* chair of 'Medieval and Renaissance English' at the University of Cambridge (a chair originally devised for C.S. Lewis), the division between medieval and early modern continues to plague fifteenth- and sixteenth-century studies, and scholars of Shakespeare in particular might be unduly biased by it.[9] As we study the passage from medieval to early modern in English culture, we are struck by the role of humanism and tend to stage the Tudor humanists – John Colet, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Thomas More[10] – as the heroes of the moment, opening provincial England to the wholesome continental influence; and there is little doubt that, in literary and educational terms, the debt is immense. Yet it may be argued that, as far as writing for the theatre is concerned, Shakespeare's debt is more with the native tradition than with European novelty:

> His writing […] evolved away from the humanist, with all its rules and restrictions, and towards the greater freedoms offered by the medieval: toward making the theatre a world in miniature. The medieval for Shakespeare, moreover, was specifically English. It connected with the contemporary nationalist movement that for the first time was insisting that English could hold its own against the best of Europe and the Classics; and a key element of Englishness was its own past, the vernacular traditions inherited from the Middle Ages.[11]

Although for many theatre historians today the English Middle Ages may seem little more than a prologue to Shakespeare, as we put ourselves in a sixteenth-century perspective we will find a radically different attitude. Here it may be useful to focus on one aspect in particular – the attitudes towards 'English', perceived above all as a literary language. The relation between the dominant language and the concept of nationality is a debated one; yet, as has convincingly been argued, 'its exceptional capacity for mobilizing the sense of extended community on which the new nation-state would come to depend was first properly understood in the sixteenth century'.[12] It may be argued that, in the case of England, we should move back at least a century to observe the emergence of a national consciousness linked to the affirmation of a national language. We can even pinpoint a convenient date for this shift: the years 1414-17, that is to say the years of the Papal Council of Constance. This Council had a many-sided effect on English culture, since it offered the first occasion of fruitful contact and exchange between Italian humanists and English potentates (on that occasion Poggio Bracciolini was invited by Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, to follow him to England and take up a position in his household as his Latin secretary);[13] it offered an opportunity for the dissemination of hitherto unknown works, such as Dante's *Divina Commedia*, in England;[14] but it also offered a public arena for a linguistic vindication on the part of the English. On this occasion, in fact, Thomas Polton, papal chaplain and English representative of the Secretariat of the Council, was 'the principal protagonist in the struggle by the English to maintain their privileges and position at the Council as a separate 'nation',[15] thus marking their distance from the French. For the first time, the English language was set on an international arena as a marker of nation-

Alessandra Petrina

hood; not by chance did this happen in the early decades
of the fifteenth century. The same period, in fact, wit-
nessed the emergence of English as the language of
Chancery, the language of official deeds and documents:
in August 1417, the month in which Henry V started his
second invasion of France, English appears to have been
established officially as the language of English bureau-
cracy.[16] Though of course the whole process was much
more gradual than these two episodes show, there is no
doubt that the early, most fortunate stage of the Lancas-
trian dynasty coincided with the affirmation of the Eng-
lish nation by means not only of its foreign politics and
wars of conquest, but also of its linguistic policy.

Such linguistic policy needed a literary model and
cultural support, which came with the early literary can-
onisation of Geoffrey Chaucer. Chaucer died in 1400,
and the following generation (in fact, the so-called Lan-
castrian poets) initiated a process of celebration and
acknowledgement of his achievements that would culmi-
nate in 1532, with William Thynne's edition of Chau-
cer's works.[17] Elected, improbably, 'laureate poet',[18]
Chaucer would be hailed in the following centuries as the
father of English poetry; in this perspective, his own at-
tention to the quality and role of the English language
becomes particularly significant. In the opening lines of
his *Treatise of the Astrolabe*, dedicated to his little son
Lewis, Chaucer defends his choice of writing in English
(in order to be understood by a little boy whose Latin is
still deficient) and inserts a prayer for the King: 'And
preie God save the king, that is lord of this langage'.[19]
Chaucer was offering his readers the perfect union of lin-
guistic consciousness and sense of national identity. Two
centuries later, Spenser will echo this sentiment in a letter
to Gabriel Harvey: 'Why a God's name, may not we, as

else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language?'.[20]

Shakespeare also dedicates explicit passages to Chaucer, the most famous probably being the Prologue to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (whether, of course, this was written by Shakespeare himself or by John Fletcher), the only instance in which Chaucer is actually mentioned by name in the Shakespearean canon. Here, after comparing a new play to the state of maidenhead, so as to extoll the former's modesty in relation to its excellence, the writer expresses his hopes for this play, since 'It has a noble breeder, and a pure, / A learned, and a poet never went / More famous yet 'twixt Po and silver Trent' (ll. 10–12).[21] These lines, with their reference to an Italian and an English river, offer us a clue as to the attitude early modern English writers had toward their double inheritance. In acknowledging Chaucer as the 'breeder' of his play, Shakespeare complements what Brian Tuke had written in the Prologue to William Thynne's 1532 edition of Chaucer's works, calling him 'that noble & famous clerke', and expressing amazement that such a poet should have flourished 'whan doutlesse all good letters were layde a slepe through out the worlde'.[22] Chaucer was identified with a new beginning for English literature, embodying the identification between *English literature* and *literature in English* that was to be so important under the Lancastrian monarchs when English finally acquired the status of a national language and marked the nation's distance from the ancient enemy, France.[23]

Chaucer's proud upholding of English, coupled with his prayer to the king 'that is lord of this langage', became a cornerstone in the definition of a national identity that was a fundamental part of the transition from medieval to early modern England. Chaucer is also the first

English poet to gain international recognition in his own lifetime; and aptly enough, the first 'public' homage paid to Chaucer by a non-English poet centres upon the image of the garden. In the opening stanza of the *Ballade* Eustache Deschamps dedicates to Geoffrey Chaucer we read a famous description of the English poet, who is envisaged as the *gardener* of the English language and by extension of English poetry:

> O Socrates plains de philosophie,
> Seneque en meurs et Auglux en pratique,
> Ovides grans en ta poeterie,
> Bries en parler, saiges en rethorique,
> Aigles treshaulz, qui par ta theorique
> Enlumines le regne d'Eneas,
> L'Isle aux Geans, ceuls de Bruth, et qui as
> Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier,
> Aux ignorans de la langue pandras,
> Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.[24]

Shakespeare's allusions to the garden of England might therefore also resonate in the minds of the well-read spectators as an oblique reference to the paragon of English language and poetry, against whom all subsequent writers measured themselves.

Shakespeare's awareness of language as a marker of nationhood is generally expressed not in celebration, as in the case of Chaucer outlined above, but when such belonging is threatened. The most poignant instance is once again from *Richard II*, when Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, is condemned to exile:

> The language I have learnt these forty years,
> My native English, now I must forgo,
> And now my tongue's use is to me no more
> Than an unstringed viol or a harp,

> Or like a cunning instrument cas'd up,
> Or being open, put into his hands
> That knows no touch to tune the harmony.
> Within my mouth you have enjail'd my tongue
> (I.iii.159-66).

The passage plays upon two basic metaphors: harmony and imprisonment. Through these two images we see the effect of the 'expulsion from a community of English speakers',[25] but above all, we see silence – translated into lack of harmony – as its worst effect. To be exiled is to be effectively silenced: to have no possibility of communication. This might explain why Shakespeare rarely mentions dialect and its variations, though there must have been many variations of the kind in the spoken language of London: the idea of a different language as a marker of exclusion casts a negative light upon the use of dialects as shorthand for a local community, and the very idea of local community jars with the idea of nationhood Shakespeare discusses in a number of his plays. An obvious comparison is with the delight Chaucer expresses in alluding to dialect variations (as in *The Reeve's Tale* where the two students, Aleyn and John, are gently mocked for their northern speech), or even to literary variations depending on regional differences, as when the Parson, one of the pilgrims of *The Canterbury Tales*, excuses his shortcomings as a story-teller by saying:

> But trusteth wel, I am a Southren man;
> I kan nat geeste 'rum, ram, ruf,' by lettre,
> Ne, God woot, rym holde I but litel bettre.[26]

Chaucer highlights in these variations the linguistic and poetic richness they bespeak. In Shakespeare, instead,

dialect variations appear to play a different role, as the playwright shows more interest in sociolects:

> There are scenes in Shakespeare where accent and dialect are apparently objectified, identified as different. Perhaps significantly, most of the varieties identified in this way are national rather than regional (for example, in *Henry V* and *Merry Wives*), but Hal's baiting of the drawers in *2 Henry IV* does seem to rest on the assumption of a standard dialect from which the drawers deviate because of low social class […] Here I think we see one aspect of the Early Modern reading of variation which escapes us. They were not overly sensitive to geographical variation, but they were highly sensitive to social variation which, at a time when there is no non-regional upper class accent, is marked mainly by lexical variation, and the use of different modes of discourse.[27]

Language in Shakespeare defines 'who's in, who's out'.[28] Thus the Host of the Garter in *Merry Wives* is more 'in', though evidently and cheerfully illiterate, than the French Doctor Caius or the Welsh Parson Evans, whose malapropisms generate misunderstandings and impede communication. *Henry V* invokes the same principle in the brief scene between the four captains (III.ii.74-141), centring upon the idea of 'nation' as invoked by Fluellen and Macmorris. Even more significant is, of course, the wooing scene concluding *Henry V*: here the victorious Hal has a half-comic, half-romantic conversation with the French Princess Katherine, shortly to be his bride, and each one's linguistic shortcomings are made to participate in a game of nascent love, at the beginning of which the Princess declares, significantly, 'I cannot speak *your*

England' (V.ii.102-03; my italics), and which Hal cuts short, exclaiming,

> Now fie upon my false French! By mine honor, in true English, I love thee, Kate […] Come, your answer in broken music; for thy voice is music and thy English broken; therefore, queen of all, Katherine, break thy mind to me in broken English – wilt thou have me? (V.ii.220-21, 243-46).

Shakespeare and his spectators would have known that this scene historically makes no sense, since Henry V, as a scion of the House of Lancaster, obviously spoke excellent French, and no princess of France at the time would ever dream of speaking in (even broken) English. The use of English in this scene, however, does not answer a purely practical purpose, since Shakespeare does insert long stretches in French in this same play, and the audience is ensured a rough understanding of the development of the action at this stage. The image Henry's words evoke is that of Katherine's 'broken music' – not, as might be supposed, interrupted or discordant music, but music as it was produced in a broken consort, arranged in such a way as to be played by different instruments, all contributing to the same output: the miracle of creating harmony from diversity. This scene can be contrasted with an analogous scene of conjugal or quasi-conjugal love, in which language is not a means of union but an obstacle: it is the scene between the English Sir Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and his Welsh-speaking wife in *1 Henry IV* (III.i.190-244).

> I understand thy looks. That pretty Welsh
> Which thou pourest down from these swelling heavens
> I am too perfect in, and but for shame,
> In such a parley should I answer thee.
> I understand thy kisses, and thou mine,

> And that's a feeling disputation,
> But I will never be a truant, love,
> Till I have learn'd thy language, for thy tongue
> Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penn'd,
> Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bow'r,
> With ravishing division, to her lute (III.i.198-208).

Here Welsh, sweet but incomprehensible, is not a language of communication but a sound of enchantment; it prevents true harmony between husband and wife, though the former captures something of its charm. Though Mortimer acknowledges the beauty of the sounds he hears, his words speak of *disputation* and *division*; there is no certainty of fruitful harmony in his words of love to his wife, as there is in King Henry's entreaties.

The exploration of national identity through language does not belong uniquely to the history plays, but it widens to become a category of the spirit in some major tragedies. Nations, Benedict Anderson reminds us, are 'imagined communities';[29] the evocation of the English community takes place through the medium that is most familiar to Shakespeare even outside a topical reflection on the recent history of England. In exploring this concept in the tragedies, often set in faraway countries, Shakespeare reminds us, as Derek Cohen notes, that 'a nation as a nation is, among other things, a collectivity of people made aware by its own history of the possibility of a catastrophe capable of threatening its existence'.[30] Tragedy, Cohen continues, is necessary to the social organism as it 'teaches the constant and imminent possibility of the triumph of injustice and accident'.[31] When we think of the concept of nation, just as we do when we think of the concept of Middle Ages in connection with Shakespeare, we naturally turn our attention to the history plays. But the very topicality of these texts would not have allowed for an unbiased reflection on the idea of na-

tion, and allusions to single individuals and episodes would have struck a note of recognisability in the audience that inevitably linked the very idea of nation with patriotism and propaganda. In some of the tragedies, on the other hand, Shakespeare can offer us a meditation that is untrammelled by local history or the collective memory of the community for which he is writing.

The final part of this essay therefore offers some reflections on *Othello*, a tragedy in which the exotic setting allows for a reflection on the concepts of nationhood and community.[32] Most of the action in *Othello* takes place in Cyprus, an island, then as today, divided between various ruling or invading countries, to all intents and purposes a 'no man's land', a contact zone between different religions and different civilizations but, for that very reason, an area of ambiguity and confusion. In Cyprus there is no Venetian authority, no stability of the law, no 'home' for Othello himself, or for any of the other characters. In the sixteenth century Cyprus was an island constantly on the political borderline between Christian and Muslim worlds; though held by Venetians, it existed in Ottoman-dominated waters,[33] and its belonging to one or another world was constantly threatened, its political stability in jeopardy. In the play the Venetians are shown to be in secure possession of Cyprus, but the island in real life had been ceded to the Ottomans in 1573, and the London spectators would have been aware of this, and of the precariousness of Venetian domination.[34] Appropriately, Shakespeare sets the descent into chaos in Othello's mind in this most unruly island; to lose one's mind means, at the same time, to relinquish the concept of national identity and of one's national language.

'The word 'nation' appears only once in *Othello*'.[35] Of course, the play where this word is more frequent is *Henry V* – and we might indeed consider this play almost

a celebration of the very concept of conquering and dominant nation, a triumph of patriotism for the playwright as well as the audience. In *Othello* the word occurs quite early in the play, when the senator Brabantio, who has just been made aware of his daughter's elopement with the Moor and is mad with fury and grief, accuses the latter:

> O thou foul thief, where hast thou stow'd my daughter?
> Damn'd as thou art, thou hast enchanted her,
> For I'll refer me to all things of sense,
> If she in chains of magic were not bound,
> Whether a maid so tender, fair, and happy,
> So opposite to marriage that she shunn'd
> The wealthy curled darlings of our nation,
> Would ever have, t' incur a general mock,
> Run from her guardage to the sooty bosom
> Of such a thing as thou – (I.ii.62-71).

To modern ears, it is a frankly horrible speech, all played on the contrast between 'who's in, who's out'; only a mad woman would voluntarily refuse who is in (the curled darlings of *our nation*) to run into the embrace of such a *thing*. Here the meaning of the term *nation* obviously degenerates into *race* or *community*, terms which become synonymous with one's own nature – while *nation* was determinedly inclusive in *Henry V*, embracing the Scot, the Welsh and the Irish as well as the English, it is evidently employed for its exclusive value in *Othello*. *Nation* becomes synonymous with *nature*:[36] in Act 3, Iago will exclaim on the same apparent paradox of Desdemona refusing the proposed matches 'of her own clime, complexion, and degree' (III.iii.230) – an interesting tripartite list setting on the same level geographic provenance, ethnicity, and social status. As has been justly observed, 'Othello by his difference enables the "Ve-

netians" to discover themselves as a nation through the articulation of difference':[37] the deliberate setting apart and isolation of the protagonist on the part of Iago or Brabantio works towards a re-definition and a confirmation of the 'original' community.

The difference between Venice and Cyprus is inscribed in the expression of this paradox: the former is orderly and self-contained, certain of its identity even if it holds on to its own order by racist means, the latter is the opposite.[38] Othello himself becomes the victim of this ambiguous state of affairs, given his desire to be a member of the same community that isolates him: a formal and perfect gentleman in Venice, he regresses, once in Cyprus, to his barbaric, 'Moorish' self. This regression appears with startling clarity as, already inflamed with jealousy, he welcomes Lodovico with a phrase that joins the island with the symbolic inhabitants of hell: 'You are welcome, sir, to Cyprus. – Goats and monkeys!' (IV.i.264); it is evident in his actions and especially in his reaction to Iago's tale of the handkerchief, and is mirrored throughout the play by the changes in his use of language, an issue that has raised critical discussion and dissension. In a play in which the central characters (Iago and Cassio in particular) speak a very specific idiolect,[39] Othello's speech signals a fracture in his own personality. G. Wilson Knight famously wrote of the *Othello* music, intriguingly noting of the play that 'it holds a rich music all its own, and possesses a unique solidity and precision of picturesque phrase or image, a peculiar chastity and serenity of thought. It is, as a rule, barren of direct metaphysical content. Its thought does not mesh with the reader's: rather it is always outside us, aloof'.[40] In fact, the critic appears to find an alien note in Othello's speech: 'it […] sinks sometimes to a studied artificiality, nerveless and without force'.[41] In the first part of the

play, Othello's cultivated rhetoric appears almost osten-
tatious: this is evident when he finds it necessary to ex-
plain his own cultivated phrases, explaining to the Vene-
tians that once he met 'the Cannibals that each other eat, /
the *Anthropophagi*' (I.iii.143-44, my emphasis).[42] It is
certainly part of his strategy of self-representation, his
need to project himself onto an audience in order to
demonstrate his own existence.[43] As a number of critics
have noted, the formal magnificence of his language sets
him apart from other protagonists of the tragedies, such
as Hamlet or Macbeth: 'Shakespeare's more sophisticat-
ed characters […] do not engage in the heavy-handed
"mistaking the word" which isolates individual meanings
is static positions: instead they invest language with flu-
idity',[44] indulging in word-play and deliberate equivoca-
tion. Othello, on the other hand, does not quite manage
this: his hyper-precise choice of words condemns his
language to splendid immobility, a static grandeur that
admits no ambiguity. The reader or spectator may imme-
diately pick up the social, or possibly racial, slur on the
part of Iago when he calls Othello's jealousy 'unbookish'
(IV.i.101), since the latter's early speeches include such
little-used words as *portance* (I.iii.139) or *agnize*
(I.iii.231): indications not so much of 'exotic touches' in
his speech, as has been observed,[45] as of an exhibition of
his own learning through the use of Latinate discourse.
His choice of words is meant to bespeak nobility or eru-
dition, and that is underlined by his falsely modest dis-
claimer, 'Rude am I in my speech / And little bless'd
with the soft phrase of peace' (I.iii.81-82), a disclaimer
just preceding his revelation that Desdemona was con-
quered by that same rude speech. But it is also true that,
by the time Iago mentions Othello's unbookish jealousy,
the latter's language has irrevocably and suddenly veered
towards the coarse and even the animal-like. As language

does not properly belong to him, it seems he cannot manipulate it.

Other critics have focussed on a very specific rhetorical strategy in Othello's speech – hendiadys – and it is worthwhile quoting Lynne Magnusson at length, in order to see whether it confirms the hypothesis that this character's use of language mirrors his troubled and ultimately disastrous relationship with his adopted nation:

> Othello's long speeches in Act I can be distinguished partly by their amplitude, by a high degree of elaboration and embellishment. Characteristic are the nominal and adjectival doublets, in some instances marked by syntactic strangeness bearing some relation to hendiadys: Othello speaks of 'circumscription and confine' (1.2.27), 'the flinty and steel couch of war' (1.3.229), 'A natural and prompt alacrity' (231), 'such accommodation and besort' (237), being 'free and bounteous to her mind' (265), 'serious and great business' (267), 'speculative and officed instruments' (270), 'all indign and base adversities' (273). In what George Wilson Knight called the 'Othello music', there is, E. A. J. Honigmann has suggested, a complicating note of bombast. It is an eloquence that displays its eloquent performance, not – like Desdemona's – an eloquence that bespeaks its adequacy.[46]

Once again, this 'high degree of elaboration' is evident in the first, 'Venetian' part of Othello's parable. Hendiadys is, once again, a Latinate construction that became extremely popular in English juridical speech by virtue of its ability to couple Anglo-Saxon and romance words and give them equal value in the eye of the law; on the stage, it bespeaks the linguistic effort of the character, but it can also reveal his or her subtlety: as Wright notes, 'hendiadys makes us do a double take, and many instances together may make us feel uneasy'.[47] This is evident, for

instance, in the case of a famous hendiadys such as Macbeth's *sound and fury*, in which the analogy between the two words is only apparent; the realisation of their fundamental diversity creates a curious *Verfremdung* effect in the ears of the audience. What is created with this skewed use of the rhetorical strategy is well described by Graham Bradshaw: 'the elusive, disagreeable effect of not being able to see just how they are related resembles the queasiness we feel when we can't bring something into focus'.[48]

Othello's use of hendiadys appears to highlight his parable from civilisation to bestiality. In the opening scenes his use of the figure of speech is 'orotund',[49] as shown in I.ii.21-22: 'I fetch my life and being / From men of royal siege', shortly followed by the alliterating 'circumscription and confine' (I.ii.27) and by the resounding 'the very head and front of my offending' (I.iii.80). In all these cases the effect is reassuring and slightly cloying, as if Othello could not help his penchant for bombast even when he defends himself.[50] The second half of the play, on the other hand, witnesses a different use of hendiadys, which first disappears completely, after his conversation with Iago (III.iii) has set his mind in doubt and turmoil: his sentences become short and mostly composed of monosyllabic words. The figure reappears, though its use is much reduced, after the 'Farewell' monologue (III.iii.348-57) but in a distorted form, from the inevitable 'Death and damnation' (III.iii.396), to the self-mocking signal of his own degradation, 'A horned man's a monster and a beast' (IV.i.62), to the 'body and beauty' of IV.i.205, referred to Desdemona, substituting the expected *body and soul* and reinforcing it with alliteration. Most significant for my purpose is the 'malignant and turbaned Turk' of V.ii.353, in which the hendiadys is built by juxtaposing an adjective of quality

with an adjective of ethnicity. In general, these hendiadys 'display Othello's carelessness about the precise relations between entities',[51] but I would argue this carelessness is an on-going, increasing process, part of Shakespeare's observation of this character's disintegration, and his progressive loss of his sense of belonging.

'Nation and vernacularity are natural collaborators',[52] and Shakespeare found himself, with a natural gift for the manipulation of the vernacular and with a uniquely receptive audience, upholding a concept of nation in its vernacular expression. A gift to the English theatre, and perhaps also a key to understanding the secular link that has since been forged between Shakespeare's works and the very idea of the English nation.

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[1] *Richard II*, II.i.40-50. For quotations from Shakespeare's works, the edition used throughout is *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. Gwynne Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

[2] Andrew Hadfield, "Afterword: One of Those Days in England", in *This England, that Shakespeare: New Angles on Englishness and the Bard*, ed. Willy Maley and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 221-24, (223).

[3] On the change of tenses in the Epilogue see R. L. Smallwood, "Shakespeare's Use of History", in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 143-62 (143-44).

[4] On this point see Michael Neill, "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45 (1994): 1-32 (13-14).

[5] Henry Bolingbroke, at the end of the play, receives the crown on the basis of popular consent rather than divine mandate, and forces the previous, anointed King, Richard, to abdicate. The unnaturalness of this action, which breaks with all previous tradition, becomes apparent once the deposed King is killed. Hence Bolingbroke's decision to go to the Holy Land, in an attempt to revive in himself the figure of a holy, medieval king. Significantly his vow will never be fulfilled.

[6] *De consolatione* was also printed by William Caxton in 1478 (using Chaucer's translation); different English versions were printed in 1535, 1556, and 1609. It is therefore conceivable that Shakespeare should at least have known of this key-text.

[7] The phrase was gained acceptance after the publication, in 1919, of Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, translated as *The Waning of the Middle Ages* in 1924 and as *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* in 1996.

[8] For some important contributions to this debate, see Lee Patterson, "On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies", *Speculum* 65 (1990): 87-108; Jo Tollebeek, "'Renaissance' and 'Fossilization': Michelet, Burckhardt, and Huizinga", *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001): 354-66; and William N. West, "Jacob Burckhardt's Untimely Observations", *Modern Language Quarterly* 68 (2007): 27-51.

[9] A recent, impassioned plea on the subject is Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). See also *Medieval Shakespeare. Pasts*

and Presents, ed. Ruth Morse, Helen Cooper and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[10] The inclusion of Erasmus among the 'Tudor humanists' is suggested by Joseph B. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More: The Early Tudor Humanists and their Books* (London: British Library, 1991).

[11] Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World*, (London: Methuen, 2010), 3.

[12] Neill, "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories", 14.

[13] Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941 [2nd ed. 1957]), 13-21; David Rundle, "On the Difference between Virtue and Weiss: Humanist Texts in England during the Fifteenth Century", in *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Diana E. S. Dunn (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996), 181-203. See also Martin C. Davies, *Friends and Enemies of Poggio: Studies in Quattrocento Humanist Literature* (Oxford: D.Phil. thesis, 1986). In recent times the most popular account of Bracciolini's life is the one offered by Stephen Grenblatt in his best-selling *The Swerve. How the Renaissance Began* (London: The Bodley Head, 2011); it must be acknowledged, however, that this account is largely second-hand and vitiated by Greenblatt's attempt to present Bracciolini as an innovator at all costs. On this point see the excellent book review forum published in *Exemplaria* 25 (2013): 313-70.

[14] David Wallace, "Dante in Somerset: Ghosts, Historiography, Periodization", in *New Medieval Literatures 3*, ed. David Lawton, Wendy Scase and Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9-38. See also Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 199-202.

[15] Albinia C. De la Mare, "Manuscripts Given to the University of Oxford by Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester", *The Bodleian Library Record* 13 (1988): 30-51, 112-21 (114).

[16] John H. Fisher, "Caxton and Chancery English", in *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays*, ed. Robert F. Yeager (Hamden: Archon Books, 1984), 161-85 (161-62).

[17] On this point see Greg Walker, *Writing under Tyranny. English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 56-72.

[18] Although Chaucer correctly attributed this title to Francesco Petrarca in the Prologue to the Clerk's Tale, his fifteenth-century imitators thought it fit to attribute it to him. See Alessandra Petrina, "'With his Penne and Langage Laureate': The Symbolic Significance of the Laurel Crown", *Studi Petrarcheschi* 23 (2010): 161-85.

[19] *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, ll. 56-57. For all quotations from Chaucer the edition used is *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[20] *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, 11 vols, ed. Edwin Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932-57), vol. 10, 16. See also Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1-18.

[21] On this point see Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, 30.

[22] *The workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes whiche were neuer in print before: as in the table more playnly dothe appere* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1532), sig. Aii.

[23] This is explored in full in John H. Fisher, *The Emergence of Standard English* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

[24] *Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Didot, 1880), II, 138-40. This is the translation proposed by Thomas Atkinson Jenkins: 'O Socrates full of wisdom, a Seneca in uprightness of life, an Aulus Gellius in practical affairs, an Ovid great in thy poetic lore, brief in expression, wise in the art of the versifier: – lofty eagle (genius), who by thy science dost illuminate the kingdom of Aeneas, the Isle of Giants – they of Brutus – and who hast sown there the flowers (of verse) and planted the Rose-tree for (the benefit of) those ignorant of the Grecian tongue, O great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer'. See Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, "Deschamps' Ballade to Chaucer", *Modern Language Notes* 33 (1918): 268-78 (270).

[25] Neill, "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories", 15.

[26] The Parson's Prologue, ll. 42-44.

[27] Jonathan Hope, "Shakespeare and Language: An Introduction", in *Shakespeare and Language*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 1-17 (7). Hope appears to use the word dialect when sociolect would be more appropriate.

[28] *King Lear*, V.iii.15. On Lear's speech and his desire for freedom from the court, see Jason Scott-Warren, *Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 43-45.

[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006 [rev. edn]).

[30] Derek Cohen, "Tragedy and the Nation: *Othello*", *University of Toronto Quarterly* 66 (1997): 526-38 (526).

[31] Cohen, "Tragedy and the Nation: *Othello*", 526.

[32] I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Maurizio Ascari and Laura Tosi, who discussed the last part of this article with me, and offered a number of valuable suggestions.

[33] Helen Vella Bonavita, "The Plague of Christendom: Discourse and Chastity in *Othello*", in *Renaissance Poetry and Drama in Context: Essays for Christopher Wortham*, ed. Andrew Lynch and Anne M. Scott (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 61-72 (62).

[34] In 1572 John Day printed the English translation of an Italian report on the Venetian-Ottoman conflict over Cyprus (Th*e true report of all the successe of Famagosta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a citie in Cyprus [...] Englished out of Italian by William Malim*, London: Iohn Daye, 1572).

[35] Cohen, "Tragedy and the Nation: *Othello*", 529. See also John Bartlett, *A Complete Concordance or Verbal Index to Words, Phrases and Passages in the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1894).

[36] Cohen, "Tragedy and the Nation: *Othello*", 529.

[37] Cohen, "Tragedy and the Nation: *Othello*", 530.

[38] Cohen, "Tragedy and the Nation: *Othello*", 530-31.

[39] As noted by Laurie Maguire in her *Othello: Language and Writing* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 44-50.

[40] G. Wilson Knight, "The *Othello* Music", in *The Wheel of Fire: Interpretations of Shakespearean Tragedy with Three New Essays* (London: Methuen, 1949), 97-119 (97-98).

[41] Wilson Knight, "The Othello Music", 100.

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[42] Maguire notes that Othello's speech here 'provides the most exotic and multisyllabic vocabulary in the play so far' (25).

[43] This is the starting point of Alessandro Serpieri's analysis (which adopts the psychoanalytical approach, and is therefore rather distant from the methodology of this essay). See his *Otello: l'Eros negato. Psicoanalisi di una proiezione distruttiva* (Milano: Edizioni Il Formichiere, 1978).

[44] Hope, "Shakespeare and Language: An Introduction", 13. The critic is here referring to Romeo, Mercutio, Hamlet.

[45] Lynne Magnusson, "'Voice Potential': Language and Symbolic Capital in *Othello*", in *Shakespeare and Language*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 213-225 (224).

[46] Magnusson, "'Voice Potential': Language and Symbolic Capital in *Othello*", 218-19. On the use of hendiadys in Shakespeare, and especially in *Hamlet*, see George T. Wright, "Hendiadys and *Hamlet*", *PMLA* 96 (1981): 168-93.

[47] Wright, "Hendiadys and *Hamlet*", 175.

[48] Graham Bradshaw, "Othello's Exsufflations", in *Renaissance Poetry and Drama in Context: Essays for Christopher Wortham*, ed. Andrew Lynch and Anne M. Scott (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 73-89 (76).

[49] The adjective is Wright's "Hendiadys and *Hamlet*", 175.

[50] As noted above, this is also the word used by Edward A. J. Honigmann in his "Shakespeare's 'Bombast'", in *Shakespeare's Styles: Essays in Honour of Kenneth Muir*, ed. Philip Edwards, Inga-Stina Ewbank, and G. K. Hunter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 151-162 (158-59).

[51] Wright, "Hendiadys and *Hamlet*", 175.

[52] Ardis Butterfield, "National Histories", in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 33-55 (33).

Gabriella Del Lungo

Writing the Map of Tudor England: John Leland's 'Itinerary'

Introduction

The ideological construction of the early modern English nation has among its constitutive elements, a distinctly national poetry and a distinctly national legal system. No less important is the definition of the nation's space as the central core of its identity to distinguish it from its neighbours and former self.[1] In the early modern period the definition of England's national space was given by John Leland (1506-1552) in his travelogue called *The Itinerary,* with a choreographic representation of the territories he passed through in what we may call his 'home tour'. This work can be considered the first step towards establishing England's virtual boundaries as against other surrounding territories and the construction of a collective sense of place, or spatial belonging. Though his work consists of notes he took for his own personal use, Leland actually provided a unique source of raw material and observations for the use of subsequent antiquaries engaged in the intentional construction of discourses that ideologised England as a nation. The present essay also argues that the interdependence of English space and identity was mostly established by Leland through the creation of an English landscape out of the natural space he was observing and the narration of local history.[2]

In 1533, the king authorised Leland to examine and use the libraries of all the religious houses in England. Leland spent the years between 1533 and 1536 travelling

from one religious house to another, in most cases shortly before they were dissolved, to examine their libraries in order to compile lists of important manuscripts and volumes, so as to encourage their preservation. By about 1538, Leland had turned his attention to the topography and antiquities of England and Wales and had embarked on a series of journeys which lasted till about 1543. He kept notebooks on his travels, in which he entered information based on his personal observations as well as books, charters and oral sources. This material was gathered together with the intention of producing an extensive work on the *History and Antiquities of this Nation*. However, he never wrote his *magnus opus*. His notes remained unpublished till the eighteenth century, when they came out, between 1710 and 1712, as *Leland's Itinerary*. However, the notes he made on his journeys about the places he had seen and the knowledge gathered were circulated in manuscript form and provided an important quarry of data for subsequent antiquarian works on the construction of England's national identity, the first being William Camden's *Britannia* 1586.[3]

Space and Identity

Before dealing with the text by Leland, it is perhaps useful to say a few words about the notion of space, both natural and mental, and the various ways in which it is conceptualised. In his work on the production of space, Lefebvre claims that territorial spaces, whether regional, national, continental or worldwide, are the responsibility of planners and economists.[4] Clearly literary authors have written much that is relevant, especially descriptions of places and sites, and a coded language may be said to have come into existence on the practical basis of

a specific relationship between town, country and political territory from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[5] The notion of space embodies social relationships, so each society develops a representation of its own space as the basis for social practice, which is itself the result of a historical change in the relationship between nature and human beings, town and country. Representations of space therefore play a substantial role and have a specific influence on the production of space, whether textual or iconic.[6]

The importance of discourses about space and its relationship to identity is highlighted by Benwell and Stokoe, who devote a chapter of their *Discourse and Identity* (2006) to spatial identity. They confirm the role of social practices in constructing both representational spaces and representations of space, but also reaffirm the importance of discourse about space. They write that spatial identity, like any other type of identity, is embodied in both talk, text, and social practices. National boundaries have force and accountability not only by virtue of their brute physical existence, but also thanks to how they are described, categorised, made relevant and enforced in laws, statutes and accounts.[7] In short, according to these scholars, there is no such thing as a place or a community *per se*, but they are the mere constructions of discourses and practices.

Historically, each territory can be interpreted and described by applying a code that is both a means of living in a space and of producing it. In early modern Europe, the rise of merchant capitalism shifted focus from the city state to the nation state and altered the relationship between town and country. A new discourse emerged to represent a new kind of space: new public buildings and the palaces of political leaders and institutions appeared next to the representational spaces of medieval society

such as monasteries, cathedrals and manors, which persisted as the substratum of the new symbolic constructions. In early modern England, the socio-political forces that occupied its natural space also produced a concept of political space at once civil and religious, which preserved and incorporated bloodlines, family, and social relations. The code used to interpret this new reality was grounded in the Antiquarian movement, whose precursor was John Leland. He is the link between the Middle Ages and the modern period in that he surveyed those monuments of mediaeval culture that were the monastic libraries for the King and recorded the evidence for a history of England to be seen in the form of both natural features and archaeological remains.

Travel Writing in Early Modern England

Writing and travel have always been intimately connected. The biblical and classical traditions are rich in examples of travel writing and numerous records of pilgrimages survive from the Middle Ages. In the early modern period the expansion of dominion to new territories and the founding of colonies was accompanied by travel accounts as both political and commercial sponsors wanted reports and maps. Gradually, eyewitness accounts were preferred to fictional texts of travellers, such as *Utopia* (1516).

Hulme and Youngs in their recent *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* complain about 'the absence within the academy of a tradition of critical attention to travel writing' and state that, since this area of study is not yet well defined, they offer a tentative map of a vast, little explored area.[8] Their broad definition of travel writing in England since 1500, however, does not include an-

tiquarian travel, which was not infrequently undertaken to survey the features of a place or a region so as to produce a graphic representation of these features on a map (see for instance, the case of Ortelius), and also, very often, to write a travel account. Surely, the narrative accounts of overseas ventures helped to define the borders of the nation as opposed to those of other European nations in the race to acquire colonies and establish a well-defined English identity, constructed on an inside and an outside, an *us* versus *them*. Yet, the definition of the inside was considered the task of the Antiquarian movement. Within this framework, Leland can be considered the founder of the modern discourse of national identity in its inner form: his travel notes, used by later antiquarians, contributed to the creation of a collective sense of spatial belonging. The map of England that emerges from his *Itinerary* makes use of both place and time dimensions: it contains near cartographic descriptions of natural features and observations on the historical monuments and ruins that bear witness to English culture present in the territory since Roman times.[9]

Since it displays both spatial and temporal characteristics, Leland's *Itinerary* can be defined a travelogue, which is the textual/literary transcription of a single person's experience of touring a place; it may record the traveller's adventures and can include virtually anything encountered on a journey: what the traveller sees, his/her observations, etc. As already observed, it is an old genre comprising both factual and fictional texts and dating from antiquity (*Exodus*, *Odyssey, Aeneid*), late antiquity (*Itineraria* to the Holy Land written by early Christian pilgrims, such as Egeria towards the end of the fourth century), and the Middle Ages (Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Marco Polo's *Il Milione,* pilgrim's itineraries, Mandeville's *Travels,* just to mention a few well known travel

accounts). During the sixteenth century, writing became an essential part of travelling as political or commercial sponsors demanded reports, maps and eye-witness accounts of newly discovered territories. Distinguishing fact from fiction became important, even if the process was made much more difficult by the *topos* of the claim to empirical truthfulness so crucial to both factual and fictional travel stories.[10]

Linguistic Features of Early Modern Travelogues

According to Virtanen early modern travelogue texts make use of two discourse strategies: the one temporal and the other locative. On the one hand, they have been classified as (non-imaginative) narrative because they manifest an underlying temporal discourse strategy. In other words, to a large extent these texts seem to conform to a chronologically ordered series of events as experienced by the traveller.[11] And in fact they exemplify the prototypical linguistic features of first-person narration: first person singular pronouns, past tense, sentence-initial adverbials of time. The writer reports, narrates or describes the highlights of his journey, focusing on what he finds worth communicating to readers in a temporal sequence. In short, travelogue texts are reports or chronicles rather than stories, that is, a causally related series of events leading to a situation that is different from the one at the outset. They are mere records of what happened and in what order.

On the other hand, the chain of temporal markers indicating the route of the traveller may also include locative elements. Locative markers may form a discourse-strategic chain of their own: the locative discourse strategy, which allows the writer to take the reader on a tour

from one place to another.[12] In the locative strategy, sentence-initial adverbials of place may indicate either a stop on the route or, as is often the case in Leland's *Itinerary*, the distance of a stop from some other location. The traveller following the route and reporting the course of his journey is not explicitly present in the locative strategy, which shows the typical features of expository discourse: third person pronouns and descriptive/expository present tense. Some passages, however, may be addressed to a generic 'you' and thus resemble a modern travel guide.

John Leland's Creation of the National Space of England

In Leland's *Itinerary* two elements are crucial to the creation of the national space of England: the link he establishes between space and identity and the use he makes of the early modern discourse of travel writing. As to the first point, as already observed, a crucial element of Leland's construction of England's spatial identity is mostly represented by the creation of a specifically English landscape. The landscape that emerges from *The Itinerary* presents not only a description of the physical elements of landforms (hills, rivers, fields, etc.), but also, and perhaps primarily, an anthropomorphised territory. In constructing the English landscape, Leland combines both the physical elements and the cultural overlay of human presence. In short, his detailed, precise description of the land he travels through reflects the living synthesis of people and place he considers vital to local and national identity. As to the second point, the report of Leland's tours, it emerges from the linguistic analysis of the text that the verbal description of the territory he travels across is in accordance with the discourse of early modern English travelogues in that he makes use of both the

temporal and locative discourse strategies described by
Virtanen. Leland seems to view his communicative goal
as one of recording what is to be found on and around the
particular itinerary that he followed. He is particularly
keen on recording distances between places, observations
as to the nature of the land and the history of the towns
and villages he encountered. But his narrative is not re-
stricted to the actions of the narrator. Sometimes the
reader is informed of the past of a view or landmark via a
narrative built around a historic person. To sum up this
section, Leland's *Itinerary* is composed of narrative and
descriptive/expository passages, thus manifesting varia-
tion between participant-oriented and topic-oriented dis-
course.

Discourse Modalities of the Itinerary and its Linguistic Features

Leland employs three discourse modalities in his *Itiner-
ary*. Two of them are predominant as they are the most
often employed: firstly, narrative, both first- and third-
person narrative, the linguistic features of which are the
use of first/third person pronouns, of the past tense and
time adverbials; secondly, third person descrip-
tion/exposition, the linguistic features of which are the
use of third person pronouns, of the present tense and
locative expressions. These two modalities may be
mixed: the description of a representative place, fre-
quently a church or a town, is very often followed by his-
torical information about this place or about the family
owning it, if the place described is a castle or a manor
house.

As can be seen in example 1, predominantly in the
first person narrative, Leland reports the highlights of his

journey as seen through his own eyes, focusing on what he feels is worth recording in temporal succession. In this modality, Leland's *Itinerary* is similar to a diary in that he does not seem to share the information he has gathered with his readers; this could be due to the fact that the text comprises notes taken by Leland for personal only. Locative phrases give a clear spatial indication to the advancing traveller who reports not only what he sees, but also his own observations and historical information gathered from various sources.

> 1. *Two or three miles after crossing* the River Burne *I came* to the timber bridge over the Thames at Maidenhead. *A little above the bridge on this bank* of the Thames *I saw* a cliff overhanging the river with some bushes growing on it. *I conjectured* that this had been the site of some ancient building. *There is a large wharf* for timber and firewood *at the west end of the bridge*. […] The *town of Maidenhead* stands at a good distance from the riverside, and is moderately well built. The south side of the town is in the parish of Bray, and the north side is in Cookham parish. *From here* it is two miles by a narrow, wooded road to the Frith, then more than three miles through the Frith, and a further two miles to Twyford, which is a pleasant little town.[13]

When Leland comments on the history of a place by giving an account of what happened to personages or families linked to that place, as in examples 2 and 3, the first-person narrative changes into a third-person narrative. Very often the reported information about the historical background of people and places points to the transition from medieval to modern England. Local history becomes the link between the contemporary factual details of the territory and the former human presence, thus con-

tributing to the construction of the national identity of the English. In the antiquarian vision of England, a constant reference to the past is ubiquitous. As the following passages illustrate (examples 2 and 3), the description of places is mostly accompanied by their history: families and estates are traced back as far as possible; local informants and earlier authorities are called upon in describing natural and man-made phenomena. It is John Leland who for the first time provides this geographical and historical framework for English nationhood.

> 2. *As I rode out of the town* [Oundle] towards Fotheringhay *I crossed a stone bridge* over the Nene, called the North Bridge. *It is* of great length, and is carried across very flat meadows all around by a causeway of, *I should guess,* some thirty large and small arches, and this enables travellers to pass when the river overflows. Fotheringhay is two miles from Oundle, over remarkably fine cornland and pasture, but few trees. […] The son of Edward III, Edmund of Langley, *obtained* permission to build a college at Fotheringhay, *according to some people*, but death *prevented* him from carrying out his plan. He *left* two sons, Edward and Richard, and Edward *began* the college with a reasonable endowment. It so *happened* that Richard *was suspected* of treason, and *was put to death* at Southampton at about the time that Henry V went to France. Richard *had* a son who *became* Edward IV's father. When the battle of Agincourt *was* imminent Edward *was granted* his wish by King Henry to command the vanguard into battle. But he *was* a fat man, and in the great heat and crush he *died* of suffocation. His body *was later brought* to Fotheringhay and *buried* with honour in the centre of the chancel [of the college]. His tomb *is covered* by a flat marble slab with his portrait in brass.[14]

3. On a tablet in Ewelme [a village that was the inheritance of the Chaucer family] church *I read* the following: 'Pray for the souls of John Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth his wife. This John was the son and heir of William and Alice.' John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, *had* by his wife Elizabeth these sons: John, Earl of Lincoln; Edmund, later Duke of Suffolk; Richard; William; and another son who was a scholar at Gonville Hall in Cambridge, and *lies buried* at Babraham. The *manor house of Ewelme lies* in the hollow at the foot of the village. It *has* a fine outer courtyard, built of brick and timber. The inner part of the house *stands* within a good moat, and *is lavishly built* of brick and stone. *There is* a fine hall, which *has* large iron bars instead of cross beams running across it. The adjoining parlour *is* exceptionally fine and well lit, as *are* all the apartments in the house. *It is usually said* that Duke John was responsible for most of the good buildings within the moat at about the beginning of Henry VII's reign. Next to the manor house is a most attractive park.[15]

The modality of description/exposition is as relevant as that of narration to the construction of landscape and place identity. Natural landscape and man-made land-marks, including the ruins of ancient buildings and existing buildings, are usually described in detail. Man-made landmarks, even those that have disappeared, help to es-tablish a link between places and the shared memory of the past, as in example 4, where *Castle Street* illustrates the continuous presence of human settlement in Reading since Saxon times.

4. *There is no evidence* that Reading was ever a walled town; but it is a very ancient place, and at present is the best town in the whole of Berkshire. *In Saxon times there was a castle here*, and even now the name Castle

Street is used of the street which runs from east to west and leads towards Newbury. *I could not see nor find out for certain* where the castle had stood, but *in all probability* it was at the west end of Castle Street, near where executions take place, *in the opinion of some*. It *is very likely* that part of the abbey was built from its ruins, so *perhaps* it stood where the abbey was. *I have read* that St Edward the Martyr's stepmother built a monastery for nuns at Reading as an act of penance. It is widely believed that St Mary's parish church in Reading is on the site of this nunnery. When Henry I founded an abbey at Reading for black monks he suppressed the nunnery, *so I have heard*, and used its lands to endow his abbey. To ascertain this I must find out whether the old nunnery did not in fact occupy the site on which Reading Abbey was built, and whether St Mary's is not a newer foundation.[16]

In example 5, Leland mentions an old town and makes some historical observations when trying to explain why it was abandoned by its inhabitants for a new location.

5. *The city of Old Sarum* stands on a hill one mile north-west of the new city, and its perimeter is half a mile or more around. It is an old place and has been exceptionally strong, but after New Salisbury was established it went totally to ruin. *One explanation* for this is that shortage of water caused the inhabitants to leave the place, although in fact there were many well of sweet water. *Another reason that is given* is that when castles and town walls were kept in good repair after the civil wars, there was a disagreement between the keepers of Old Sarum Castle and the canons; to the extent that on one occasion the castellans prevented them from re-entering the town when they were coming home from a Rogationtide procession. As a result the bishop and the canons conferred with each other, and

eventually began to build a church on a site which they themselves owned. Consequently the inhabitants immediately started to move to New Salisbury and set up buildings.[17]

An interesting point of the *Itinerary* is that Leland is always very careful to report all the available information, in addition to his own observations and knowledge, particularly when he describes the ruins of a former building or bridge, as in the following example:

> 6. *These are the things which I took most notice of in Pontefract: Some of the older people* repeatedly assert that the embankment of Watling Street runs through Pontefract Park As far as I can make out Pontefract may be identified with the town called *Legeolium,* and later on it was called *Brokenbridge*. Indeed, *ruins of such a bridge* are still visible barely half a mile *outside old Pontefract to the east*, but *in all honesty I cannot say* that this bridge stood precisely on Watling Street. The name Pontefract is French and was introduced by a Norman family, the Lacys, as a substitute for the English Brokenbridge.[18]

Another characteristic of the *Itinerary* is that Leland is also particularly keen to record distances between places and observations as to the nature of land and towns and villages he encountered. In example 7 he gives a detailed description of the nature of the land stretching from Oxford to East Hanney, while in example 8 he just reports distances:

> 7. *It is eight miles from Oxford to East Hanney*. For the first five miles the terrain is hilly with much woodland and fertile cornland, but the last three miles across flat, low-lying ground which is marshly in places. A mile

before *I reached* East Hanney *I crossed a* brook running from the north-west towards the south.[…] Two miles beyond East Hanney, *I came* to Wantage.[19]

8. *Distances* from Bambury: Coventry, twenty miles, via the market town of Southam, which ten miles from each; Northampton, fourteen miles; Daventry, ten miles; Oxford, twenty miles; Warwick, fourteen miles.[20]

As already mentioned, the two discourse strategies, the temporal and the locative, may be mixed. The description of a church or town is in fact very frequently followed by historical information about this representative place, and that of a castle or manor house by information about the family that owns it, as can be seen in examples 3 and 9:

9. Sockburn is the oldest seat of the *Conyers family*, and the house and estate have been since ancient times their genuine inheritance. *In old documents* their name was written not as Conyers but Congres (*Conyers told me this himself*). The house, with a mile of extremely attractive ground surrounding it, is almost made into an island by the meandering of the river Tees around it, and a little below the manor house there is a large weir for fish. The *tomb of Sir John Conyers is in Sockburn parish church*. He *married* Elisabeth, the eldest daughter of Bromflete, Lord St John. This Bromflete, *as I once saw it written*, was created Lord Vescy by Henry VI, since he had acquired much of Lord Vescy's estate through marrying the daughter and heiress of a knight named Aton, who in turn had inherited it through a daughter.[…] Apart from Durham itself Darlington is the best *market town* in the diocese, and it has a stone bridge of three arches, *as I recall*. The *parish church* is collegiate, with a dean and prebendaries belonging to it, and at the high altar there is an exceptionally long and fine altar stone of variegated marble, mottled in black

and white. In the town the Bishop of Durham has an attractive palace.[21]

An important feature of the *Itinerary* is the accuracy with which Leland states the sources of his information. He distinguishes four different ways in which the reported data can be classified by employing expressions that indicate how he came to know the reported facts or information about them. He may indicate his personal observation as a source by using expressions such as *I could not see* (4), *I should guess* (2), *These are the things which I took most notice of in Pontefract* (9), *As I recall* (9). Oral sources are introduced by phrases such as *In the opinion of some/so I have heard* (4), *it is usually said* (3), *it is widely believed* (4). Written information is less frequently mentioned and the introductory expressions may be more varied; there are two in example (3) *On a tablet I read,* and (9) *as I once saw it written.* Sometimes two different ways of acquiring information may be mentioned together as in example (9), where oral and written sources are indicated: *In old documents their name was written not as Conyers but Congres (Conyers told me this himself)*.

To conclude this section we can say that, in reading Leland's *Itinerary,* we feel as if we were touring England. The locative discourse strategy, mixed with the temporal one, allows Leland to take the modern reader on a tour, both geographical and historical, from one place to another thus reproducing the on-going traveller's perspective, as can be clearly seen in example 2. The tour may be interrupted when sentence-initial locative adverbials indicate either a stop along the route or, very often, the distance of a stop from some other location (see example 1) thus writing the map of England onto the reader's mind.

Concluding Observations

The relevance of Leland's *Itinerary* to the development of the antiquarian discourse, that contributes an ideological construction to early modern England as a nation, has been highlighted by various scholars. Leland never published the work that was to have been a celebration of the Tudor state, but, as Lancaster points out, his notes were the beginning of a new approach to English scholarship, for, in his own age, he initiated a chorographical methodology for antiquarianism, used observation as a tool for research, and highlighted the wealth of manuscripts that could be used as a historical source.[22] His name occurs frequently in the footnotes of authors of the seventeenth century. Above all, his work was the inspiration for a plan drawn up by Elizabethan antiquaries to develop a description of all the counties.

Leland's accounts of his journeys across England, and his supporting notes, present the English landscape as anthropic/historical because natural features are usually linked to the presence of humans, whether contemporary or historical. For instance, he devotes special attention to the courses of waterways commonly identified by the bridges that cross them. This produces a fluid geographical perspective which symbolises how the natural landscape yields to the human, as observed by Summit.[23] I would add that another characteristic of the map of the English territory presented by Leland is that he highlights historical continuity within a flux of change from a mediaeval to a modern landscape. In his representation of contemporary England, in addition to the description of the present nature and condition of land (farmland, pasture, or woodland), Leland is very careful to record topographical landmarks that establish a common memory with the past and integrate these into a project of domes-

tic mapping that defines England's identity in opposition to other/new territories. To conclude, Leland's writing of a map of Tudor England provides the first insider's definition of the nation and this in turn complements the exploration that early modern England began to promote overseas.

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[1] On this aspect, cf. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); see, in particular, chapter 3 "The Land Speaks", 105-147.

[2] The concept of landscape implies a selection of physical elements from a specific point of view and the construction of a subjective interpretative grid. To become 'landscape', natural space must be transformed into an image, a perceptual field defined by a specific selection of reality, a special arrangement of elements considered the most relevant and homogeneous within the picture taken as a whole. On the emergence of the concept of landscape see Maurizio Vitta, *Il paesaggio. Una storia tra natura e architettura* (Torino: Einaudi, 2005); on the scenic quality of the landscape and the link between places and memory as constitutive elements of the landscape see Eugenio Turri, *Il paesaggio come teatro. Dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2010).

[3] On William Camden's representation of late sixteenth-century England see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 [1995]). On the seventeenth and eighteenth-century antiquarian view and representation of England see Charles Lancaster, *Seeing England. Antiquaries, Travellers & Naturalists* (Stroud: Nonsuch Publishing, 2008).

[4] Cf. Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 [1974]), 12.

[5] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 16-17.

[6] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.

[7] Cf. Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe, *Discourse and Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 208.

[8] Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

[9] As Brotton shows, maps are subjective representations of the world: over the centuries, they have been wielded to promote any number of imperial, religious, and economic agendas [Jerry Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps* (London: Allen Lane, 2012)]. On the role of cartography in the early modern period see Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early*

Modern World (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997).

[10] Cf. Hulme and Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 4.

[11] Cf. Tuija Virtanen, "Then I saw to antique heddes: Discourse Strategies in Early Modern English Travelogues", in *Historical Pragmatics. Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), 499-513 (500).

[12] Virtanen, "Then I saw to antique heddes", 504.

[13] John Leland, *Itinerary. Travels in Tudor England,* ed. John Chandler (Thrupp Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1993), Berkshire, 23.

[14] Leland, *Itinerary*, Northamptonshire, 322-323.

[15] Leland, *Itinerary*, Oxfordshire, 362.

[16] Leland, *Itinerary*, Berkshire, 28.

[17] Leland, *Itinerary*, Wiltshire, 494.

[18] Leland, *Itinerary*, Yorkshire, 527.

[19] Leland, *Itinerary*, Berkshire, 35.

[20] Leland, *Itinerary*, Oxfordshire, 371.

[21] Leland, *Itinerary*, Durham, 147.

[22] Cf. Lancaster, *Seeing England*, 16.

[23] Cf. Jennifer Summit, "Leland's Itinerary and the remains of the medieval past", in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. Gordon McMullan, David Matthews (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), 159-76 (165).

Caterina Guardini

'The Lovely Nymph of Stately Thames':
The Rhetoric of Water
in the Creation of the Prince of Wales

In 1610 Prince Henry Stuart, the eldest son of King James I of England and Anne of Denmark, turned sixteen and started his public career as Prince of Wales, a title that invested him as the official heir to the throne and established him at his own court at Richmond Palace. The nation had not witnessed the creation of a Prince of Wales since the time of Henry VIII Tudor and majestic ceremonies were organised to celebrate the event. On Wednesday, May 30th 1610, the young prince left St. James's Palace by road, in order to sail on the Thames and, on the following day, back from Richmond to Whitehall, where he received the city's homage in the form of Anthony Munday's pageant *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie.* Sunday, June 3rd, saw the installation of the Knights of the Bath and on Monday Henry was named Prince of Wales during a solemn ceremony with both Court and Parliament present. The following night the prince watched, along with his father, Samuel Daniel's *Tethys Festival,* a masque commissioned and enacted by Queen Anne. A mock sea battle and a private tournament (June 6th) also took place, along with a horseback pageant in Chester some weeks earlier (April 23rd).

The aim of this study is to analyse the remarkable presence of real and artificial water as a viewpoint from which to reconsider all the symbolical, allegorical and rhetorical elements that emerge from the celebrations for

the Creation of the Prince of Wales. It is worth consider-
ing how these watery elements might be perceived dif-
ferently by various beholders, thus transmitting a multi-
plicity of meanings. If, on the one hand, water seems to
represent for the king a natural element of defence of the
land, on the other hand, it conveys to the prince the idea
of a universal organism both in terms of geographical
expansion and as an instrument of knowledge.

Henry's mythical persona, during his life and after his
premature death in 1612, was mostly fashioned by mem-
bers of the Court that frequented his privy chamber as a
political act against James I.[1] As a matter of fact, in
Frances Yates's terms, those who longed for the return of
Astraea charged the young prince with the responsibility
of the future of England and projected onto him the fea-
tures of a political and cultural Elizabethan nostalgia.[2]
The public and private entertainments performed for the
Creation of the Prince of Wales reveal the reception of
the heir apparent by part of the City, Parliament and
Court: the role of the prince seems to be silent and pas-
sive, but the consideration of the cultural, literary and po-
litical background traceable in these shows can suggest
his own personal response to a national identity that was
being superimposed on him rather than just celebrated.

I would like to focus on Munday's pageant and Dan-
iel's masque, because they represent respectively the
main public and private response to the event. Civic pag-
eants were itinerant progresses organised and financed by
the City: even though ordered by the king, it was the
Lord Mayor who commissioned Munday to produce the
water-show and it was the City that granted a loan in or-
der to pay for the ceremony. Masques, conversely, were
court entertainments organised for the king and a select
audience within the physical space of the court and that
celebrated the power of monarchical absolutism. Particu-

larly after the introduction of the perspective stage, the king, sitting on his throne at the centre of the scene, was both the main spectator and the main spectacle of the show. The masque was possibly the stage-form that most exploited and overcame the conflict between art and nature by opposing the *antimasque*, with professional actors and actual speeches, to the iconic and almost mute impersonation of court members, who displayed themselves as some sort of *tableaux vivants*. This conflict was dissolved and resolved in the achievement of order and harmony in the final revels, during which audience and *masquers* mingled, combining the two opposite dimensions of reality and fiction. Both pageants and masques gave space to theoretical speculations on the relationship between art and nature and on the exploitation of both the active and passive role of the audience.

Furthermore, *spectacles of state* are better understood, and their meaning is better grasped, when viewed as an ensemble of elements and not as isolated occasional features. Groups of civic/court shows were possibly organised according to a common plan, creating what J. Limon defines as the 'iconosphere of the court and city cultures'.[3] The recurrence of certain themes and features present in the entertainments gives reasons for considering the Creation of the Prince of Wales as a proper Renaissance festival in the manner of continental fashion.[4] At times scholars have tried to state the superiority of the masque over the pageant and *vice versa*, but the core of the problem lies precisely in the dialectic nature of these spectacles, whether they were public or private.[5]

Water can undeniably be detected as a common element in all the shows for the Creation of the Prince of Wales. Water, a highly symbolic element from different points of view and the first source of life, has aroused the curiosity of philosophers and poets since the beginning of

the history of thought.[6] Besides being the main agent of purification, it plays a major cosmological role in the forms of rivers and seas, since they both represent eternity in their vital principle of circularity and, at the same time, the linearity of time and recovery of memory. Thanks to the ability of man to control nature by way of hydraulic engineering, water has also been regarded as a celebration and representation of the power of civilization and empires and, during the Renaissance, as an instrument of translation into architecture of the Neoplatonic structure of gardens, designed to celebrate the temporal and intellectual power of lords and kings.

As already mentioned, water can be seen as an element of conflict between King James and Prince Henry. When the former ascended to the throne of England in 1603, he identified himself with the prophecy of a pacific king who would reunite the kingdoms of England and Scotland, thus asserting his legitimate connection to the Tudor dynasty in the footsteps of Brutus, King Arthur and Henry VII, who in 1485 landed at Milford Haven and reunited the reign by defeating Richard III. In opposition with the policy of Elizabeth I in terms of international affairs and religion, James perceived water as a natural defence for England, or, better to say, regarded Britain as a 'sea-walled garden',[7] a new Jerusalem and a protected paradise. His son Henry, conversely, associated himself with Elizabethan imperialism and read water as the pervasive element of a universal unity. With a fortunate metaphor first exploited by Plato, Walter Ralegh[8] compared the waterways of the earth to the running of blood through the veins of men, implying that water connected Britain not only to continental Europe, but also to the New World.[9] From this point of view, water also represented an instrument of intellectual investigation: Francis Bacon, for instance, associated the circularity of riv-

ers to the struggle for knowledge and geographical dis-
coveries to the advancement of learning. Thus, possibly
echoing Bacon's theories, for Henry, as his own court ac-
tively testified, knowledge and intellectual labour were to
serve the practical scopes of navigation, but also the spir-
itual pursuits of intellectual enrichment.[10]

*'The very Thames appeared Proude of this Gallant
Burden': Henry's River Progress*

When trying to follow the flow of water as it ran its
course through these festivities, one must embark on the
river journey with Henry from Richmond Palace first to
Chelsea and then towards Whitehall. The river show con-
sisted of a water progress during which Henry was greet-
ed by two tritons in the shapes of Corinea, the queen of
Cornwall, and Amphion, representing Wales. In the pub-
lished report of the pageant, Munday explicitly affirms
the benevolent role of Neptune, who 'smyled theron aus-
pitiouslie, and would not suffer so famous a Citties affec-
tion to goe unfurnished of some favour from him'.[11] The
connection between James and Neptune is almost imme-
diate: being the father of Albion, ruler, along with Am-
phitria, of Britain – *insula beata* in the text –[12] Neptune
represents the mythological origins of British rule.
Corinea, Queen of Cornwall, is described as a 'very fayre
and beautifull Nimphe, representing the Genius of olde
Corineus Queene, and the Province of Cornewall, suited
in her watery habit yet riche and costly, with a Coronet of
Pearles and Cockle shells on her head'.[13] Since she is the
wife of Corineus, founder of Cornwall and companion to
Brutus, her origins recall the genesis of the Tudor dynas-

ty and both her guiding words and her aspect anticipate the nymphs of Daniel's masque:

> Now concerning their habite: first, their head-tire was composed of shels and corral, and from a great Muriake [murex] shell in forme of a crest of an helme hung a thin waving veile. Their upper garments had the boddies of sky-colored taffetaes, for lightnes, all embrodered with maritime invention. [...] The long skirt was wrought with lace, waved round about like a river.[14]

Corinea speaks on behalf of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and merchants who represent the economic and popular identity of the nation. Henry, having approached the Lord Mayor's barge and preparing to land at Whitehall, is then saluted by Amphion, who impersonates the spirit of Wales and rides on his dolphin – an animal which usually stands for fortune and peace. The image of a dolphin embracing an anchor appears in many emblems based on the model of Andreas Alciatus's *Emblemata* and stands for the moral admonition of the importance of faith, hope and steadiness to the benevolent ruler:[15] 'Plato termeth Magistracy to be the Anchor, Head, and Soule of any Citty'.[16] Amphion's words express the farewell of the fleet, which almost comes to life in his discourse as the Prince shows his gratitude: 'Our Barges lagge and seeme lumpishe, as greeving to forgoe you […]. And except you put spirit into them all, with a gracious acceptance of this their love and loyaltie: the bosom of fare Thames shrinkes, and they feare swallowing'.[17] By descending the river with a few trusted people, Henry assumes the image of his ancestor landing at Milford Haven, Henry VII, former Earl of Richmond and future king of a unified Britain.[18]

The water show was preferred to other forms of entertainment both because King James opposed Henry's

chivalric image of a horseback march and because security was better guaranteed; besides, records of the events often underline the desire of the king to contain expenses.[19] Despite these material reasons, it is worth noticing that the river conveys a strong symbolism: it is easily associated with time, memory and history and it usually represents the public roles of the *genius loci*, of heroic, moral and civic virtue and the first step of the founding of a city. The river physically carries the prince and is thus the absolute protagonist, running to and from the sea, virtually connecting Albion to the continent. Munday's text humanises the Thames and confers a feminine identity upon it, possibly alluding to the generative and primordial qualities of water: 'And thus they set on towards Whitehall, in so soft, milde, and gentle a pace as the very Thames appeared *proude* of this gallant burden, swelling *her* breaste to beare them with pomp and Majestie: and not one wrinckle appeared in *her* brow, but as plain as even, as the smoothest yvorie'.[20] During the Renaissance the confluence of rivers was identified with seas: therefore Oceanus, the main river surrounding the earth, alluded, again, to Neptune-James. At the same time, the water-progress probably reminded the Prince of his interest in maritime affairs, sea voyages and imperial expansionism, along with the memory of Queen Elizabeth and the victory of her navy against the Spanish Armada at Tilbury.[21]

The already mentioned association between water and knowledge, common since ancient times, was revived in the Renaissance and resonated in Bacon's words in the *Advancement of Learning:* 'The Knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature the other inspired by divine revelation'.[22] With a similar attitude, Henry's circle of proto-scientists, math-

ematicians and geographers devoted their knowledge to the cause of England's national power within and outside its borders: Henry's affiliation with these kinds of enterprises wed his chivalric vocation and composed the complete profile of the perfect courtier.[23] Henry's interest in the navy, started as a child, would develop from a juvenile interest into a major political issue with the renovation of the fleet as an instrument of imperialist policy. In September 1610, months after the Creation of the Prince of Wales, the whole royal family was also present at the first progress of the *Prince Royal,* the ship Henry had personally commissioned to P. Pett and whose name almost identified the prince with the vessel.[24] As a further homage to the prince's interests, the first edition of Munday's pageant displays two engravings of ships with the description of the mock sea battle that took place a few days later,[25] which featured a fight between a merchant ship and a pirate, with the victory of the former over the latter, thus celebrating the city's commercial pride and satisfied Henry's concerns in warfare and in the culture of the Italian Renaissance. The tradition of *naumachiae* was widespread in Italy and France thanks to the Medici's cultural habits: one example among others is the famous reproduction of the battle of Lepanto in the courtyard of Palazzo Pitti for the celebrations of the wedding of Ferdinando Medici and Christina of Lorraine in 1589.

In their embracing the circumscribed rhetoric of James's policy – as the reference to Brutus's and Tudor's ancestry and the sovereign of Neptune/James suggests – the speeches of Corinea and Amphion that greeted Henry foster an analysis about the latter's reception of the imagery they convey.

'The Mightie Tethys, Queen/Of Nymphes and Rivers': a Water Festival

The subject of Daniel's *Tethys Festival* is the gathering at Milford Haven of Zephyrus (young prince Charles, brother to Henry), accompanied by two tritons who deliver Tethys's speech and gifts: a sword and an embroidered map to Meliades (Prince Henry) and a trident to the king of the Ocean (King James).[26] From an underwater cave, Tethys (Queen Anne) and her nymphs – including princess Elizabeth as the nymph of the Thames – leave their niches to climb an isolated mount within the ocean where there is a laurel, both a symbol of James's policy of peace and union and a common element of Anne's iconography resumed from Elizabeth I.[27] After a lightning bolt sent by Jove, Mercury prompts Zephyrus to call back Tethys and her nymphs who, in the third and final scene, re-appear in a harmonious grove transformed back to their natural aspect.

In this masque, although performed in the Banqueting House of Whitehall – where a few years later Rubens would depict the apotheosis of James I as Salomon – the opening harbour scene somehow evokes the public setting of Munday's water show. Overtly contrary to a Jonsonian habit, the setting lies not in some imaginary atemporal and unhistorical world but is identified as Milford Haven, 'the happy port of union'.[28] Henry-Meliades is called 'prince of the isles': the allusion to Henry VII and, indirectly, to James's national myth of Trojan ancestry by means of the Tudors, strongly attaches the Prince to the land and thus resumes part of the pageant's symbolism and historical mythology. Butler observes that the 'homage to Henry literally flowed out of the land […] and the representation of the British rivers anticipated M. Drayton's yet unpublished *Poly-Olbion*'.[29]

As a matter of fact, in *Tethys Festival* the British rivers come to life impersonated by Anne's maids in the clothes of Tethys's nymphs. These riverine characters are called out by the triton's speech, as if he were pointing at places on a map, by means of deictics and verbs of movement that follow an anaphoric structure, such as: 'summon'd is', 'then', 'next', 'makes her sweete repaire', 'follows in degree', 'next to her […] doth appeare'.[30] The result is almost an ekphrastic juxtaposition of epithets that gives them an etymological asset, especially when considering the role played by names and etymologies in the pursuit of the origin of rivers, a very popular topic during the Renaissance and strongly linked with questions of landscape and national identity.[31] The nymphs, as names scattered on a map, become a living bodily representation of the embroidered scarf that Meliades-Henry receives as a gift and which might have appeared physically on the stage. The term by which the map is referred to is *zone,* that in Greek means *circle*, a linguistic choice that suggests a typical mediaeval cartographic device, since both zonal maps and T-O maps were circular and they usually depicted the world (O) surrounded by the three main rivers of the earth (T).[32] Henry is advised to stay within the limits of the reign ('Let him not pass the circle of that field'):[33]

> For there will be within the large extent
> Of these my waves and watry governement
> More treasures, and more certaine riches got
> Than all the Indies to Iberus brought.[34]

In particular, it has been noted how the admonition to fish in national waters alludes to the actual fish appearing on the opening scenery of the masque and, at the same time, to contemporary political and financial issues concerning international traffic within British waters.[35] Maps

were, and still are, visual instruments to detect geographical data, but they come to represent opposite views of the world when considering Henry's and James's divergences in terms of geographical representation of power. With the active involvement in political affairs regarding the royal navy and overseas enterprises, Henry's court developed cartographic interests opposite to those promulgated by James's pacific policy and alluded to in the masque.

Roy Strong makes a comparison between the river theme of *Tethys Festival* and the *Ditchley Portrait,* which shows Queen Elizabeth standing on the globe of the world, with her feet on Oxfordshire: along with this indirect allusion, that places the masque within the context of the revival of Elizabethan sea imperialism,[36] other obvious sources are Camden's *Britannia*, Spenser's *The Fairie Queene* and, generally speaking, chorographies.[37] Herendeen juxtaposes the rivers of the masque to those of the chorographic tradition, showing how the former ones appear as a-geographical and completely fantastical rivers: a landscape of the mind tailored to the present occasion.[38] Even though Henry is encouraged to *survey* the map,[39] literally and literarily described by the triton, the rivers of *Tethys Festival* do not represent real national waters: they are completely estranged from natural and national space, that is to say, they are the symbolic idea of 'royal order, concord and wisdom'.[40] Contrary to what happens in river poetry and landscape literature, in masques a certain symbolism or mythology is applied to a pre-existent order and pattern.[41] Therefore, Tethy's cave, like the one in Eden, gives birth to all the English waters, encircling Britain in a separate sphere from the rest of the world: thanks to its insular nature and unexpectedly mild climate, Britain was often associated with the *Fortunate Isles* of classical tradition – another obli-

que connection between masque and pageant.[42] In the masque, the fictional space of Milford Haven has a mythical value rather than a historical one and only serves the scope of legitimizing Henry's (or James's?) accession to the throne. In these terms, the triton's speech presents some characteristics of what Turner labels as *literary topographesis,* that is to say 'any work that represents place in a particularly salient, concentrated, or complex semiotic fashion and uses location as a significant component to structure a variety of ideological or cultural scripts'.[43] As Turner suggests when analysing the influence of cartography on early modern literature, the very presence of maps or charts on the stage, within plays or poems, usually coincides with an emotive response of some characters, such as Lear's 'use of a map to divide his kingdom' or Tamburlaine's will to redraw the world 'in his own image'.[44] What would have been Henry's role in the responsive dynamics is, again, a speculation worth questioning.

The complex scenery of the masque's second scene, what Daye defines as 'the first use of an apotheosis to glorify royalty',[45] gives life to multiple reflections and responsive dialogues. Roy Strong connects the underwater cave of *Tethys Festival* to the octagonal fountain that represented Mount Parnassus in Salomon de Caus's garden at Somerset House for Queen Anne.[46] The French engineer was also Henry's tutor in perspective and by 1610 he was already planning a garden at Richmond palace for the Prince, whose interest in gardens 'should [...] be seen in conjunction with his scientific preoccupations'.[47] Moreover, one of the bathrooms in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall was given the aspect of a grotto during the reign of Elizabeth I and, in 1623-4, Isaac de Caus, Salomon's brother, designed a rock-grotto fountain in the

Banqueting House, where only thirteen years before *Tethys Festival* had been performed.[48]

Classical nymphaeums were originally natural grottoes, the habitat of spring and river nymphs: local deities designated to protect and preside over water, youth, marriages, and births. From the point of view of comspography, in ancient times, the rivers of the world were believed to spring in Eden in a subterranean cave – a *fons sapientiae* – and then proceed to the rest of the world. Symbolically, caves represent the primordial source of life, knowledge and feminine power as a reversal of the male symbolism of the mountain, its opposite and complementary elementary figure.[49] Within the context of the Renaissance garden, caves and grottoes became the physical space and epitome of the *coincidentia oppositorum,* the union of art and nature. In Renaissance gardens, fountains are usually connected to each other by running water, most often the source that operates hydraulic organs and automata. This structured path constitutes a proper initiation journey that culminates in the grotto, from where the traveller comes out reborn to new life through a symbolic night, or death, represented by the darkness of the cave.

The architect and engineer, like a magus or an alchemist, is the *artifex* conjugating physics and metaphysics: his devices give evidence of scientific statements through the narration of myths that both serve intellectual speculation and enjoyment. The descent into the bowels of the earth in the shape of watery grottoes is a recurrent theme in both alchemical and scientific literature in the Renaissance.[50]

Tethys's cave presents all the main elements of the Renaissance garden grotto: gigantic statues, such as Neptune and Nereus appearing in the proscenium of the masque,[51] the proximity to water, and the presence of

maritime scenery.[52] Tethys's throne is characterised by the richest decorations of silver and gold: 'burnisht gold', 'dolphins of silver', 'vases of gold' are only some of the terms used to define the magnificence of the throne, which is itself 'all covered with such an artificial stuff as seemed richer by candle than any cloth of gold. […] Above the scallop […] was a resplendent frieze of jewel glasses or lights, which showed like diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and such like'.[53] The other nymphs' dwellings also reproduce the real mineral *wunderkammern* of grottoes, rich in natural elements juxtaposed one over the other on the walls, creating a colourful effect of iridescent reflections:

> The neeces wherein the Ladies sate were foure, with pillasters of gold mingled with rustick stones, shewing like a minerall to make it more rocke, and cavern- like, varying from that of Tethys throne. […] On the rustick frontispice lay two great figures in rileve, which seemed to beare up a garland of seaweeds, to which from two antick candlesticks which stood over the pillasters, were hanging labells of gold [...].[54]

Furthermore, Tethys's scene is introduced by Zephyrus, the wind of spring and husband to Flora, a symbol of youth and air, that is the second element, along with water, running acoustic automata in hydraulic machinery.[55] Thus, Renaissance gardens provide both visual and aural wonders, which it is legitimate to assume were similarly guaranteed to the audience of *Tethys Festival*, as can be implied by the stage description of running water and majestic decorations:

> Tethys with her Nymphes appeared in their severall Cavernes *gloriously adorned*. [...]. The part which returned from the two Plinthes, that bare up the

> Dolphines, was circular [...] and on this circle were 4
> great chartuses of gold, which bore up a round bowle of
> silver in manner of a fountaine, with mask-heads of
> gold, *out of which ran an artificiall water*. On the
> middest of this was [...] a rich Veyl adorned [...] with a
> freeze of fishes and a battaile of Tritons, out of whose
> mouthes *sprang water into the bowle underneath*. [...]
> On the top of this was a round globe of gold, full of
> holes, *out of which issued aboundance of water, some
> falling into the receipt below, some into the ovall vase
> borne up by the Dolphines; and indeed there was no
> place in this great aquatick throne that was not filled
> with the sprinkling of these two naturall-seeming
> waters*. […] Aboue this were three great Cherubines
> heads *spouting water into the bowle* [...]. The rest of the
> ornaments consisted of maske-heads *spouting water*.[56]

Tethys and her nymphs show the Prince the righteous
path to power and government and protect him in this ep-
istemic journey. The cave resonates with the symbolism
of the maternal womb, where Tethys, mother of the riv-
ers, and Anne, mother of the Prince, celebrate the ocean
king, symbolically delivering Prince Henry's new life as
heir to the throne. Thus, Queen Anne's octagonal foun-
tain in Somerset House – the typical architectural shape
of every baptismal font and therefore a symbol of rebirth
– perfectly resembles Tethys's rich grotto within the
realms of fantasy established by the garden and the
masque. Both contexts allude to her patronage of the arts,
a further form of motherhood. As Lindley notes, the
presence of shells, both in the scenery and on Tethys's
costume, also overlaps the image of Venus on that of Te-
thys and associates the queen with another maternal
symbol.[57] Sara Trevisan investigates the maternal behav-
iour of Tethys and how her imagery in the masque folds
over that of Thetis, the nymph mother to Achilles, who,

in one of the most famous ekphrastic passages of ancient literature, manifests her educational role by giving her son arms and a shield adorned with the map of the world. Therefore, in *Tethys Festival* Anne, who had not been present at Henry's baptism in Scotland in 1597, takes charge of her role as mother both physically, economically, and also within the realm of fantasy, against the overwhelming power of James.[58] The role of Tethys further associates Anne with Queen Elizabeth, by virtue of a common maritime symbolism: Elizabeth had often been celebrated as Cynthia and Queen of the Ocean and her virgin body as an enclosed garden, or, implicitly, as an island.[59] However, compared to the *virgin queen*, Anne's role of mother endows her with a real educational force to create an heir to the throne. John Leeds Barroll stresses how *Tethys Festival* particularly exists by virtue of the bond between Anne and Henry as mother and son, since there is no 'precedent or custom requiring a queen mother to present a masque during the time of the installation of a Prince of Wales'.[60]

On the other hand, during the masque, it is worth noting that Tethys and the nymphs proceed from the feminine environment of the cave to the male setting of the mountain. Transformed back to their natural and human semblances, Anne and her maids move to the centre of the perspective stage, towards the king, the master of the court and of the stage grove. As much as the hydraulic system of a Renaissance garden is controlled, directed and governed by the Lord of the villa, so is James, in the end, the magnetic force directing and governing every movement within the court. Archer and Berry associate the water symbolism present in Stuart early masques with James's appropriation of Elizabethan imagery, giving an enlightening analysis of its scientific and philosophical

aspects. Although I agree with the relevance of such a reading in the passage from the representation of Elizabeth's magnetic body to the Stuart theme of union, I assume that the implications of the reshaping of these allegories are more complex and do not refer only to James. I do not agree, for instance, with a univocal and straightforward reading of *Tethys Festival* as only a further development of the theme of 'a curiously inward-looking empire, determined to exploit its own resources more fully'.[61]

From this multiple perspective, the grotto imagery certainly spoke differently to Anne, James and Henry: court representations might well have been 'mirrors of man's life',[62] but self-perception implies an individual response which is inevitably different from one subject to another. The various interpretations that have been offered by critics suggest the complexity of communicative dynamics of power and empowerment within the court.[63] Perhaps the assumption of one position against the other is just a matter of perspective and, somehow, of reception. The prince's humanist upbringing possibly enabled him to grasp all these metaphysical and epistemic implications. It is true that Henry's main scientific interests were of a practical nature, to be applied to navigation and warfare, but the prince was also responsible, along with his mother, for the growing import of the Italianate and French style of continental Renaissance. As it happened with Munday's pageant, Henry probably enjoyed the scientific and symbolic devices behind the masque's scenery, and was possibly prompted to associate himself with the symbolism connected to his mother/Tethys rather than to the king.

Conclusions

It is possible to sum up the spatial dynamics of the entertainments for the Creation of the Prince of Wales, in terms of fiction and reality, by observing that they started outdoors, in the public arena of the Thames, and continued indoors, first in the official context of Parliament, and then in the private world of the masque in Whitehall. The masque's harbour scene mirrored the natural presence of water in the outdoor reality of the pageant, the real life of the city and of mercantile London. Tethys's cave, with its artificial water, constituted a fake indoor setting that actually is an artificial imitation of nature. Finally, the garden of the closing action of the masque reestablished the hierarchies of mythological order over time. According to Pitcher, the festival constituted a suspension of time, during which, thanks to fantasy, the Prince found time and space to meditate on his new status.[64]

As Orgel has pointed out, within the masque, fantasy plays a major role built upon its etymological ambiguity: it refers both to the faculty of the mind to receive images and the power of the mind to create them.[65] Texts and reports of masques and of civic entertainments do not testify to audience reactions, a lack that somehow induces modern readers to assume a univocal reception of these shows.[66] In spite of this information gap, the relationship between authors, commissioners and addressees – who do not always coincide – allows questioning of the different outcomes and intentions in the fashioning and reception of the performances. Moreover, as scholars unanimously observe, the specific occasion of the Creation of the Prince of Wales soon turned into a family affair, where polyphonic dialogues between king-father, queen-

mother, and prince – both son and heir apparent – were being constantly negotiated.

In my opinion, both Daniel's masque and Munday's pageant addressed Henry precisely, conveying James's views and values of internal union of the land and national identity, but also retained an ambivalent and broad-spectrum attitude in terms of those concerns of imperialist expansionism and proto-science promulgated by Henry's court. Moreover, some elements, especially those concerned with water, might have, intentionally or unintentionally, reminded Henry of his own inner inclinations in terms of politics, art and national identity.

The association between Henry-Anne and Meliades-Tethys as patrons of arts and science opposed the mediaeval cartographic attitude of James. This peculiar alignment of forces within the royal family not only collocated Henry's sensibility within the realm of fantasy, meant as the artificial and artistic dimensions created by the shows, but also introduced a strong feminine element into the young prince's masculine and military environment. Simultaneously, the public sphere of the City also paid a homage to the Prince of Wales, presenting an ambiguous balance between James's and Henry's policies.

It is legitimate to assume and deduce that King James and Prince Henry, main beholders and addressees of these entertainments, fashioned opposite readings of the same watery elements, images and symbols: water as geographical seclusion and national identity versus water as a pervasive system of arteries open to geographical expansionism and knowledge.[67] Such an ambiguous dichotomy, that emerges when approaching these royal celebrations, fosters questions about the role of natural landscape on the self-empowerment of the king, especially when considering how, during the seventeenth century, the representation of the land slowly started to detach

from that of the body of the monarch.[68] Moreover, the comparison of public and private ceremonies invites us to reconsider the relevance that private royal entertainments also had outside the court, either through later published recounts or in the immediacy of performance: Munday's river progress took the court through the City as much as Daniel's masque evoked a certain notion of landscape within Whitehall, both questioning different degrees of national identity.

Water is consistently present in these shows both by invention and necessity: symbol of birth, life, and knowledge, water is a natural element of national identity *before* and *despite* King James or Prince Henry. It is water, and not the Stuart dynasty, which shapes the British Isles the way they are and it is the Thames that determines the path along which the city of London is built.

The analysis of the watery elements present in *Tethys Festival* and *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie* hardly adds major interpretative patterns to either masque or pageant, but their representational, architectural and natural essence might constitute an interesting viewpoint for observing both the relationship between each element of a coherent festival and the complex responsive dynamics of members of a royal family whose notion of national identity was as compelling and troubled as that of the rest of the nation.

[1] On the educational role of King James and his relationship with Prince Henry, see Aysha Pollnitz, "Humanism and the Education of Henry, Prince of Wales", in *Prince Henry Revived. Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England*, ed. Thomas Wilks, (Southampton: Southampton Solent University, 2007), 22-64; Michael Ullyot, "James's Reception and Henry's Receptivity", in *Prince Henry Revived*, 65-84.

[2] Yates first notices the insistent presence of an iconographic and symbolical Elizabethan revival in the Shakespearean late plays, particularly in relation to the fashioning of Prince Henry's political persona. She also detects a continuity of this revival both in other contemporary literary works and masques, and in the celebrations related to the Palatine wedding between princess Elizabeth and Frederick V, Elector Palatine, subsequent to Henry's death: Frances A. Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975); see, particularly, chapter one.

[3] Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990), 106-108.

[4] On Renaissance festivals in general, see, among others, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973); Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975); Stephen Orgel, ed., *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by J.D. Gordon* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1975); Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975). On masques in general and on the entertainments for the Creation of the Prince of Wales seen in the perspective of Renaissance festivals, see J. Pitcher, "'In those Figures which they seeme': Samuel Daniel's Tethys Festival", in *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 33-46; David Bergeron, "Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610)", *Comparative Drama* 42 (Winter 2008): 433-449; Limon, *The Masque of the Stuart Culture*, 112-124; Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 185-187; A. Daye, "'The Power of his Commanding Trident': Tethys Festival as Royal Policy", *Historical Dance* 4/2 (2012): 19-28; Catriona Murray,

"The Pacific King and the Militant Prince? Representation and Collaboration in the Letters Patent of James I, creating his Son, Henry, Prince of Wales", *Electronic British Library Journal*, 2012.

[5] Bergeron, "Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610)", 438.

[6] On the symbolism of water, rivers and hydraulic engineering, see, among others, Mircea Eliade, *Images et Symboles. Essai sur le Symbolisme Magico-Religieux* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952); Elizabeth B. Macdougall and Naomi Miller, *Fons Sapientiae: Garden Fountains in Illustrated Books from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1977); Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979); Marco Fagiolo, ed., *Natura e Artificio. L'ordine rustico, le fontane, gli automi nella cultura del Manierismo europeo* (Roma: Officina, 1981); Wyman H. Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature: The River and the Myth of Geography* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1986); Denis Cosgrove and Geoff Petts, eds, *Water, Engineering and Landscape* (London: Bellhaven Press, 1990); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins Publishers 1995); Litta M. Medri and Isabella Lapi Ballerini, eds, *Artifici d'Acqua e Giardini. La Cultura delle Grotte e dei Ninfei in Italia e in Europa. Atti del Convegno (Firenze-Lucca, 1998)* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1998); Vincenzo Cazzato, Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Adriana Giusti, eds, *Atlante delle Grotte e dei Ninfei in Italia. Toscana, Lazio, Italia Meridionale* (Milano: Electa, 2001); Peter Ackroyd, *Thames: Sacred River* (London: Vintage, 2007).

[7] William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, III,iiii,1 (45). See Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan, eds, *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works* (Walton on Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1998).

[8] Although the name of the famous favourite of Elizabeth's court is known under innumerable spelling and it is often found as Raleigh, I use the form Ralegh, that the poet himself seemed to prefer since 1581 and that can also be found in the holograph documents of the Cynthia poems. See Carlo M. Bajetta, *Sir Walter Ralegh: Poeta di Corte Elisabettiano* (Milano: Mursia, 1998), 18.

[9] See Plato, *Timaeus*, in Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, eds, *Plato. The Collected Dialogues: including the Letters*

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Sir Walter Ralegh, *The History of the World* (1614), in William Oldys and Thomas Birch, eds, *The Works of Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt., Now First Collected; To Which Are Prefixed the Lives of the Author*, 8 vols. (Oxford: At the University Press, 1829).

[10] On Henry's court, see Jerry W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror. Prince Henry Stuart: A Study in 17th Century Personation* (New York: AMS, 1978); Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); Thomas Wilks, ed., *Prince Henry Revived*; L. B. Cormak, "Twisting the Lion's Tale: Practice and Theory at the Court of Henry Prince of Wales", in *Patronage and Institutions. Science Technology and Medicine at the European Court 1500-1750*, ed. Bruce T. Moran, (Rochester, NY: The Bodyell Press, 1991), 67-83.

[11] Anthony Munday, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie* (1610), in David M. Bergeron, ed., *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday. A Critical Edition* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985), 39-40.

[12] Munday, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie*, 40.

[13] Munday, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie*, 41.

[14] Samuel Daniel, *Tethys Festival or The Queens Wake*, 346-375, in *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Entries of James the First*, ed. John Nichols (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1828), 354-355.

[15] The epigram of Alciatus's Emblem 144, which presents a harbour encircling the anchor-dolphin motif, reads: 'The dolphin, devoted to men, embraces it [the anchor], so that it may be fixed more securely in the lowest depths'. Alciati's emblems shed an interesting light on the interpretation of Henry's impresa appearing in his equestrian portrait by Peake, which features an anchor, and also in those displayed by the the tournament imprese composed for Prince Henry's Barriers, staged on 6 January 1610. On this topic, and on the allegorical power of these images, see George Capitol Weigl, "'And when Slow Time hath made you Fit for Warre': The Equestrian Portrait of Prince Henry", in *Prince Henry Revived*, ed. Thomas Wilks, 146-172. On the emblematic tradition, see also Loretta Innocenti, *'Vis eloquentiae'. Emblematica e Persuasione* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1983).

[16] Munday, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie*, 38.

[17] Munday, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie*, 42-3.

[18] Pitcher, "'In those Figures which they seeme'", 34; Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 185.

[19] Bergeron, "Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610)", 435.

[20] Munday, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie*, 42. Italics mine.

[21] Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature*, 216.

[22] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), in Brian Vickers, ed., *Francis Bacon. The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 189. Bacon's strong connection between water and knowledge is evident, also from a visual point of view, from the very title-page of the first edition of the Instauratio Magna, which 'displays a ship going beyond the Pillars of Hercules and a scroll with the motto "Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia", a slight deformation of the Latin version of Daniel's prophecy: "Plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia". With this picture and this motto Bacon, somehow paralleling Dante's Ulysses and his thirst for knowledge – his *folle volo* –, explicitly equates the growth of learning with geographical expansion, with the breaking of boundaries – physical as well as intellectual'. Milena Romero Allué, "Revealing a Secret. Natural Philosophy and Cooperative Learning in Seventeenth-Century England", in *The Art of Partnership. Essays on Literature, Culture, Language and Education towards a Cooperative Paradigm*, eds Antonella Riem Natale and Roberto Albarea (Udine: Forum Edizioni, 2003), 97-120 (100).

[23] Cormak, "Twisting the Lion's Tale", 68; 70-71.

[24] On the Prince Royal and on Henry's obsession with and patronage of the navy and overseas enterprises, see Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*, 49-60; Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 35-48; Michelle O'Callaghan, "Coryats Crudities (1611) and Travel Writing as the "eyes" of the Prince", in *Prince Henry Revived*, ed. Thomas Wilks, 85-103 (91); Weigl, "The Equestrian Portrait of Prince Henry", 51; Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 175.

[25] See David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*. Revised edition (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University, 2003), 94.

[26] The sword has been identified and is now in the Wallace Collection. Along with Jones' designs, it is 'the sole surviving material remnant of any masque performance', Butler, The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture, 74.

[27] Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 134-5.

[28] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 352.

[29] Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 186.

[30] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 351.

[31] 'The pursuit of rivers' origins is not restricted to physical topography alone. Another illustration of ancient interest in rivers is the fascination with river names and etymologies, which is just another kind of search for sources […] Names suggest their histories in at least two ways. Their descriptive qualities tell of the identifying human or natural features in the landscape. In naming the landscape, we humanise it and proclaim our knowledge and control, although the process is ever the easy victory over nature that the name-giver expects it to be'. Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature*, 124-125.

[32] 'Given the penchant for allegory, T-O has also been interpreted as meaning Theos and Okeanus. Still other possibilities are Terrarum Orbis, and finally the T standing for the crucifix'. William Boelhower, "The Archives of Paradise", in *Counting and Recounting. Measuring Inner and Outer Space in the Renaissance*, eds Paola Bottalla and Michela Calderaro (Trieste: Edizioni la Mongolfiera, 1995), 71-102 (89). See also Norman J. W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization. Cartography in Culture and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[33] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 352. Italics mine.

[34] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 352. Italics mine.

[35] In may 1609 James issued a proclamation in order to forbid Dutch vessels to fish in British waters except by licence, as a response to Grotius's Mare Liberum (1609), which denied the control of monarchs over sea territories. This action aligned England to Spain against The Hague: 'Support for British fisheries was not unwelcome to Henrie […] and it was mentioned in Anthony Munday's civic welcome, […] but Daniel's formula severed the link between British sea power and hostility to Spain', Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 187.

[36] Strong, however, agrees in claiming that the masque equally celebrates father and son and, comparing it to Oberon, which also

opens with the depiction of a map of the kingdom, asserts the lack of continental Europe, Henry being only invested 'with the mythology of the Elizabethan age'. Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 119, 122.

[37] On river poetry in English Literature, see, among others, Jack B. Oruch, "Spenser, Camden, and the Poetic Marriages of Rivers", *Studies in Philology* 64/4 (Jul. 1967): 606-624; Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature*; S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*; Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape. Towards a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[38] 'The geographical rivers, with their unknown sources, unpredictable windings, and the litter of human history on their banks have no place in the orderly court masque. [...] in Tethys Festival and generally, the river is mere synecdoche for the perfected order or for the individual or city it represents, and the pageants is the ritualised expression of the idealised image of concord', Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature*, 276-277.

[39] The verb to survey is very much typical of chorographic lexicography.

[40] Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature*, 277.

[41] Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature*, 278.

[42] James W. Bennet, "Britain among the Fortunate Isles", *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956): 114-140.

[43] Turner particularly analyses techniques of cartographic representation. Henry S. Turner, "Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England 1520-1688", in *History of Cartography*, ed. D. Woodward, 3 vols. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), vol. III, 412-426. See, in particular, 424-425.

[44] 'In several Elizabethan and early Jacobean plays, actual maps or charts actually appeared as props on stage; these were integral to the narrative development of the action and served as connotative or symbolic elements in the plays' larger poetic structure and ideological programme', Turner, "Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England", 420.

[45] Daye, "'The Power of his Commanding Trident'", 24.

[46] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, plate 47, 89.

[47] Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 78. See also A. Marr, "'A Duche graver sent for': Cornelis Boel, Salomon de Caus, and the

Production of La Perspective auec la Raison des Ombres et Mirois", in *Prince Henry Revived*, ed. Thomas Wilks, 212-238.

[48] Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: an Architectural History of the Royal Apartments* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), 65; 88.

[49] Fagiolo, "Il Significato dell'acqua e la dialettica del giardino", in *Natura e Artificio*, ed. Marco Fagiolo, 176-189 (138-139). The first to observe the oppositional relationship and correspondence between cave and mountain is René Guénon. See René Guénon, *Symboles fondamentaux de la Science sacrée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962).

[50] Philippa Berry and Jayne E. Archer, "Reinventing the Matter of Britain", in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, eds David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 119-34. A couple of suggestive examples come to one's mind when thinking about sir Walter Ralegh's late alchemical activities in the Tower, during his imprisonment, in the light of his previous appointment as Lord Warden of the Royal Stanneries during Elizabeth's reign; or A. Kircher's geological work *Mundus Subterraneus* (1678), which features some of the earliest representations of the interiors of the earth.

[51] 'First, on eyther side stood a great statue of twelve foot high representing Neptune and Nereus'. Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 349.

[52] Orgel and Strong attribute to *Tethys Festival* only a few sketches for costumes for nymphs, naiads and Zephyrus, but, generally speaking, there is no scenery sketch left for this masque. However, it is interesting to observe other contemporary designs by I. Jones, such as a throne for an unknown entertainment dated c. 1606-9 (plate 14), the 'House of Fame' for the second scene of *The Masque of Queens* (1609, plate 15) and a 'Cave and Mount' (plate 46), which Orgel and Strong collocate in the group of designs for tilts and attribute it possibly to the Creation tilt of June 6th 1610. All these designs show elements that might have also pertained to Tethys's throne and to her nymphs's niches, such as the function of the machina versatilis and the architectural and spatial arrangement of cave and mountain on the stage. See Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. I, 190-200. In particular, see plate 14, 128-9; plate 15, 130; plate 46, 178. Moreover, there are references to

sceneries and costumes for Oberon, which was going to be staged for Henry later that same year and may satisfactorily credit Jones's acquaintance with Fountainbleu's architecture and Palissy's works, either filtered by Caus or not. See J. Peacock, "The French Element in Inigo Jones's Masques Designs", 149-168, in *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley; John Peacock, "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture and Its Sources", *The Art Bulletin* 64/2 (Jun., 1982): 195-216; Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, 73-112; O'Callaghan, "Coryatas Crudities (1611) and Travel Writing as the 'Eyes' of the Prince", in *Prince Henry Revived*, ed. Thomas Wilks, 83. On the sources of the naiads' costumes and, in general, on Jones's masque designs, see John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones. The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), in particular 125-126.

[53] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 349.

[54] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 354.

[55] Fagiolo, "Il teatro dell'Arte e della Natura", in *Natura e Artificio*, ed. Marco Fagiolo, 137-143 (168-9).

[56] Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, 353-354. Italics mine.

[57] Curiously enough, the Venus fountain of Pratolino has been associated with the maternal aspect of Venus over her other mythological and symbolical personae. See Fagiolo, "Il teatro dell'Arte e della Natura", 141.

[58] Sara Trevisan, "Lady of the Lake or Queen of the Ocean? The Representation of Female Power in Prince Henry's Barriers and Tethys' Festival", in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, eds Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 158-174 (166-167).

[59] Berry and Archer, "Reinventing the Matter of Britain", 120-1.

[60] John Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 126. Butler further stresses this point by observing that Anna appeared on the stage with all her children. Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 134.

[61] See Berry and Archer, "Reinventing the Matter of Britain", 128-129.

[62] Ben Jonson, *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, in Stephen Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: the Complete Masques* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), ll. 1-3.

[63] While on the one hand some critics state the autonomy of the poet, at times ascribing Daniel to the Elizabethan/Essex faction (Holbrook, Parry, Butler, Pitcher), according to others, Anna's role would be exclusive (Leeds Barroll, Strong, Butler) and her 'cripto-catholicism' would also play a role as a vehicular source for the moderation warmly advised to Henry in Tethys Festival, aligning itself with James's pacifism (Holbrook). Generally speaking, critics agree in stating that the masque ultimately celebrates James rather than Henry. Anne Daye has also discussed the role of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who, both Secretary of State and Lord High Steward to Queen Anna, somewhat assumed the role of mediator between the king and the queen. According to Daye, Henry's passivity would also be re-evaluated if considering the visual and self-fashioning role of the revels, in which he certainly participated in an active way, along with the leads taken in the concluding march of the show. In any case, the masque was 'paid jointly by queen and king', Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 411, n. 65.

[64] Pitcher, "'In those Figures which they seeme'", 44.

[65] Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. I, 5.

[66] Butler, *Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, 1-33.

[67] On Anna's role as patron, commissioner and actress and the policy of her self empowerment within the environment of the court and the royal family, see Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England* and Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002).

[68] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002). See, in particular, chapter three ("The Land Speaks", 105-147), where the scholar analyses the evolution and departure of English and British cartography from the techniques implied until the reign of Elizabeth I, during which the queen was often represented on the maps, with a physical identification with the land.

Valeria Tirabasso

'The Tempest': Building a Nation at the Crossroads between Real and Utopian Geography

As the title of this article says, Shakespeare's *The Tempest* can be visualised at a virtual crossroads between utopian and real geography.[1] The two terms stand here to define the same process of describing, mapping and visualizing the space, but in the different contexts of cartography, on one side, and utopian literature on the other. While real geography, thus, is the act of looking, mapping and describing the new-found lands, and the men and communities living in them, utopian geography consists in imaging a non-existing territory, in order to people it with what the author believes to be the perfect society.[2] Though being different in methods, theoretical attitudes and objectives, the two geographies share significant aspects of their procedures and they also produce sometimes similar outputs. Both real and utopian geographies were particularly active in Elizabethan and Jacobean England; both, it is well known, have influenced in some ways Shakespeare in writing his last play; both, lastly, can be seen as different means of building a sense of nationhood: on the one hand real geography deals with setting boundaries and elaborating a visualization of a given space, on the other hand, Renaissance Utopian literature concentrates more on social and ethical boundaries and on the place and role each man should undertake in order to realise the perfect society. Moreover, real and utopian geographies can be associated in one final respect: as the strong interrelation between maps and all

utopian literature demonstrates, both cartography and utopian geography are based on arbitrary criteria. Drawing a map, whether real or utopian, always implies a consideration of the social and cultural meanings to be ascribed to the pictured lands. Moreover, these social and cultural meanings, which are never politically innocent, can be found also in the first atlases and maps of the New World. The lands pictured in these early works are never 'empty', but always inhabited by different symbols.[3]

The Tempest can thus be considered as a footprint in a wider movement towards the creation of a common sense of Nationhood in England,[4] together with other texts – among them poems, travelogues, but also maps and atlases – that concentrate on the encounter with the 'other'.[5] It is, in fact, through the relationship between *us* and *others*, between who is *inside* and who is *outside* our boundaries that we often find and underline our peculiarities as a society. Furthermore, for this pattern to be realised, it is essential to determine one's own identity by contrasts with the others',[6] and to describe the other in a lower, less desirable position within a binary structure. Since the *us/other* dialectics is shared by both Utopians and cartographers, and also constitutes a very relevant aspect underlined by many Shakespearean scholars in analysing *The Tempest*,[7] I shall take it as a starting point. Secondly, a consideration of the similarities between the geographical process of setting boundaries on one side and the process of describing the human body on the other will lead us to focus on different aspects of *The Tempest* as a richly polysemous play and on its relations with other texts in some specific cultural and sociological patterns. Lastly, the interrelations between Elizabethan theatre and the first and most influential atlas ever published, Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*

(1570) will be analysed, with a specific glance at *The Tempest*.

The process of discovery and conquest of the New World saw often the Europeans contrasting each other and repeating overseas the same conflicts existing on this side of the Atlantic.[8] The main conflict was undoubtedly the religious and political one that opposed Catholic to Protestant nations. A passage of Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1595)[9] is particularly illuminating in understanding how the Spanish were firstly perceived as 'other' and, secondly, how this 'otherness' was used by the English in order to introduce themselves to the West Indians:

[The Arawaks] feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death, for the Spaniards […] persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters and *Cannibals*: but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives, and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength. But I protest before the Majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe, that any of our company, one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit, stark naked. Nothing got us more love amongst them than this usage, for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a *Pina* or a *Potato* root without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters; which course, so contrary to the Spaniards

> (who tyrannize over them in all things) drew them to admire her Majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. […] They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at *Trinedado*, for they were before resolved that no nation of *Christians* durst abide their presence; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.[10]

The passage is particularly interesting because it almost emblematically shows how power relations among Europeans and between them and the Natives were set. In Louis Montrose's words, '[h]ere misogynistic sentiments subserve anti-Spanish ones, in a project aimed at mastering native Americans'.[11] Raleigh's text is also important for understanding how those relationships influenced not only the Indians' knowledge of who the Europeans were, but also the Europeans' self-definition: English voyagers are described here as essentially not-Spanish, but nonetheless they use this difference, just like the Spanish did, to enact a colonization strategy. When narrating the glorious story of the Spanish Armada's defeat (1588) to the Indians, in effect Raleigh's purpose is to cause them to 'wonder' at 'her Majesty's army and fleet's power'. The three identities involved in this framework, therefore, do not build a tripartite social structure, but, rather, two binary oppositions: on the one hand we find the contrast between English and Spanish, while on the other hand the same English voyagers establish a dominating position over the natives. In both cases, however, the *other* is described as uncanny in *his* (the Spanish colonisers') sexual behaviour or in the absence of embarrassment in showing *her* (the Arawak women's) nudity: while the Spanish are presented in their insatiable sexual appetite,

the Indians are here primarily embodied by their 'stark naked' women. Raleigh's account is thus an example of how the process of self-identification arises in a dialectical encounter with the stranger. Yet, this coming across of two entities is more often displayed in less peaceful terms, and this is the case of *The Tempest*,[12] a play that enacts a clash, rather than an encounter, of identities. The text offers a number of different examples to prove this point, but the most interesting, in my opinion, are those where Caliban, by giving a self-definition, conceives himself as a counterpart of Prospero: 'I am all the subjects that you have' (1.2.341) says Caliban of himself, while Prospero, without his books, '[i]s but a sot as I am' (3.2.91). Here, Caliban insists on the likeness, rather than on the difference between himself and Prospero, and it is mostly the latter that repeatedly underlines the opposition, but in the end of the play the master himself accepts and acknowledges the servant as his own.[13] As Stephen Greenblatt says in his essay *Learning to Curse*, Shakespeare 'place[s] Caliban at the outer limits of difference only to insist upon a mysterious measure of resemblance'.[14] Caliban subverts the opposition us/others, or, even more problematically, he does not recognise any opposition. Prospero, however, has no other arguments than his punishments and threats to rebut him. This point is particularly interesting because that opposition is the fundamental basis of geography, generally understood as a need to define borders: since ancient Greece, the definition of the nations' self-identity has been deeply interrelated with the identification of an *other* to be marginalised and persecuted, the barbarians, firstly characterised as linguistically different. And here we find another point subverted by Caliban: he is a stranger, and should be, but is not a barbarian, since he speaks Prospero's language.[15] Although he rejects language as a vehicle of coloniza-

tion, his ability to speak is something that strikes Stephano on their first encounter ('Where the devil / should he learn our language?' [2.2.64-5]). Hence Caliban enacts a double subversion, firstly by equating himself and Prospero, and secondly by being an outcast that however speaks the dominating language. His very presence in the play threatens the social and geographical borders established by the dominating culture, revealing the arbitrariness on which they are built.

The same arbitrariness can be found in the metaphoric association between human body and maps,[16] or in the richly suggestive personification of the different continents. One of the most famous iconographic representations of America is a drawing by Jan Van der Straet (fig.1), that became popular through Theodor Galle's engraving. Here, as in all other similar pictures, the New World is embodied by a naked woman with some feathers covering her head. In the distance, two naked figures are cooking a cannibalistic banquet, while Vespucci is the only presence with direct links with Western culture: he wears European clothes, a symbol of social identity, and holds a flag with two Christian crosses and an astrolabe, respectively symbols of political power on earth with its divine right, and of control over the celestial sphere. The juxtaposition of America with a female figure was a very common element in Western culture and one that probably had seemed logical and natural: when travellers, poets or illustrators had been confronted with a new space, a space to be ruled and dominated, this, naturally, took a woman's shape. The association of women and their fluid, unruly body, with nature, earth, or corruption was already well established by the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth centuries: gender differences were constantly used to justify a correspondent need of differentiation in social roles, and to underline women's unfit-

ness for power positions within society. Elizabeth's accession to throne (1558) became a problematic issue for the Establishment to deal with, and it encouraged writers, philosophers, pamphleteers, but also poets or dramatists, both to create the myth of the Virgin Queen and to reinforce the mediaeval differentiation between 'body politic' and 'body natural'.[17] Thus 'body', it can be argued, became a symbolic word with political implications. It is important to consider this aspect when analysing the interconnections between geographical representations, maps and the powerful, widespread, human body metaphor. In an article entitled *Cartografie dell'altro*, Clara Mucci starts with a provocative statement: she associates cartography and traveller's accounts with what she calls 'the body of the witch'.[18] She explains that the process of description and visualization of the new and the old worlds on one side, and the persecution of the witches on the other, not only had different aspects in common, but also constituted the basis for the English national identity development. What cartography and witch-hunt have in common is an essential starting point: witches were persecuted in order to fight their unruliness, their rejection of familiar and social duties, their breaking of ethical and moral boundaries set for them by society; at the same time cartographers, by creating a new symbolic language, and a new culturally constructed text, the map, made their attempt to rule over an unruly or chaotic space. When looking at *The Tempest*, this analogy can be found in a specific feature: both the witch Sycorax and the geographical location of the play share a similar uncanny presence and are perceived as real and unreal subtexts at the same time. Moreover, the witch and her son (who is firstly named 'earth'[19] by Prospero [1.2.317]) bring to the text a powerful and subversive reconsideration of social relations. The play's geographical location, that has for

so much time kept scholars' attention, could thus be seen only as a parallel of social relations. For this purpose, John Gillies' notion of poetical geography is particularly useful: geography is a poetical rather than a scientific activity, influenced by historical, social and political perspectives.[20] As Paul A. Jorgensen states in his essay *Shakespeare's Brave New World*,

> Shakespeare's new geography in *The Tempest* is closer to More's than to Marlowe's in that it moves him to explore ideas rather than envision wide expanses of territory. The island is a limited one and is the structural range of the play.[21]

By choosing such an ambiguous[22] marginal location, and by shaping such multifaceted and complex social relations among his characters (especially Prospero and Caliban), Shakespeare was maybe not focusing simply on a geographical setting, but rather on a sociological and ethnographic one, perhaps demonstrating that these settings are strongly interconnected. In John Gillies words:

> Like More's *Utopia* […] the island is a seamless compound of geography and poetry. It is a Renaissance version of what Seneca the Elder called 'the bounds of things, the remotest shores of the world' (rerum metas extremaque litora mundi).[23]

Yet, no matter how much effort we make to exclude real geography from our horizon while reading the play, it is almost impossible for us to completely remove it: interestingly, we are forced to evoke a geographical landscape, whether the Mediterranean or the American one, just like Prospero is forced to evoke Sycorax's presence in order to repress Ariel's rebellion.

Maybe the most explicit allusion to maps in the play is 'the great globe itself' (4.1.153), which concrete and material substance Prospero intriguingly refers to, only to show Ferdinand and Miranda the power of theatre: this great globe, indeed, 'shall dissolve and […] live not a rack behind' (4.1.154-6). Elizabethan theatre became an 'important enabling metaphor' for cosmography, as Gillies states,[24] and it was not coincidence that the first atlas ever published was named *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by its author, Abraham Ortelius. This atlas became so popular that over thirty editions were issued from 1570 to 1612. It also grew in the number of maps contained, from seventy in the first edition, to 167 in the last one. John Gillies dedicates part of his essay *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* to underline the interrelations between cosmography and theatre in early modern England: he describes Shakespeare's Globe Theatre and its motto *Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem* not as generally referring to the world and to men's life, but, more deeply, to a clear cultural horizon where the stage, not the theatre, is the material world. The round shape of the building, therefore, stands not for the terrestrial globe as we know it today: it represented the celestial spheres from which the observer had a privileged perspective onto men's life performed on-stage. Moreover, this pre-Copernican background (the celestial spheres surrounding the Globe) is also evoked by the first Ortelius' world map (fig. 2), where the observer is literally looking at it from the sky. But the similarities between theatre and cartography are not only set on a surface level: what is more interesting is that dramatists and cartographers acknowledged that they both dealt with the same cultural process: they worked on the performance of something, as Gillies says, 'which can never be seen, only imagined'.[25]

Giving the meta-theatrical nature of *The Tempest*, it can be argued that Shakespeare developed through his last play a consideration of his work as a dramatist, that brought him to explicitly recognise the similarities between his art and the act of discovering and mapping the world. The voyage to Caliban's island is therefore both a physical and a symbolic one. It is physical in that it implies a real encounter with otherness, just like the travelogues that where popular at the time. It is symbolic in its being only an allusion, a fictional representation of that encounter. As Gonzalo's words remark, the voyage was firstly a self-definition process, but also a fictional one,

> In one voyage
> Did Claribel her husband find in Tunis,
> and Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife
> Where he himself was lost, Prospero his dukedom
> In a poor isle, and all of us ourselves
> When no man was his own (5.1.208-13).

As if to say, a voyage both alluding to the real ones, and a fictional, utopian voyage towards self-discovery and self-identification. But also, finally, a voyage to be looked at (just like a map), only played by actors on stage.[26] In this parallel between theatre and cartography a similar analogy can be detected: theatre is to real life what cartography is to the Globe, they both look at something that is later performed, represented, and re-created in order to allow other people to look and imagine it. The individual perspective of the cartographer or the artist is then replaced by a wider, social perspective that, nonetheless, developed between the real and utopian realms, is fractured and ambiguous. Yet that ambiguity, like an image reflected by a fractured looking glass, is a prolific

one: Shakespeare's/Prospero's Globe might well have been 'dissolved', but its meanings, together with other texts and discourses, were able to plant the seeds of English nationhood.
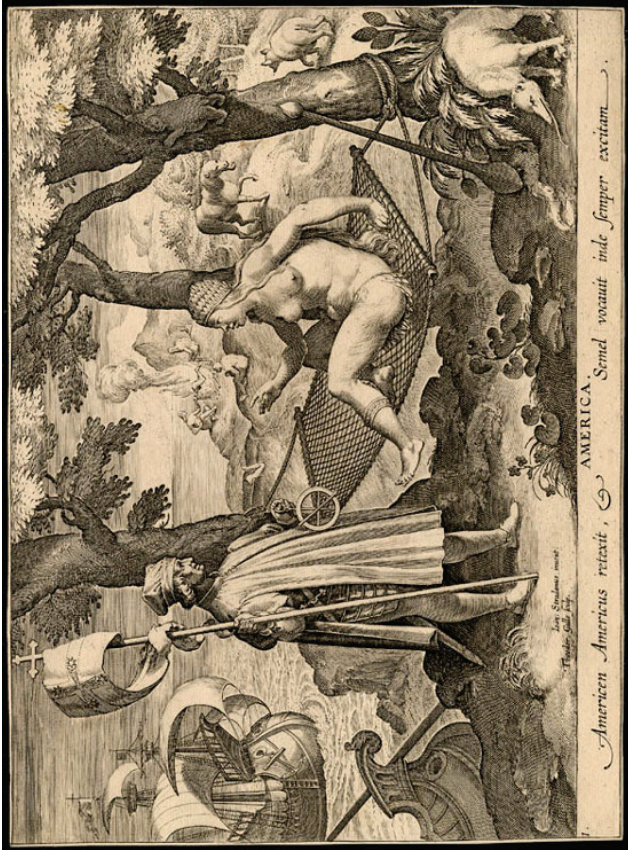
Fig. 1: Theodor Galle after Johannes Stradanus, *Amerigo Vespucci awakens America*, 1575-1580. Engraving, 19,8 × 26,7 cm.

Fig. 2: Abraham Ortelius, *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, 1570. Engraving, 34 x 49,4 cm.

Valeria Tirabasso

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[1] For some of the additions made to my first presentation, I am largely indebted to Professors Janet Clare and Gilberta Golinelli, who both presented two illuminating papers at the IASEMS annual conference, *Maps and Borders*, held in Lecce (29-30 may 2014).

[2] Different scholars have analysed the similarities and differences between real and utopian geographies. See, for example, in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), the essays "The Concept of Utopia" by Fátima Vieira (3-27), "Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and the Enlightenment" by Nicole Pohl (51-78) and "Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias" by Lyman Tower Sargent (200-222). On the relation between Utopia as a literary genre and travel literature see in *Viaggi in Utopia*, eds Raffaella Baccolini, Vita Fortunati and Nadia Minerva (Ravenna: Longo, 1996), the essays "Scrittura di viaggio e scrittura utopica tra realtà e finzione" by Vita Fortunati (13-19), "Utopia e viaggio onirico" by Carmelina Imbroscio (33-38) and "Viaggi verso Utopia, viaggi in Utopia. Dinamica del movimento e della stasi" by Nadia Minerva (39-47). For an analysis of *The Tempest* and its island as a representation of an utopian island, with political implications, see Vita Fortunati and Gilberta Golinelli, "Interpreting Utopia: The Debate between Mutiny and Dynastic Law in *The Tempest*", in *Shakespeare and the Law*, ed. Daniela Carpi (Ravenna: Longo, 2003), 91-102.

[3] For example in *Cosmographie Universelle* (1555), Guillaume Le Testu draws houses or kings on their thrones in the Old World's maps (Europe, the Mediterranean and part of Asia), and monstrous animals, savages or deformed men on the newly discovered or imagined lands (America, but also Africa, part of China and Terra Australis). In his *Mapping the Renaissance World*, Frank Lestringant quotes Le Testu's commentaries in order to investigate this aspect of early modern cartography: 'However, what I have noted and depicted is only by imagination', he declares in relation to this austral region, 'for there is no man who as yet has made a certain discovery of it'. The key word here, imagination, forms a leitmotiv throughout Le Testu's commentaries: it announces the 'force of the imagination' later described by Montaigne, and the power of which was such that it could create *ex nihilo* islands and empires'. Later, in the essay,

Lestringant adds a consideration on the political value of this *imagination*: 'both constructive and projective, the cartography of the Renaissance was also political: for to speculate on the contours of an unknown land was to incite rulers to take possession of it'. Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World. The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Fausett (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 114-116.

[4] On the interrelations between chorography/cartography and the creation of a common sense of Nationhood in England, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), especially chapter three "The Land Speaks" (105-147): 'Saxton, Camden, Norden, Speed, Drayton, and the many county chorographers, however faithfully they may have gathered and repeated the "facts" of England's history and geography, had an inescapable part in creating the cultural entity they pretended only to represent. And in creating that entity, they also brought into being […] the authority that underwrote their own discourse. They thus made themselves' (147).

[5] Richard Helgerson analyses different kinds of early modern texts and atlases, also concentrating on the socio-political aspects arising from them: 'though the forms of nationhood imagined by these various texts are many, the political issues that engage them can, in a gross and not quite exclusive way, be reduced to just two. One concerns the monarch and monarchic power. The other involves the inclusion or exclusion of various social groups from privileged participation in the national community and its representations' (Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 9).

[6] As Stuart Hall states, '[...] another critical thing about identity is that it is partly the relationship between you and the Other. Only when there is an Other can you know who you are'. Stuart Hall, "Etnicity, Identity and Difference", *Radical America* 23.4 (1991): 9-20.

[7] Among the great number of essays analysing the theme of otherness in *The Tempest*, see: John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Stephen Orgel's Introduction to the Oxford Edition of the play, especially the chapter dedicated to Caliban (23-28): William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[8] An acute analysis of the cultural patterns that guided the first encounters between Europeans and native Americans can be found in Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[9] Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, ed. R. H. Schomburgk (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1848).

[10] Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, 60-61. Quotation modernised by the author, italics in the text.

[11] Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery", in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), 177-217 (197).

[12] All quotations from *The Tempest* follow the Oxford Shakespeare Edition.

[13] 'This thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine' (5.1.275-6) says Prospero, introducing Caliban to the King of Naples and his fellows.

[14] Stephen Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century", in *First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, Michael Allen and Robert Benson, 2 vols. (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: The University of California Press, 1976), vol. II, 561-580.

[15] As Paul Brown points out, Caliban's ability to speak, to understand his social position and to identify in Prospero his own usurper, demonstrates that he 'has indeed mastered enough the lesson of civility': Paul Brown, "'This Thing of Darkness I acknowledge mine': *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism", in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 48-71 (60).

[16] Two poems by John Donne can be mentioned here among the most suggestive examples of this association: *Hymn to God, my God, in my sickness*, and *Elogy XIX, To his Mistress Going to Bed.*

[17] For more information on this topic see Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth. Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[18] Clara Mucci, "Cartografie dell'altro. Mappe, corpi femminili e la scoperta delle Nuove Terre nella formazione della nazionalità inglese", *Strumenti critici*, a. XVII, n. 3 (Settembre 2002): 399-417.

[19] Note that this first epithet used by Prospero in calling Caliban, *earth*, is a word specifically linked with the feminine: the mother earth. Prospero is perhaps using this word with the double purpose of indicating in Caliban his own subdued subject (the earth on which he stands and that he possesses) and of keeping Caliban linked to his mother Sycorax, in order to reject and degrade the monster's claim of the island as his own as his mother's legacy. On the land-woman trope and its implications in some Shakespearean plays see Laura Tommaso, "Th' receiving earth': Shakespeare and the Land/Woman Trope", *Textus* XVIII (2005): 267-282. On the political implications of Caliban's claim see Stephen Orgel's introduction to the Oxford Shakespeare Edition of *The Tempest*, 36-39.

[20] Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, 1-39.

[21] Paul Jorgensen, "Shakespeare's Brave New World", in *First Images of America*, 83-90 (86). In mentioning Marlowe, Jorgensen is referring to his work Tamburlaine the Great.

[22] In Paul Brown's words: 'Prospero's island is ambiguously placed between American and European discourse'. "'This Thing of Darkness I acknowledge mine': *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism", 56.

[23] Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, 141.

[24] Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, 35.

[25] Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, 63.

[26] 'When no man was his own' can here have different meanings: everybody on the island was lost; everybody was far away his home, was displaced; we were all actors and were only playing a character.

Cristiano Ragni

'Pray Sir, what is all this in English?'
William Haughton Teaching Nationhood
in Shakespeare's England

A Dutchman, a Spaniard and an Italian plan to get married in England. While this could easily look like the start of a joke, it is instead the beginning of William Haughton's comedy, *Englishmen for My Money* (1598). In this play, generally considered the first 'London comedy', Haughton dealt with the presence of foreigners in England in the late 1590s. This was a much-debated issue in the process of definition of England's nationhood. Firstly, in my essay, I will briefly focus on the multicultural panorama of the English capital, where refugees and merchants from all over Europe found shelter and prospered so much as to arouse feelings of xenophobia and resentment among the English. I will then show how this resentment brought about the creation of a variety of widely-believed stereotypes, which were used and spread by many English playwrights. Through the 'writing' of their own identity, they actually had to create the idea of an 'otherness' to compare themselves to and distinguish themselves from. Lastly, I will concentrate on Haughton's *Englishmen*, though I will draw some parallels to Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Merchant of Venice*. In particular, I will try to highlight the final message of acceptance of the 'aliens' which can be deduced from this play.

On 9 March 1575, the Court of Aldermen issued the following edict:

> The masters of all London companies are warned to take order that neyther they nor any of there seruants

> shall in any wyse mysuse, dysturbe or evell entrete any
> the strangers within the Citie but shall quyetlie suffre
> them to pass in & oute aboute there busyness without
> let or vexacion upon payne of disfranchisement'.[1]

Edicts such as this became all too necessary during Elizabeth's reign, given the ever-increasing number of foreign immigrants in London. They would regulate the behaviour of the English towards foreigners under threat of strict penalties. Until that moment, there had been no need to deal seriously with the issue of 'aliens', as their number had been fairly low and they had been mostly granted individual benefits both by Henry VII and Henry VIII. Edward VI, in turn, had granted the few reformed 'strangers' in his kingdom the right to found their own churches.[2] On the other hand, it was only after Elizabeth's coming to the throne that the situation changed abruptly and a massive flux of strangers converged on England. This was partially due to the aftermath of the 1572 Huguenot massacre in Paris and to the Spanish Inquisition reinforcement in all Catholic countries. However, it was also a consequence of the intensification of trade and various commercial exchanges. As Shakespeare would put it: 'The watery Kingdom, whose ambitious head | spits in the face of heaven, is no bar | to stop the foreign spirits (II, vii, 44-46)'.[3] He was referring to Belmonte in *The Merchant of Venice* – a clear metaphor of England itself. Thanks to its privileged geography, England represented an ideal destination for all those continental Europeans fleeing religious persecution or looking for better career opportunities.[4] This massive influx of foreigners proved to be a controversial issue in mid-sixteenth century England. The country had faced – and was still facing

– so many radical changes, that its stability was still extremely precarious. As Alistair Fox brilliantly sums up:

> During the course of the sixteenth century, England severed its ties with Rome, underwent a constitutional revolution as a result, witnessed a brief Catholic Counter-Reformation, and ended up an independent nation with a Protestant religion, established and enforced by the state. From the 1560s, this new national identity was intensified not only by prophetic preaching from many pulpits […] but also by a foreign policy that locked England in a contest with Catholic Spain that would last for several decades.[5]

While much effort was being made so as to create and strengthen this English nationhood,[6] the arrival of so many immigrants provoked a twofold reaction. All in all, it was a positive one with the Queen and her counsellors, though a rather negative one among her English subjects. As for the former, they mostly saw the immigrants as a source of great advantages, since these refugees – mostly French, Flemish and Italians – were intellectuals, merchants, artisans and technicians who would greatly contribute to make up for England's still patent backwardness. If personalities such as the French preacher Jean Véron,[7] the Dutch portraitist Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger[8] or the Italian jurist Alberico Gentili[9] could be said to have helped shape the cultural profile of the nation hosting them, the artisans' skills would prove to be no less useful. They were actually seen as 'a potentially great boon for a country that was technologically backward compared to its Continental neighbours'.[10] These are the main reasons why Elizabeth and her Privy Council set out to pass a series of edicts regulating the position

and activities of the strangers in the capital and in the country, although some ambiguities still persisted. Indeed, as Michael Wyatt put it:

> The legal position of the 'stranger' in England was "subject to the complex, ever changing, and at times contradictory Statutory Law, Common Law, Lex Mercatoria, Custom of the City, local parish regulations, and so forth". Their position was far from clear even in the eyes of contemporaries, and far less so today when hindsight sometimes helps, but more often blurs the picture.[11]

What is certain is that both royal *Acts of Naturalisation* and parliamentary *Patents of Denization* were created so as to guarantee the status of these 'aliens',[12] and that they had enough commodities to live well and prosper in England. What Shakespeare writes in *The Merchant of Venice,* when Antonio explains to Solanio why Shylock's bond has to be respected, is useful to get an idea of how the situation should have been like in those days:

> The Duke cannot deny the course of law,
> For *the commodity that strangers have*
> With us in Venice, if it be denied,
> Will much impeach the justice of the state,
> Since that *the trade and profit of the city*
> *Consisteth of all nations* (III.iii.26-31).

However, whilst the Crown worked to grant strangers such flexible arrangements, it also looked upon them with suspicion. It especially – but not only – looked down on the Italians and the Spaniards, as many of them could be spies for the Catholic enemies of England. These were indeed the years when Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, managed to create the first

organised English web of spies and secret agents – among these was Christopher Marlowe – to prevent any possible plot against the Queen. If then the Crown's caution was hidden under the veil of a more patent acceptance, the English subjects' attitude was diametrically opposite.[13] Those very 'commodities', which we read about in Shakespeare, contributed to a situation of such social unrest that a much cruder and plainer xenophobia was spreading among the population. Actually, this xenophobic trend had always been present in English culture, so much so that in an anonymous Venetian essay written around 1500 we can read that: '[The English] have an antipathy for foreigners, and imagine that they never come into their island, but to make themselves master of it, and to usurp their goods'.[14] However, it is obvious that this situation worsened in a period of economic difficulties and within the uncertain national background at the end of the 16th century – a fact which is significantly true in some places even today. As a consequence, the increasing number of foreigners was only seen by most English as an additional threat to their already unstable condition. The first of the repetitive riots against the 'aliens', which characterised the whole 16th century in England, had taken place during Henry VII's reign: the notorious 1517 Evil May Day. This major riot was then followed by other mobs under Henry VIII and Elizabeth herself, especially between 1582 and 1595. At that time, London was repeatedly covered with xenophobic pamphlets raging against the foreign merchants. One of these, plastered to the wall of the Dutch Church in Broadstreet Ward on 5 May 1593, read as follows:

> With Spanish Gold you all are infected
> And with yt gould our Nobles wink at feast
> […] and wound their Countries breast, for lucres sake
> And wrong our gracious Queene & Subjects good

> For letting strangers make our hearts to ake […]
> Flye, flye & never returne.[…]
> Your Machiavellian Marchant spoyles the state,
> Your usery doth leave us all for deade,
> Your Artifex & Craftsmen works our fate,
> And like the Jewes, you eate us up bread […]
> Weele cut your throates, in your temples praying
> Not paris massacre so much blood did spill.[15]

Given the relevance of such a crucial issue, it is not surprising that we find in the history of the English drama of this age a wealth of plays representing the ambiguous relationship between the 'aliens' and the English. It is also thanks to these works that we can actually understand to what an extent the theatre – which was one of the most important means of communication of the time – took part in the process of 'writing' the English nationhood. The theatre was indeed actively involved in that long-standing debate on the cultural relevance of English culture and also on the 'language issue' which had been worrying scholars and intellectuals for decades. Although divided between an acute feeling of cultural inferiority to Italy, France and Spain, and the pride for its 'independent insular identity', England was gradually reaching for greater cultural and political confidence at the end of the sixteenth century. This is mirrored in the use made by the playwrights of the widely-spread stereotypes of the many foreigners living in England.[16] In fact, to paraphrase Hoenselaars's words, stereotypes were the easiest way to represent the opposition between the self and the other.[17] However, during the Renaissance, many writers repeatedly warned against such an attitude. As Dillon has also acknowledged: 'Protestant England was […] constructed, at least in its earliest days, in opposition to all that was not English'.[18] The wide range of stock national traits mocked in the 'alien' characters found in many works of

that age was actually spread to underline how a true Englishman should conversely look:

> The foreigner could [actually] only 'mean' something important, and so be effective as a literary figure, when the qualities observed in him were seen to involve in simple and significant relationship to real life at home. Without this relationship, mere observation, however exact, could hardly make an impact on men caught up in their own problems and their own destiny.[19]

Scholars usually divide these plays representing the relationship between English and 'aliens' into three groups: history plays, characterised by definite pro-English features; interludes and chronicles focused on the socio-economic situation of the English subjects, and comedies. Most of the comedies were written between the end of the 1590s and the beginning of the 1600s when the general situation had become more conciliatory, and where all these aspects only served to create a particular atmosphere.[20] Some of these plays, especially the earlier ones, such as John Bale's *King Johan* (1538) or Ulpian Fulwell's *Like Will to Like* (1568), were more openly xenophobic. On the other hand, the later ones, such as William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, seem to have used these stereotypes primarily as a comic feature. By then the foreigners were supposed to have assumed a greater familiarity and domesticity with their English background. At least I will try to show this.[21] It is indeed in comedy-like settings that tolerance-intolerance dynamics have always been more at stake and 'some seemingly denigratory humour which hinges on national or other stereotyping may [actually] conceal ploys to define and gain recognition for group identities'.[22] As Grayson has added: 'Suspicion and mistrust of this "stranger" […] persist in the seventeenth century and find echoes in the

theatre, usually as a subject for humour [and] are [moreover] indicative of an acute linguistic consciousness'.[23]

I will now briefly present some of the most used stereotypes in these plays, as it would be obviously impossible to examine thoroughly all the different stereotypical characters which can be found. I will then focus especially on those which are represented in Haughton's comedy, and I will make intertwined reference to similar situations in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Merchant of Venice*.[24]

As written above, *Englishmen for My Money* deals with the mismatched marriage proposals to three English sisters, Laurentia, Marina and Mathea, on the part of hugely stereotypical foreign merchants, Delion, Alvaro and Vandal, respectively from France, Italy and the Netherlands. They are friends of their father Pisaro, himself a Portuguese – and with all likeliness a Jew – merchant and usurer. Although the Jewish question would open other issues involving stereotyping and race differences, this essay is not going to deal with that, as the truly innovative aspect of the play does not seem to lie there.[25] As for the use of stereotypes in Haughton's *Englishmen*, this comes to the foreground immediately in the play. When Pisaro sends his fool-servant Frisco to look for a language teacher for his daughters, the latter gives the audience a highly comical description of the typical features of each speaker of the languages required by his master. Of course these were the languages spoken by each of the foreign suitors, as if these features were necessarily transmitted to anyone speaking the language itself. As for Frenchmen, Frisco decidedly states as follows: '[…] I remember my great grandfather's grand- | mother's sister's cousin told me, that pigs and Frenchmen speak | one Language, 'awee awee' (I, i, 172-

174)',[26] and later marks up that each of them is '[…] an eternal enemy to all good | language […] (I, ii, 80-81)'. This particular issue of Frenchmen not speaking English correctly and thus creating hilarious – and often sexual – puns is a recurring feature. It parodies what was a real problem in everyday life since linguistic barriers could actually exacerbate tensions. This also can be found in many of Shakespeare's plays. Apart from the most famous scene of Princess Catherine and her maid in *Henry V*, in *The Merry Wives,* for instance, we read about the wrong translations made by the Host in order to trick the French Doctor Caius. After a missed duel with his rival in love Evans, Caius is convinced that 'mock-water' ('urine') is a synonym of 'valour' and that 'clapper-claw' ('to punch') is a verb meaning 'to make amends':

> HOST
> […] A word, Monsieur
> Mockwater
> CAIUS
> Mockvater? Vat is dat?
> HOST
> Mockwater, in our English tongue, is valour, bully.
> CAIUS
> By gar, then I have as much Mockvater as de
> Englishman. […]
> HOST
> He will clapper-claw thee tightly, bully.
> CAIUS
> Clapper-de-claw? Vai is dat?
> HOST
> That is, he will make thee amends.
> CAIUS
> By gar, me do look he shall clapper-de-claw me,
> For, by gar, me vill have it (II.iii.52-63).

Back to Frisco, if he is biting towards Frenchmen, neither is he nice to Dutchmen, as he boasts that:

> […] I can speak perfect Dutch when I list. […]
> I must have my mouth full of meat first, and then you
> shall hear me grumble it forth full mouth, as *Haunce Butterkin*
> *slowpin frokin*; no, I am simple Dutchman (I.i.179-183).[27]

The repeated emphasis on the importance of the 'purity' and 'plainness' of the English language – although highly ironical, as I would like to underscore – was indeed one of the main strong suits of those purists – mainly Puritan – taking part in the well-known *Inkhorne Controversy* against English 'hard words'. This controversy had broken out in England in that period – and would characterise the whole sixteenth century. Many writers had proved to be overenthusiastic about improving their 'rude tongue' and had started to use many foreign words (especially Latin) so as to shed some 'nobler' light upon English. This had led other intellectuals to stand against this tendency and argue for the superiority of 'pure' English words.[28] The debate was so heated and well-known at the time that even playwrights dealt with it, by focusing on situations that their audience knew all too well. If the above-mentioned sketches clearly show the '[national] linguistic awareness' which Grayson has written about, on the other hand it seems that they are used ironically by both Haughton and Shakespeare. In fact, even though Richard Carew wrote in his famous treatise *The Excellency of the English Tongue* (1596-97) that English was mostly praised at that time, in opposition to all other major European languages, for its 'Easiness',[29] it was not only this which would allow playwrights and writers to 'emancipate' their language from its 'rudeness'. It was indeed its very richness and variety – a result of the

changes England had undergone in the course of many foreign invasions – that was being and would be exploited by intellectuals such as Shakespeare to give 'to airy nothing | a local habitation and a name' (MND, V, i, 17-18).

To go back to Haughton's *Englishmen*, things do not improve even when Frisco comes to describe the Italians. All sorts of dark legends and myths had indeed already flourished around them, such as the well-known adagio spread by Roger Ascham: 'Inglese Italianato è un Diavolo Incarnato',[30] just to name one. What Frisco affirms is thus neither surprising nor new:

> [Italian?] Why that is the easiest of all, for I can tell whether he have any
> Italian in him even by looking on him. […] Marry be these three points: a wanton Eye,
> Pride in his Apparel and the Devil in his Countenance (I.i.189-194).

All aspects that will later be confirmed by a much irritated Marina, Alvaro's promised fiancée,[31] and by Alvaro's very words, when he swears to kill all those who would impede his marriage: '[…] if he will no | die, I sal give him sush a drinck, sush a potion, sal mak him give | de *Bonos Noches* to all de world (V, i, 98-100)'. This negative depiction of Italians, mixed up with Spanish elements, was indeed very common. We can find plenty of examples in Shakespeare as well. In *The Merchant of Venice*, just to name one, among Portia's foreign suitors, all grouped together in what could be called a black list of stereotypes, we find for example the description of an uncouth Neapolitan prince:

> Ay, that's a colt indeed. For he doth nothing but
> Talk of his horse […] I am much afeard my lady
> his mother played false with a smith (I.ii.39-43).

What I would like to underline, however, is the fact that all these characters, or rather caricatures, created by both Shakespeare and Haughton are found in the very specific context of the late-sixteenth century comedies. This context cannot and should not be compared either to that of the above-mentioned xenophobic plays or to pamphlets such as the anonymous compendium of anti-foreign prejudice known as *The Libelle of Englysche Polycye,* which had been circulating since 1436.[32] As stated above, when these plays were written, the relationships between the English and the foreigners had become more conciliatory. Such comic situations only served to create an easily hilarious atmosphere. In Haughton's case, in particular, as Kermode has underlined: '[Although] the opening of the play […] suggests a damnable character type, […] Pisaro is finally the accepting father of comedy, not the 'Judas-like' (I, I, 28) villain [while] the alien merchants, although ineffectual, are hardly dangerous either'.[33] In this comedy, as Hunter too has acknowledged: 'Foreignness is no part of the moral structure, but is only an intriguing local colour'.[34] This is indeed proven by the typical pattern of the comedy itself. Apart from the jokes based on the bad pronunciation of the three foreign suitors, the tricks played on them are not the consequence of their being foreign. They are merely the usual comedy pattern of jokes made to the detriment of silly characters. As I will try to show below, what Haughton is doing in these works is to skilfully exploit the comic device of stereotyping so as to make their audience laugh, while passing on other, more layered and significant messages.

The scope of my article is not to examine the message of the two mentioned Shakespeare comedies. Instead, I will limit myself to drawing only some parallels which can help understand Haughton's message. In order to do so, it is necessary to focus better on the development of

the wedding plans in the plot. What must be known is the fact that the three foreign suitors never stand a chance with Pisaro's daughters. Apart from their comical nature, the girls are immediately presented as being in love with three other characters: Harvey, Ferdinand and Ned, who are not surprisingly English. These characters are not accepted by Pisaro, because they are penniless and have mortgaged all their lands and properties to him. However, in spite of their witty lines and crafty tricks to keep in touch with their lovers, to mock the other suitors and finally manage to marry the girls, the attention of the audience is not on the three Englishmen. As always, it is on the three girls. They are the true characters – and not caricatures – of this comedy. They are strong-willed, rich and firmly decided 'to have their wills'.[35] All these are characteristics that they somewhat share with the female characters of both *The Merry Wives* and *The Merchant*. However – I argue – they stand out as the liveliest ones, with respect to both the female characters in the two Shakespearean plays. Indeed, naive Anne Page laments how 'a world of vile-ill faults | looks handsome [from her father's point of view] in [the] three-hundred pounds a year' (III, iv, 30-32) of her French suitor but actually leaves her English lover Fenton the active role. At the same time, Portia, though being the one who eventually finds the hyperlegalistic solution to solve the issue between Antonio and Shylock, perhaps looks too refined and lyrical to be truly taken seriously. Laurentina, Mathea and Marina, in turn, are down-to-earth and resourceful London girls, even more than their English male counterparts. For example, after Alvaro's improbable love declaration – carried out in a mixture of Italian, Spanish and English – Marina sharply replies: 'Pray Sir, what is all this in English?' (II, i, 37). Later on in the play, Laurentia states as follows: 'If needs you marry

with an English lass, | Woe her in English, or she'll call you ass' (II, iii, 159-160). This could also be a comical hinting at Queen Elizabeth's own dealing with foreign suitors, also potentially alluded to in Harvey's line: 'none should know better | who's the Lord, than the Lady! (II, i, 122-123)'. Apart from this, another feature which the playwright attributes to them, is the pragmatic and matter-of-fact way of doing, which has been always seen as typical of 'Englishness'. In fact, not only do they immediately show their strength of will when they firmly refuse their foreign suitors, but also when they prove to be perfectly aware of the precarious economic background of the English lovers and dismiss the issue as something easily settable: 'We here, you there, ask Gold; and Gold you shall; | We'll pay the int'rest, and the principal (I, iii, 144-145)'. Not to mention the scene when, fearing that their plans might have failed, they prove themselves worthy subjects of such a Queen as Elizabeth:

> LAURENTIA
> Nay, never weep, Marina, for the matter.
> Tears are but signs of sorrow, helping not. […]
> MATHEA
> Nor 'tis not father, friends, nor any one
> Shall make me wed the man I cannot love! […]
> MARINA
> […] we are no fools,
> Or babes neither, to be fed with words (IV.ii.1-19).

Yet, something does not square up, and here lies – I argue – the novelty of this comedy. The fact is that these English girls are not English. Or at least only half, as their father Pisaro is a Portuguese. In other contexts, they would have actually been considered more or less as 'alien' as their 'alien' suitors. This is also because first-generation strangers were not considered English follow-

ing a 1580 Act.[36] This is something that the audience could not have overlooked, and the playwright purposely makes Mathea exclaim, almost at the end of the play:

> Though I am a Portingale by the Father's side,
> And therefore should be lustful, wanton, light,
> Yet […] I have so much English by my Mother,
> That no base, slavering French shall make me stoop
> (IV.i.42-46).

A half foreign character who strongly advocates her being so English as to radically distinguish herself from what she considers a true 'alien' is clearly a metaphor of the coming of a new era: differences begin to blur and the 'others' slowly become the 'self', in what Loomba calls a 'celebration of global hybridity'.[37]

   In conclusion, what I would like to highlight is that, at the turn of the century, with the crude and most openly xenophobic issues settled, the lesson Haughton taught with his play was a most significant one. Not only were the female characters the ones who eventually won, but – most of all – it was the 'hybrid'. In other words, just as Richard Mulcaster in his *Elementarie* (1582) had recognised as the winning feature of English the fact that 'our tong seemeth to have two natures, the one home born, the other a stranger',[38] it is as if Haughton acknowledged in these half English and half foreign characters the additional value of giving birth to a new generation of English. It seems obvious that neither he nor Shakespeare truly believed in the stereotypes they used as comical device, but rather exploited them to pass on other messages. Haughton, in particular, clearly showed how the last and most significant word did not belong to the 'pure' characters, but rather to the livelier 'hybrid', 'mixed' ones. In a word, to modernity as we know it.

Cristiano Ragni

[1] Quoted in Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 43.

[2] For the presence of strangers in England before the Elizabethan Age, see William Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England, London* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1897), 17-148; Yungblut, *Strangers*, 10-14, 61-79; and Randolph Vigne and Charles Littlet, eds, *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1150-1750* (Brighton: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 1-54.

[3] Quotation from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. This and the following references to Shakespeare are all from *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

[4] 'Because of a variety of circumstances ranging from the "pull" of Crown support to the "push" of religious-civil war and economic displacement on the Continent, the notion of England as a haven for refugees was not only firmly established, but also was regularly enhanced both by events and by the reactions of Elizabeth's government to those events'. Yungblut, *Strangers*, 3.

[5] Alistair Fox, *The English Renaissance. Identity and Representation in Elizabethan England* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 1.

[6] See the thorough study carried out by Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[7] See Carrie E. Euler, "Bringing Reformed Theology to England's 'Rude and Symple People': Jean Véron, Minister and Author outside the Strangers Church Community," in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littlet, *From Strangers to Citizens*, 17-24.

[8] See Karen Hearn, "Insiders or outsiders? Overseas-born artists at the Jacobean Court," in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littlet, *From Strangers to Citizens*, 117-126.

[9] See among others Diego Panizza, *Alberico Gentili giurista ideologo nell'Inghilterra elisabettiana* (Padova: La Garangola, 1981) and my "*A Stranger, and Learned, and an Exile for Religion*. Alberico Gentili, Shakespeare and Elizabethan England," in *Proceedings of the 'Shakespeare and His Contemporaries Graduate Conference 2012, 2013* (Florence: British Institute, 2014), 81-89.

[10] Fox, *The English Renaissance*, 4.

[11] Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 139.

[12] See *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603*, ed. William Page (Lymington: Huguenot Society of London, 1893), vol. 8, and, with specific reference to Haughton, Alan Stewart, "«Every Soil to mee is Naturall»: Figuring Denization in Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*," *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006): 55-77.

[13] Although this is a broadly shared generalization, some scholars have recently highlighted how Englishmen's reaction, especially towards French and Dutch Protestant refugees, was actually warmer than it had been usually thought. They claim that this was due to 'religious solidarity' and to the fact that some English artisans proved more than willing to employ and make trade with foreigners; the latter's thankfulness can actually be seen in the economic and military support given to the English in the wars of religion in the Continent. On this point, see D. J. B. Trim, "Protestant Refugees in Elizabethan England and Confessional Conflicts in France and the Netherlands, 1562 – c. 1610," and Joseph P. Ward, "Fictitious Shoemakers, Agitated Wavers and the Limit of Popular Xenophobia in Elizabethan England", in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littlet, *From Strangers to Citizens*, 68-87.

[14] Janette Dillon, "An Italian in England: Cross-Culturalism and Racism in Court and City", in *Polidoro Virgili e la cultura umanistica europea. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi e Celebrazioni (Urbino, 1 settembre - 1 Ottobre 2000)*, ed. Rolando Becchielli, (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2003), 165-183 (175).

[15] Quoted in Lloyd E. Kermode, introduction to *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, ed. Lloyd E. Kermode (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 12-16.

[16] See Cecil Grayson, "The Growth of Linguistic National Consciousness in England," in Fredi Chiapelli, ed., *The Fairest Flower. The Emergence of Linguistic National Consciousness in Renaissance England. The International Conference of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California (Los Angeles, 12-13 December 1983)* (Firenze: Accademia della Crusca, 1985), 167-173; on the cultural weight of the different

languages, see Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[17] Anton J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Cranbury, London and Missisauga: Associated University Press, 1992), 21.

[18] Dillon, "An Italian in England," 180. For further details, see also Ania Loomba, "Outsiders in Shakespeare's England," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, eds Maria De Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 147-165, where we can read: 'Questions of identity and difference became especially urgent in sixteenth- and seventeenth century English culture, because at this time the idea of an English nation developed and was articulated through a variety of media such as literature, law, cartography, or travel writing. […] Everything English became an object of attention and nourished a new feeling of national pride. But 'everything English' was not a stable given: […] Englishness was defined, in part, in opposition to everything not English. I want to suggest that the idea of difference is important in complicating our understanding of the emergence of an English nation and in showing to what extent this was the result of an on-going struggle to colonise, marginalise, or incorporate different groups of people who lived both within and outside the geographic boundaries of England' (149).

[19] George K. Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners," in *Shakespeare and Race*, eds Catherine M. S. Alexander and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 44.

[20] For a more detailed analysis, see Hoenselaars, *Images*, and the more recent Lloyd E. Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[21] Not all scholars would agree with it, as there are some who tended to interpret Haughton's play too as one of the many works expressing feelings against foreigners. I argue that this could be due to the fact that they usually took into consideration isolated excerpts, and not the play as a whole. See for example Frances Yates, *A Study on Love's Labour's Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 69-72, and Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

[22] Brian J. Sokol, ed., *Shakespeare and Tolerance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2.

[23] Grayson, "The Growth," 169. This linguistic awareness in relation to a strengthened English identity, although from a literary perspective, is also what Carlo Ginzburg underscores in his essay on the Elizabethan poetry, when he writes: 'The rejection of the quantitative verse based on Greek and Latin models in favour of rhyme led [England] to a declaration of intellectual independence from the continent. 'Barbarous' became a positive word, a sign of pride.' See Carlo Ginzburg, "Selfhood as Otherness: Constructing English Identity in the Elizabethan Age," in Id., *No Island is an Island: Four Glances at English Literature in a World Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 25-42 (42).

[24] For further details on the various stereotypes in early modern drama, see Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners," 47-50; Hoenselaars, *Images*, and Kermode, *Aliens*.

[25] For a more detailed analysis of the Jewish subtext of this play, its relationship with the theme of usury and to contemporary scandals such as the Lopez affair of 1593-94, see, among others, Kermode, introduction to *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, 1-78; Id., *Aliens*, 121-124; and the more recent Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson, eds, *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England* (London: Ashgate, 2011), 68-70.

[26] All references to *Englishmen for My Money* are from *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, ed. Kermode.

[27] The comical portrait of Dutchmen is further realised by Laurentia, the girl Vandal is supposed to marry, and who complains of the fact that he belches into her ears 'rustic [love] phrases' and then rudely speaks to her about money and trade: «And when he hath no love, forsooth, why then | He tells me Cloth is dear at Antwerp, and the men | Of Amsterdam have lately made a law, | That none but Dutch as he may traffic there (II, iii, 5-8)'.

[28] Further information about the *Inkhorne Controversy* can be found in Terttu Nevalainen, "Early Modern English in History (1485-1660)," in *A Companion to the History of the English Language*, eds Haruko Momma and Michael Matto (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2008), 207-215.

[29] Grayson, "The Growth," 172.

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[30] Quoted in Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, 178.

[31] MARINA: '[…] my Signiore [sic]. He can tell | Of Lady Venus, and her Son, blind Cupid: | Of the faire Scilla that was loved of Glaucus, | And yet scorned Glaucus, and yet loved King Minos; | Yet Minos hated her […] he will take my hand, | And tickle the palm, wink with one Eye,| [and] Gape with his mouth […] (II, iii, 32-42)'.

[32] This work is an attempt to highlight the great advantages England would have by securing a stronger control on the sea trades, firmly held by Flemings, Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians. The anonymous author, with xenophobic remarks, claims that the foreign merchants deceive the English and act as spies on them: 'What harme, what hurte and what hinderaunce | is done to us unto oure grete grevaunce | of suche londes and of suche nacions, | as expert men knowe by probacions! | By wretynge ar discured oure counsayles | and false coloured alwey the cuntertayles | of oure enmyes, that dothe us hindering | unto oure goodes, oure realme and to the kynge, | as wysse men have shewed well at eye, | and alle this is colowred by marchaundye'. See *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, ed. Sir George Warner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 20-21.

[33] Kermode, introduction to *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, 44.

[34] Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners," 46.

[35] The complete title of the play is actually *Englishmen for My Money, or Women Will Have Their Wills* and it obviously refers to the widely used sexual pun created by the word 'will', meaning both 'determination' and 'the masculine sexual organ'. With this regard, see also Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and, in particular, sonnets 135 and 136.

[36] See Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, 139.

[37] Loomba, "Outsiders in Shakespeare's England," 163.

[38] Quoted in Grayson, "The Growth," 169.

Nagihan Haliloğlu

'Turk Gregory': Turks and Catholics as Metaphors for Each Other in Shakespeare's Plays

Constructions of the image of the 'other' often serve to construct national identity, and reveal anxieties about ethnicity, political power and religious affiliation of their period. National unity in Elizabethan England was forged in the context of the religious, political and economic threat posed by Catholic – particularly Spanish and Italian – and Turkish maritime powers, and by internal Catholic subversion at home. This essay argues that as a playwright that both produced and was influenced by the worldview of his time, Shakespeare used Turkish and Catholic references as metaphors for each other when constructing an Anglican and English nationhood in his plays. There were figures of the foreign other than the Catholic and the Turk in Shakespeare's plays, but it is these two that seem to represent political powers, sovereign states that could and did threaten the English nation and that seem to be interchangeable in their despotism, treachery and miscegenation. I will explore how particularly in the Henriad Shakespeare attempts to distance the English crown from the ways of these two enemies at the same time. While in the Henriad the example of the Ottoman Empire is used as a corrective for the English court, spectres of 'Turkish customs' are also in evidence in his Catholic, Mediterranean world, particularly Venice.

Although there are several references to Turks, there are no Turkish characters in the *dramatis personae* of Shakespeare's plays, even in the ones set in the Mediterranean, while French and Italian characters abound without reference to their Catholicism. Jerry Brotton has treated the absence of Turkish characters extensively in his *Shakespeare's Turks and the Spectre of Ambivalence in the History Plays*, saying that the spectre of the Turk haunts Shakespeare's works, providing 'a particularly satisfying and enjoyable theatrical fantasy'.[1] Turks are censored in *absentia*, and certain characteristics conventionally attributed to the Turks in Reformation texts, such as lechery and superstitious beliefs, are played out by Catholic characters on stage. It is worth remembering here that 'the religion of Muhammed' of which Turks were the torchbearer, was seen by many in Europe as a Christian heresy, thus aligning Catholics and Turks at a theological level as well. In Shakespeare Catholicism is not named as a heresy and Turks are named as false believers but are physically absent: the name of the Turk as signifier can fill the absence of the name of the Catholic as signified, in the flesh, on the stage. This, what Brotton calls 'familiar act of conflation Protestant of Catholic and Turk,'[2] was made possible, as a matter of course, through cultural prejudices and popular representations of both categories of the period.

There may not have been Turks in Shakespeare's plays, but there were many on the Elizabethan stage.[3] Shakespeare's plays were by nature intertextual, in many ways reproducing the narratives that had already found their way into print. Christopher Marlowe's popular *Tamburlaine* (1588) had a defeated Turkish Sultan who was just as bloody and barbaric in taking his own life. In his introduction to *Three Turk Plays: Selimus, Emperor of the Turks; A Christian Turned Turk; and The Renega-*

do, Daniel Vitkus draws our attention to themes that were explored in plays with Turkish characters and emphasises that they dealt not only with the villainy of the Turk but also with the phenomenon of Englishmen 'turning Turk' in their aspiration to cooperate with Turkish pirates in the Mediterranean.[4] Thus, while turning Turk could have a literal meaning, it also had a metaphorical one of turning back to the Old Faith in a country that was slowly coming out of its own Reformation. The fear of conversion to Islam and of reversion to Catholicism seems to have been of the same order. As Vitkus points out, Turks and Catholics were seen and depicted as two enemies of England that were at each other's throats, like two evil warring brothers.[5]

> The Turks were often seen by the Protestants as a scourge sent by God to punish Roman papal pride, and some Protestant writers expressed a hope that the rival powers of pope and sultan would annihilate each other, leaving a power vacuum that might be filled by an expansion of the Protestant Reformation. Protestants often described the opposition to Roman Catholic rule and religion as a crusade against the 'second Turk,' the anti-Christ, or the Eastern 'whore of Babylon'. Luther is quoted as saying in Table Talk that 'Antichrist is at the same time the Pope and the Turk. A living creature consists of body and soul. The spirit of Antichrist is the Pope, his flesh the Turk. One attacks the Church physically, the other spiritually […]'. This connection became a commonplace feature of Protestant historiography.[6]

It appears that for Protestant propagandists, the Pope has already turned Turk. The Pope as second Turk is articulated as such for comic effect by Falstaff when questioned about his idleness by Hal in *Henry IV Part I* during the battle of Shrewsbury:

> PRINCE HENRY
> What, stand'st thou idle here? Lend me thy sword:
> Many a nobleman lies stark and stiff
> Under the hoofs of vaunting enemies,
> Whose deaths are yet unrevenged: I prithee,
> Lend me thy sword.
> FALSTAFF
> O Hal, I prithee, give me leave to breathe awhile.
> Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have
> done this day. I have paid Percy, I have made him sure
> (V.iii.).[7]

From the literature available to them, Elizabethans knew Turks to be fierce warriors, and Gregory, the name of several anti-Protestant popes represented the power of diplomacy and rhetoric that drive the soldiers into the battlefield. The pope in Shakespeare's time was Gregory XIII, and it had been Gregory VII, also known as Hildebrand, beatified by Gregory XIII, who had fallen out with another King Henry IV, a German one, concerning the church's powers in the 12th century. John Draper points out that 'most editors, following Warburton, take Turk Gregory to be Hildebrand, Pope Gregory (d. 1085), because Foxe in his popular *Acts and Monuments* (1563) had held up both him and the Turks to the odium of all good Protestants'.[8] In his dictionary of Shakespearean terms Madison Davis has an entry for Turk Gregory which elucidates further the conflation of the Turk and the Pope:

> The Gregorys best known to Sh.'s [sic] audience were both popes- and both were alleged to have behaved liked Turks. John Foxe's widely read *Booke of Martyrs* had publicized Gregory VII's fits of temper. Gregory (d. 1085) did not perform 'deeds in arms' in the military sense, but he was said to have assaulted his predecessor Alexander II. […] Gregory XIII (d. 1585) was another

> violent pope whom Sh. [sic] might have had in mind.
> […] Gregory's reputation as a 'Turk' was enhanced
> when he offered a spiritual reward to anyone who
> succeeded in assassinating England's queen, Elizabeth.[9]

Although Pope Gregory was as anti-Turk as any other
Pope, his primary concern was the supremacy of Catho-
lics over Protestants, to the point of plotting a Catholic
takeover in England. In that sense this appellation coined
by Shakespeare reflects how the Turk and Gregory –
Gregory being almost a generic name for popes – could
be seen as a villainous double act complementing each
other: the Turk's oriental despotism coupled with the
Machiavellian tricks of Rome.[10]

Thus, before Shakespeare, Gregory and the Turk had
been spoken of in the same breath, another indication of
how Shakespeare reflected the discourses of his period.
Acts and Monuments was a long polemic about Catho-
lics' oppression of Protestants, and it is in any case quite
telling that a pope should be considered as deserving of
Protestant hatred as much as the Turks were. One of the
groups mentioned in *Acts and Monuments* as having suf-
fered from Catholic persecution was the Lollards,[11] a sect
that described their aim as returning Christian teaching to
its original form. It is important to note that though a
drunkard and a sloth, Falstaff was based on the historical
character John Oldcastle,[12] who was a Lollard who had
been executed for his anti-popish beliefs. It is Falstaff
who teaches Hal the ways of the world and helps him
mix with the common folk. Shakespeare's audience
watches an English prince being tutored by a Lollard, a
category that has pride of place in *Acts and Monuments*
as a group targeted by Catholics. It should then come as
no surprise that Falstaff utters the name of the papal posi-
tion with that of the Turk, as enemies of the true Chris-

tian faith, and by extension, or contraction, that of England.

The papal states were in many ways on the frontline when it comes to fighting the Turk, and as history has proven many times, war at such proximity provides points of encounter as much as confrontation. The war over Cyprus, dramatised in *Othello*, mobilises the trope of 'turning Turk' to full capacity. It draws our attention to miscegenation in all senses of the word in the character of Othello who is very much a product of the Mediterranean, its pirating, wars and treaties, a product of the warring but promiscuous relationship between the Turkish and Catholic empires. The Catholic, southern, Mediterranean Europe, particularly Venice, although constantly in battle with the Turk, is perceived as no better than the lands of the Sultan when it comes to intrigue and blind passion. As Graham Holderness argues:

> Venice was a border town, on the very edge of Western Civilization, increasingly encircled in Shakespeare's time by the extending Ottoman Empire. It stood as the very perfection of Western civilization; yet it lay very close to the perilous borderline between that civilization and its many alien 'others'.[13]

As Holderness points out, Venice was the apex of Western civilization, but one must not forget, the apex, particularly, of the Catholic one. In his *History of Italy*, published in 1549, William Thomas observed the cosmopolitan nature of the Italian states and said that in Venice all enjoyed a free way of life '[e]ven if thou be a Jew, a Turk'.[14] The vision of Venice that Thomas presented to Elizabethan England was one in which non-Christians were a familiar sight on carnival-ridden streets. Shakespeare was most probably familiar with Thomas's text, and in his play Venice was depicted as a place where

merchants were dependent on Jews for their enterprises, and were so promiscuous and indifferent to miscegenation that a Moroccan prince (as in *Merchant of Venice*) who may or may not have fought the Turkish army could come and ask a Venetian aristocrat's hand in marriage. The Venetian army itself, as explained in Lewes Lewkenor's 1599 translation of Gasparo Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, was 'served of strangers, both general, for captains and all other men of war because their law permitteth',[15] a vision of Venice that finds expression also in *Othello*.

In her discussion of the image of the Venetian republic in *Othello*, Vaughan examines the ways in which the Venetian state and its maritime wars with the Turks were represented in Elizabethan literature. Her reading of historical sources leads her to conclude that '[r]eal life alliances frequently shifted, and in many cases, Venice seemed more allied with the Ottomans than the rest of Europe'.[16] The tone with which various historians, including Thomas depicted the Venetian Republic, make it clear that the Turkish and Venetian – read Catholic for the purposes of this essay – multicultural ways of life seemed more similar to one another than to those in the English Commonwealth. Cosmopolitan Venice and Istanbul acted as mirrors held up to England, places that England could be if the rulers, writers and common folk did not find a way to reinforce a sense of Englishness.

One can only imagine that the world of Venice was more familiar to Shakespeare than that of Constantinople however, there were accounts of the Ottoman capital available in English as well. Books about Turkish customs and history, though probably not as polemical as the *Acts and Monuments*, were also available and at the disposal of playwrights in Elizabethan England. Discussing Robert Greene's *Selimus*, Vitkus points out that the story

in the play was probably drawn from 'Peter's Ashton's 1546 translation of Paolo Giovio's *Commentarii della cose de Turchi* (Florence 1531)'.[17] Rather fittingly, Turkish excesses were mediated to the English realm through the observation of an Italian, Catholic author. There was also, Nabil Matar claims, much traffic between the Turkish capital and England. In fact, the cosmopolitanism that Shakespeare preferred to stage elsewhere seems to have had a rather immediate presence in London. It may indeed be the anxiety about and the perceived excesses of multiculturalism that led Shakespeare to stage its manifestations often in the Mediterranean, to distance the English isles from such miscegenation:

> [F]rom the Elizabethan to the early Caroline periods Britons […] entered into an extensive commercial, diplomatic, and social engagement with Turks and Moors of the Muslim empires. No other non-Christian people interacted more widely with Britons than the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the North African regencies of Tunisia, Algeria and Libya, along with Morocco […] These Muslims were real in a physical and linguistic sense, and represented the most widely visible non-Christian people on English land in this period– more so than the Jews and the American Indians, the chief Others in British renaissance history. The numerical evidence about the concurrent interaction with Jews […] shows that Renaissance Britons were far more likely to […] have met a Muslim than a Jew.[18]

Britons being more likely to meet a Muslim than a Jew may be a bit of a tall claim, and Matar also concedes that the work of James Shapiro in *Shakespeare and the Jews*, and Stephen Greenblatt's review 'An English Obsession' would counter this claim.[19] Still, Matar wants to make it clear that Muslims were not unknown entities — and

Turks among them were the ones most readily referred to in Shakespeare. Though Turks may be present discursively, they are, as I have said above, not to be found in plays set either in England or the Mediterranean. Even Venice with all its cosmopolitanism seem to lack Turks, contrary to the historical descriptions of the period. Indeed, why would the audience need the Turks when the degenerate Venetians with their masked carnivals and their scheming seconds-in-command already played out all the excesses attributed to them? Importantly Shakespeare's plays suggested that cosmopolitanism and these scenes of degeneracies happened out of England, 'offstage' so to speak, at the Moor and Jew infested Catholic edges of Christendom. The figure of the Turk and the Catholic complemented one another in the construction of 'the other' and became somewhat interchangeable as people with lax morals, possibly attributed to the relaxing climes of the Mediterranean. The attributes themselves, the corrective lessons, superseded the agency of the culprit, who could either be Turkish or Catholic, in a particular case of metonymy.

With its own budding maritime empire England was trying to define itself as different from the 'commonwealth and state' described by Contarini and Lewkenor's text, aiming at similar wealth, but building its own commonwealth and traditions of state. One space for this construction was Shakespeare's Henriad, tracing back a history of Englishness, identifying moments that defined that character. The battle against the French during the reign of Henry V on St. Crispin's day is one of those moments. The Henry plays provide us with the development of Henry IV from prodigal son prince Hal to victorious king against the French. By the end, the English character wins over the French: the former inherently Protestant, the latter Catholic, though the division, in

terms of denomination would come in 1534. However, Shakespeare was writing in a Christendom that was already divided into Catholic and Protestant factions and this is reflected subtly in his writing.

After the invocation of Turk Gregory, the spectre of the Turk continues to haunt *Henry V* into the second part. After Hal's wanderings among the lower classes in London, after he has spent time under the tutelage in the somewhat lapsed Protestant saint Falstaff, Hal announces that he shall be more himself, and assumes power while his father is still in his deathbed. He announces that his prodigal days are over and that now a proper English reign - which will soon be fighting popish armies - will begin. Hal takes on a court that has seen many deceptions and fights between brothers and cousins, and he seems determined to put an end to internecine enmity. With every new king, there follows- as suggested in Shakespeare's plays- a shuffling of positions and estates, if not beheadings and exiles. This is the fear that Harry wants to appease and wants to put an end to in the English court. To assure the court that such settling of accounts will not mark his reign, he says:

> This new and gorgeous garment, majesty,
> Sits not so easy on me as you think.
> Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear:
> This is the English, not the Turkish court;
> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry Harry. […]
> I'll be your father and your brother too;
> Let me but bear your love, I'll bear your cares:
> Yet weep that Harry's dead; and so will I;
> But Harry lives, that shall convert those tears
> By number into hours of happiness *(Henry IV*, Part 2, V.ii).

This is a court where not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, nor is it the papal state where Gregory a Gregory succeeds. With the mention of Amurath/Murad Shakespeare has Henry making a reference, quite possibly, to the several Murads – though not as many Gregorys as have ruled the Catholic Church – that have ruled the Ottoman Empire. I do not know to what extent Shakespeare was aware of Ottoman court practices, but this could be read as a reference to fratricide. Murad III (1546-1595) began his reign by having his five younger brothers strangled in 1574, much later than Henry's time, but contemporaneous to Shakespeare.[20] Murad III's father Selim was equally known for culling the court to prevent rivalries.

While Shakespeare refrained from putting the Turk on his stage, his contemporary Robert Greene's play *Selimus* (1594) exposed all the barbarity committed by Amurath's father. *Selimus* was particularly concerned with a monarch ready to kill the members of his own family in order to ensure the succession of the person he had chosen as his successor: it was a play about the fears surrounding royal succession and monarchical tyranny. Selim was depicted as a despotic ruler on the march through Europe, and as Vitkus points out, 'the fear of a foreign invasion mounted by an 'evil empire of religious heretics'was very much on the minds of Londoners preparing for the Spanish Armada to invade their shores, and that 'the theatre of Marlowe and Greene projected anxieties about Philip of Spain and his power into the exotic distance of Anatolia and Persepolis', connecting the invasion and conversion threats posed by the Catholic and Turkish Empires.[21]

To let the audience know that Harry is truly reformed and has assumed his true English character as Henry V, Shakespeare makes him speak royally to Falstaff to let him know that he's not welcome in the court any more:

> The tutor and the feeder of my riots:
> Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,
> As I have done the rest of my misleaders,
> Not to come near our person by ten mile.
> For competence of life I will allow you,
> That lack of means enforce you not to evil:
> And, as we hear you do reform yourselves,
> We will, according to your strengths and qualities,
> Give you advancement. Be it your charge, my lord,
> To see perform'd the tenor of our word. Set on (*Henry IV*, Part 2, V.v.).

Having distanced himself from the practices of the Ottoman court, Henry V claims to rule out any possibility of fratricide in the English court. However, many critics, including Harold Bloom, have viewed the banishment of Falstaff from the court as nothing short of fratricide or patricide.[22] Falstaff and his crew are banished until a time when they will have reformed themselves, reformed, naturally, towards more Protestant behaviour.

Having banished the Turkish spectre of assassination, Henry V now turns to the idea of defeating the spectre of the unreformed church on the continent. Benedict S. Robinson reads Turkish references as central to the play as they: 'punctuate the major political transitions of Henry's reign, from his accession to his declaration of war to the negotiation of the peace treaty that will settle the political futures of both France and England'.[23] It is in contrast to the fratricidal Turkish characteristics that an English nationalist discourse is born, out of what Robinson terms 'the often recalcitrant materials of a Christian political imaginary'.[24] And naturally, among these recalcitrant materials are the believers in the Old Faith, who need to be 'reformed' just as Hal is 'reformed' from prodigal son to astute politician.

Before the end of the play Lancaster suggests that after becoming the English king, Henry V will have to lead a campaign against the popish French before the year is out - and indeed, the epilogue tells the audience that Shakespeare will chronicle it:

> Epilogue:
> If you be not too
> much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will
> continue the story, with Sir John in it, and make
> you merry with fair Katharine of France: where, for
> any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat,
> unless already a' be killed with your hard
> opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is
> not the man (*Henry IV*, Part 2, V.v).

Falstaff has proven to be one of the most popular characters of Shakespeare, both in his own time and our own – such that the playwright promises his reappearance despite his banishment, to lure the audience to the playhouse for the next play. The public's fascination with the character can be put down to the very duality in Falstaff. He is modelled after a Protestant saint (the familiarity so strong that Shakespeare had to put in a caveat about him not being Oldcastle at the Oldcastle family's request)[25] who indulges in drink and womanizing, as if he were not in Protestant England – Bloom says 'I see no Protestantism in the figure we see in the plays'[26] – but in iniquitous Venice where such things happen. Maurice Hunt argues that the play focuses not so much on the shedding of Catholicism but on the construction of '[a] noteworthy blend of Catholic and Protestant traits'.[27] This reading also suggests that Catholic sympathies were always just below the surface, and needed to be appeased.

This blend, particularly for the future, is hinted at in *Henry V*, when the king courts the princess whose father

is a Catholic. After conquering Catholic France Henry plans to take over the continent all the way to Constantinople, as he woos his soon-to-be Protestant queen in the most endearing Franglais:

> [S]hall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a
> boy, half French, half English, that shall go to
> Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?
> Shall we not? What say'st thou, my fair
> flower de luce? (*Henry V*, V. ii).

Robinson says that these lines present Henry as being a little too zealous when it comes to warring, and that though they may seem a bit out of place in the wooing context, they serve to 'remind us of the real world of conquest and empire building.'[28] Once Saint George has domesticated Saint Denis, the next natural step seems to be domesticating the Muslim saints in Constantinople. It is the victory over the Catholic French that will give Henry the self-confidence to set out against the Turk. The moment before the victory against the French on St. Crispin day Henry reminds himself and his soldiers who he is and what he is fighting for. The fight against the French is such a defining moment that men who are not on the field that day won't be able to call themselves Englishmen anymore. On the battlefield Harry gives an inventory of his kingdom:

> [T]hen shall our names
> Familiar in his mouth as household words
> Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
> Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester
> Be in their flowing cups freshly rememb'red.
> This story shall the good man teach his son;
> And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,

> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered-
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
> For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
> This day shall gentle his condition;
> And gentlemen in England now-a-bed
> Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here,
> And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
> That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day (*Henry V*,
> IV. iii).

The English character, the King and the very geography of the country are thus formed on the battlefield, against the French. Taking on the French and then opening the route to Constantinople is a way in which the English king, at least discursively, puts England on the imperial map. The tension of keeping England free of popish influence and yet expanding towards the Mediterranean with its more than questionable influences makes itself felt in *Henry V* both on the battlefield and in the interior scenes with the French queen. This tension is then naturally manifested in the way Turks and Catholics are portrayed - the two stereotypes complement each other to form an 'other' that needs to be reformed by the English.

While Catholicism is not named as the subversive enemy within or the political enemy without, the name of the Turk fills that gap. Both Gregory as a papal name, and the Turk as a citizen of a rich country, stand in for the idea of excess and degeneration. Particularly in the Henriad, Shakespeare parades and/or refers to the characteristics of different types of government, and the intrigue of the Turkish court is more readily mentioned than the plots hatched against England in Rome. The Mediterranean, in its Turkish and Italian embodiment, provides a stage on which Shakespeare can put his plays

of deception, passion and disguise, as a place that is ridden with all kinds of superstition, or barbaric practice, whether of the Catholic or Islamic kind. Spelling out these Catholic and Turkish vices, Shakespeare orchestrates a kind of exorcism on the stage, cleansing the English court and country from these vices, whilst constructing English traditions of state and a sense of commonwealth. While in the plays there are also the seeds of the lust for empire, Shakespeare continues to caution against the cosmopolitanism of the Mediterranean as he tries to define another kind of commonwealth, another kind of empire, in his construction of nationhood. Thus, by using Turks and Catholics as metaphors for one other, Shakespeare's plays do the much-needed work of dissociation for the fashioning of Englishness.

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[1] Jerry Brotton, "Shakespeare's Turks and the Spectre of Ambivalence in the History Plays", *Textual Practice* 28:3 (2014): 521-538 (521), accessed November 14, 2014, doi: 10.1080/0950236X.2013.816103.

[2] Brotton, "Shakespeare's Turks", 522. With his Derridean approach Brotton focuses on the semantic consequences of the absence of the Turk in Shakespeare's plays and does not explore further the threat of conversion and invasion imposed by the Turkish and Catholic states. Brotton's article offers a wider selection of Turks' discursive presence in the plays, however it does not go into complementary nature of Turkish and Catholic vices, as mine attempts to do, as his focuses on the concepts of 'haunting' and 'spectricity'.

[3] As Daniel Vitkus points out in his *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, '[f]or London theatregoers, the Turk was not an imaginary bogey and the Turk plays in this volume are not simply fantasies about fictional demons lurking at the edges of the civilised world'. Daniel Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, Emperor of the Turks; A Christian Turned Turk; and The Renegado* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 3.

[4] 'The complex set of religious and political transgressions implied by the pirates' conversion of Islam was denounced as an irrational and unnatural crime but it was also romanticised as a spectacular form of defiance from social and religious norms'. Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, 5. For further reading see Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[5] 'Late medieval and early modern accounts of the life of the Prophet and the establishment of Islam claim either that Mohamed was a Roman Catholic cardinal who was thwarted in his ambition to become pope, or that he was a poor camel driver who learned from a heretical Syrian monk to cobble together a new religion from fragments of Christian and Jewish doctrine.' Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, 9-10

[6] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, 8. Vitkus gives the reference of the quote he uses as Kenneth M. Setton, "Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril", *Balkan Studies* 3:1 (1962): 133-168 (151).

[7] The quotations in this article are from the e-texts of Shakespeare's plays on MIT's website http://shakespeare.mit.edu/.

[8] John W. Draper, "Shakespeare and the Turk", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 55:4 (October 1956): 523-532 (529).

[9] John Madison Davis and Daniel Frankforter, *The Shakespeare Name Dictionary* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), 494. England was not the only European country that sought to defend itself from Catholic expansion. Historically, in Orthodox Byzantium and Protestant Netherlands, 'better the turban than the mitre' and 'liever Turks dan Paaps' were rallying cries, which regarded Catholic rule just as, or even more oppressive than that of Turks.

[10] This oriental despotism vs. Machiavellian diplomacy reading is informed by Laura Tosi and Shaul Bassi's Introduction to *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare* in which they point to 'a shift in the representation of Venice, moving from the military prowess embodied in Othello to the Machiavellian diplomacy suggested by Iago. This trajectory was deeply rooted in Europe's cultural memory of the Cyprus wars as well as its perception of the Venetian empire'. Laura Tosi and Shaul Bassi, introduction to *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 7.

[11] See John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1570 edition), (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), http://www.johnfoxe.org/; in particular, I refer to 'Persecution of Lollards', http://goo.gl/YcyzK5; 'Lollard Martyrs', http://goo.gl/ZZT7Ds, accessed January 10, 2015.

[12] Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead, 1999), 272.

[13] Graham Holderness, *Shakespeare and Venice*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 33.

[14] William Thomas, *The History of Italy*, ed. George B Parks (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), 83.

[15] Thomas, *The History of Italy*, 78.

[16] Virginia Mason Vaughan, "Supersubtle Venetians: Richard Knolles and the Geopolitics of Shakespeare's *Othello*", in *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare*, 19-32 (22).

[17] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, 18. In 1603, after Shakespeare had written the Henriad, Richard Knolles wrote the popular *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* and Virginia Mason Vaughan argues that it was quite even-handed in its treatment of Turks, praising as he did certain aspects of their governance, and still giving gruesome details about their war crimes, particularly in Cyprus. See Virginia Mason Vaughan, "Supersubtle Venetians: Richard Knolles and the Geopolitics of Shakespeare's *Othello*", 26.

[18] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 3.

[19] In the first un-paginated endnote of the book, Matar says: 'I say this notwithstanding the work of James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1996] and the review 'An English Obsession' by Stephen Greenblatt, *The New York Times Book Review*, 11 August 1996, 12-13'.

[20] Brotton also mentions Murad III murdering his brothers when speaking about this speech. However, Brotton's interpretation focuses on the repetition of the father in the son: 'But if the new Harry is only a copy of his father, then the evocation of Amurath (or Murad III, who upon his accession in 1574 murdered his brothers), is not only associated with the dead father, but also seconded and repeated in the guise of the son'. Brotton, "Shakespeare's Turks and the Spectre of Ambivalence in the History Plays", 529.

[21] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, 21.

[22] Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, 273.

[23] Benedict S. Robinson, "Harry and Amurat", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60:4 (Winter, 2009): 399-424 (399).

[24] Robinson, "Harry and Amurat", 399.

[25] Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, 35.

[26] Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, 201.

[27] Maurice Hunt, "The Hybrid Reformations of Shakespeare's Second Henriad", *Comparative Drama* 32:1, (Spring 1998): 176-206 (176).

[28] Robinson, "Harry and Amurat", 399.

Alice Equestri

City Comedy and National Identity:
The Case of Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair'

Shakespeare is considered England's national poet, the writer that most of all has been inspiring feelings of 'Englishness' in spectators and readers. Yet, as has been interestingly pointed out, though many contemporary English social, political and cultural issues inspired his plays, he never actually wrote about the *England* of his time and a great number of texts possibly depicting the century he lived in are actually set outside his country.[1] This might have partly been due to a will to make his works clearly distinguishable from those of other play-wrights such as Dekker, Middleton, Marston and Jonson who, in contrast, made of the staging of contemporary England one of their hallmarks by entertaining audiences with their *city comedies*. Such texts represented, as it were, the last stage of the process through which a wide-ly popular genre of the 1590s like the history play responded to the exponential growth of the city, London, and to the will to accommodate a more regionalised and domestic view of national identity: the spirit of England did not necessarily have to be exalted only through a dramatisation of rulers, courts and battlefields, but rather through a realistic depiction of the variety of ordinary people.[2] Accordingly, city comedies filled the scene with characters belonging to citizenry, trade and the middle class. Merchants, lawyers, officers, craftsmen, apprentices and housewives swarmed the stage – to imitate an equally teeming urban society – and were accompanied by the characters of the 'base string' – as Normand Ber-

lin defined them[3] – those who were located at the other end of society, the victims or illegal exploiters of the demographic and economical growth: vagabonds, beggars, mischievous street players, balladmongers and tradesmen, brothel keepers. Early modern English playgoers, therefore, would easily recognise themselves and the society they lived in when attending such performances. These, for their part, represented the country in their 'everyday' dimension. Similarly, settings were not far-off countries, nor English cities in the past. Interestingly, playwrights of the *city comedy* are interested in no other city than Jacobean London, depicted through the specific locations that spectators themselves would frequently visit (e.g. Cheapside, the Royal Exchange, Pie Corner). This is crucially different from, say, some Elizabethan forerunners of the citizen comedy like *Arden of Faversham* or *Merry Wives of Windsor*, which stage the power of the British middle class in small-town contexts. So, if Elizabethan playwrights dramatised England in its provincial dimension, in the Jacobean age the big – and often shady – city, London, was therefore affirming its identity in the broader panorama of European drama and literature. In the Prologue to *The Alchemist* (1610) Ben Jonson straightforwardly expresses his national pride through a celebration of the dignity of England's comic power, thus drawing a close parallel between national boundaries and the originality of the indigenous entertainment. Such a premise mitigates the display of a vast range of vices in contemporary England:

> Our scene is London, 'cause we would make known,
> No country's mirth is better than our own:
> No clime breeds better matter for your whore,
> Bawd, squire, impostor, many persons more,
> Whose manners, now call'd humours, feed the stage
> (Prologue, 5-9).[4]

Similarly, in the Epilogue to the same play, roguish Face begs the audience to forgive him for all his deceits and to release him: in fact he says 'I put my self / on you, that are my country' (V.v.162-163). Face therefore reminds the spectators of the substantial congruence between the nation depicted in the world of the play and the real nation represented by the physical audience attending the performance. At the same time, he also satirically implies that the country where he lives, Jacobean England, is a place populated by people like him – cheats – or by gulls he can dupe, as he variously demonstrates throughout the play.

The assumptions from which the city comedy moves, and also the general ways in which this genre appeals to or even deconstructs an early modern English sense of national identity are clear. An investigation of a few more specific critical points in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) can suitably exemplify how ideas of Englishness and also Britishness are concretely negotiated in what is regarded as the play where the quality of the early modern city comedy reaches its peak.[5]

The play does not have a main plot, but essentially portrays several groups of characters united by either family ties or having similar social (or antisocial) roles revolving around a centre: Bartholomew Fair, a London fair of clothes and other goods organised in West Smithfield (north of the City) on 24th August from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

The prologue to King James, for whom the second original performance was organised (1st November 1614), entreats the monarch to favourably attend the stage display of 'such men, such language and such ware' as could be seen at the annual Fair, as well as 'the zealous noise of your land's faction, scandalised at toys, as babies, hobby-horses, puppet plays' (Prologue, 2-5).

Firstly, such a beginning stresses the extreme realism of the ensuing show. This also makes it little surprising that the five ensuing acts are interspersed with references to popular locations: Harrow, Budge Row (I.i.26), Cheapside, Moorfields, Pimlico Path (I.ii.7-8), Cow Lane (I.ii.53), Banbury (I.ii.73), Tottenham (I.iii.70), Pannier Alley, Christ Church Cloisters (I.iv.43), Pie Corner (I.v.174), Holborn, Turnbull Street, the Straits and the Bermudas, the Bankside (V.iii.11) all point to relevant places within and without London. This makes the play not only a city play but also a distinctly English one, rooting its 'mirth' to the 'country' in a specifically topographical way. In fact, strangers and foreigners might have had some trouble in recognizing the allusions underneath the mention of certain locations, and this would have hindered to some extent their full understanding of the play.

Yet, on the other hand, this play is not only English because it focuses on locations of England and is designed for a local English audience, but it also enlarges its scope to convey a broader realistic sense of Britishness. In fact, just as this city comedy reflects the variety of the city social panorama by portraying representatives of many different classes, crafts and levels of education, it also stages the capital city of London as a gathering point for people from many areas of the country – intended as a political unit. Yet, there are not only English characters coming from outside the city, like the 'Western Man' Puppy (a wrestler), Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, who comes from Banbury in Oxfordshire, or Cokes, a countryman from Harrow: there are also a 'Northern' Clothier speaking stage Scots, and Captain Whit, who works as a bawd at Bartholomew Fair, displays what

probably sounded like an Irish accent on the Jacobean age:

> WHIT
> Nay, 'tish all gone now! Dish 'tish, phen tou vilt not be phitin call, Master Offisher! Phat ish a man te better to lishen out noyshes for tee, and ton art in anoder' orld – being very shuffishient noishes and gallantsh too? One o' their brabblesh would have fed ush all dish fortnight, but tou art so bushy about beggersh still, tou hast no leshure to intend shentlemen, an't be (III.i.1-8).

Even more interestingly, two members of the watch, Bristle and Haggis, are respectively Welsh and, as the name reveals, Scottish. Bristle, in particular is insulted as a 'Welsh cuckold', stinking of 'leeks', 'metheglin', a typical Welsh mead, and cheese, which apparently the Welsh adored.[6] The leek, in particular, was (and is) one of the national emblems of Wales: Shakespeare's Fluellen in *Henry V* reminds the king of a past battle when 'the Welshmen did good service' on the English side 'wearing leeks in their / Monmouth caps; which […] is an honourable badge of the service'(IV.vii.95-99).[7] He refers here to the Welsh soldiers' custom of wearing the leeks on their helmets in battle, which Henry accepts to do on St David's day 'for a memorable honour; / for I am Welsh, you know, good countryman'(IV.vii.102-103).[8] The non-English are natural targets of the prejudices of the other characters. Not only do they get discriminated for their origins – e.g. in addition to the examples above, the horse-courser Knockem, for instance, having trouble in understanding, is called by the clothier 'Galloway nag' (IV.iv.5) with 'staggers' (IV.iv.6), referring to the dizziness of a species of small strong Scottish horses[9] – but they are also stigmatised as immoral and insulted for that – as in the case of Whit, who gets insulted for his shady

profession – or as fools, as in the case of the watchmen who repeatedly fail to recognise Justice Overdo, their own boss, under disguise and keep arresting people who eventually manage to escape their guard. Thus, on a superficial level we may note how all these characters are defined as 'others' or 'non-English': this is customary in city comedies,[10] because it is a way to exploit national differences and stereotypes in order to construct a definition, by contrast, of a national English character. Yet, at the same time, such a variety of origins outside England can be connected to a unified sense of Britishness: indeed, in the Induction to the play, by having the Scrivener mention James using his style of office, Jonson also reminds spectators that England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales are now united under the same ruler:

> SCRIVENER
> Articles of agreement, indented, between the spectators or hearers, at the Hope on the Bankside in the county of Surry, on the one party; and the author of Bartholomew Fair, in the said place and county, on the other party: the one and thirtieth day of October, 1614, and in the twelfth year of the reign of our sovereign lord JAMES, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and of Scotland the seven and fortieth (Induction, 79-84).

Jonson was evidently one of the many English poets and pamphleteers who rejoiced in James' crowning in 1603, in the union of the kingdoms, and therefore hallowed British nationalism.[11] His authorship of the 1606 masque *Hymenaei* confirms this. The concept of Britishness in *Bartholomew Fair* is also reinforced by the fact that the stigmatisation of the officers on the part of the English through their national stereotypes is outweighed by the function they have in the play. Guido Giglioni has in fact

noted that being police officers they represent authority over the attenders to the fair, thus symbolically exerting enforcement on the English and, in particular, the inhabitants of the capital city. Whit, in particular, even tries to convince one of the major female characters, Win Little-wit, to forsake her English husband, thus symbolically asserting his power over the locals and his power over family bonds within the English nation.[12] The whole group of officers then demonstrates to have power also on English religious Puritans, as they put fanatic characters such as Busy and the varlet Wasp in stocks. Giglioni takes this as a sign that in Jacobean England foreigners from other British nations were actually more welcome in London society than religious radicals.[13]

In fact the already quoted Prologue to the King also strikes at what the play seems to regard as the most serious enemy and ideological phenomenon of the contemporary nation: Puritans, with whom King James himself had also had disputes. The Prologue sneers at Puritans' censorious beliefs but it also satirically puns on the name of the Puritan character of the play, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, who utters throughout debatable – and mocked – moralising tirades on devilish fairs, heathens, pig-eating and ale-drinking, smoking, long hair and drama. It appears therefore that the whole of Britain in the text is united against the Puritans.

Yet, the systematic reference to real places, geographic areas or social phenomena are not the only elements possibly raising patriotic feelings of nationhood among the spectators. The verisimilitude of the characters bustling on the stage is in fact juxtaposed with the recurring mention of religious or historical figures and distinguished men of the country, as well as references to sig-

nificant events. Nightingale the balladmonger closes his enumeration of available ballads with one titled 'St George, that, O! Did break the dragon's heart' (II.iv.20), thus giving prominence to the saint whose cult had started to become official. The association of St George with English nationalism began in the 13th and 14th centuries, especially during the reigns of Edward I and III: the former transformed St George's worship from private to public when the saint's symbol, the red cross, started to be worn by English soldiers in the Welsh campaign in 1277, while the latter adopted the saint as a patron of the English knights' Order of the Garter and protector of the English.[14] Henry V himself, as Shakespeare records in his play, had invoked him before the battle of Agincourt. Besides, Spenser used the legend of St George in his *Faerie Queene* by inserting the Redcrosse Knight as a national icon.[15] St George is also evoked by Whit as he chants on his entrance '*Behold man, and see, what a worthy man am ee / With the fury of my sword, and the shaking of my beard, / I will make ten thousand men afeard'* (III.ii.143-147), which recalls, as Butler suggests, 'the self-advertising speeches of rufflers in the Whitsun folk-plays of St George'. It is somewhat unexpected that a Welshman should recall such an English tradition, but it may be consistent not only with a 'unionist' attitude on the part of the playwright, but also with a tendency in the early modern period to conflate ideas of Englishness and Britishness.[16]

In a similar fashion as Nightingale's, Leatherhead, the puppet-maker of the fair, utters in a celebratory style a list of his best 'motions': and similarly he concludes with the most successful '*The Rising of the Prentices* […] upon Shrove Tuesday' and '*The Gunpowder Plot'* which

was a real 'get-penny! […] Your home-born projects prove ever the best they are so easy, and familiar' (V.i.13-19). Leatherhead, in particular, chose two recent violent events which threatened the stability of the nation and, especially in the second case, marked a moment in time when national salvation, embodied by the king, was seriously in danger and when the country's unity with the monarch was demanded.

In fact, the most obvious example of the play's celebration of national identity is perhaps the King, to whom the prologue and epilogue are dedicated, who is repeatedly invoked as a reference, a protector of the nation's wellbeing and of individual citizens, as well as a supreme authority over law enforcement in the country. Justice Overdo and the officers in the Watch, who are in charge of exposing the 'enormities' of the fair are often associated with acting in the name of the king and as his 'true subjects'. Also, Mistress Overdo, who represents the honest female citizen whose chastity is tempted by the bawds at the fair, calls out for 'Help, help, i'the King's name' (IV.v.76). Justice Overdo, who acts 'in justice name, and the king's, and for the commonwealth' (II.I.1-2)[17] is also the officer who disguises himself 'for the good of the republic in the fair, and the weeding out of enormity' (V.ii.110). The king is present also in terms of broader ideological influence: his distaste for Puritans is an example,[18] but also his disgust for pork and tobacco, the latter of which is voiced in the play by Overdo himself. Jonson was probably influenced by James' 1604 publication of the moral essay *Counterblast to Tobacco*, where the king states that its immoral consumption derives from other countries, like the Indies, and was therefore a barbarous and savage habit. He therefore exhorts

his 'Countrey', England, to refrain from imitating their 'beastly maner'),[19] and that of other European countries:

> Shall wee that disdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour France (having the stile of the first Christian Kingdom) and that cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards (their King being now comparable in largenes of Dominions, to the great Emperor of Turkie) Shall wee, I say, that have bene so long civill and wealthy in Peace, famous and invincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that have bene ever able to aide any of our neighbours (but never deafed any of their eares with any of our supplications for assistance) shall we, I say, without blushing, abase our selves so farre, as to imitate these beastly Indians, slaves to the Spaniards, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Covenant of God? (sigg. B1v-B2r).

Imitating these savages would have meant, according to James, not cherishing the pride of the country and sinning against God, and also 'making your selves to be wondered at by all forraine civil Nations, and by all strangers that come among you, to be scorned and contemned' (sig. D2v). Given the massive influence of James' pamphlet even after his death,[20] chances are that similar discourses would have arisen in Jonson's spectators' minds as Overdo, even before listing the terrible effects of tobacco on the body, attacks the country varlet Wasp saying: 'Neither do thou lust after that tawny weed, tobacco […] Whose complexion is like the Indian's that vents it!' (II.vi.25-29).

Other individuals which are taken as emblematic representatives of the worth of the country are actors and poets: John Taylor the water poet along with Richard Burbage, the leading English actor at the time, and in the cast of the play; Nathan Field, who was probably playing

Littlewit in *Bartholomew Fair*, which was the first play where he appeared with the King's Men, after having starred first in the Children of the Chapel Royal and later in Henslowe's Lady Elizabeth's men;[21] and William Ostler, also a member of the King's Men. All of them are therefore paid a self-reverential tribute as the best current actors:

> COKES
> Thy mouth will hold them all. I think one tailor would go near to beat all this company with a hand bound behind him.
> LITTLEWIT
> Ay, and eat them all too, an they were in cake-bread.
> COKES
> I thank you for that, master Littlewit; a good jest! Which is your Burbage now?
> LEATHERHEAD
> What mean you by that, sir?
> COKES
> Your best actor, your Field? (V.iii.91-99).

Later on Justice Overdo boasts his own moral integrity against the city vices by comparing himself to a list of brave figures renowned for their 'labours' and their 'discoveries':

> Compare Hercules with me, if thou dar'st, of old; or Columbus, Magellan, or our countryman Drake of later times (V.vi.41-44).

Overdo lists Drake not only among other explorers, therefore as a man who symbolically and also concretely manages to extend the borders of his country's notion of nationhood, but he is also the only English name in the group, thus expressing a very strong sense of pride for

England as a colonial power beside Spain on the part of the playwright.

Perhaps, though, the strongest and most sustained celebration of nationhood in *Bartholomew Fair* is conveyed by the play-within-the-play of Act V, when a bunch of puppets satirically performs the story of *Hero and Leander*, the two lovers of each side of the Hellespont whose impossible love had been previously narrated in a poem by Christopher Marlowe.[22] Yet, Leatherhead, the puppet leader, and Littlewit, the author of the script, feel the need to change the story so that it suits the audience and the location.

> COKES
> But do you play it according to the printed book? I have read that.
> LEATHERHEAD
> By no means, sir […] that [way] is too learned and poetical for our audience: what do they know what Hellespont is, guilty of true love's blood? or what Abydos is? or the other, Sestos hight? […]
> LITTLEWIT
> I have only made it a little easy, and modern for the times, sir, that's all. As for the Hellespont, I imagine our Thames here; and then Leander I make a dyer's son about Puddle-wharf: and Hero a wench o' the Bankside, who going over one morning to Old Fish-street, Leander spies her land at Trig-stairs, and falls in love with her. Now do I introduce Cupid, having metamorphosed himself into a drawer, and he strikes Hero in love with a pint of sherry (V.iii.120-144).

Leatherhead's narration begins with a direct quotation from Marlowe's poem (V.ii.122): rather than just a tribute to the dead poet – analogue to Shakespeare's in *As You Like It* – the line might be a tribute to dead *poetry*, embodying Jonson's anti-theatrical judgment against the

modern theatres, which slaughter pure verse.[23] The quotation may have therefore the function to remind the audience of where the story really comes from and, by letting it swiftly give way to intense parody, Jonson may intend to make spectators aware of the literary value they have lost thanks to their frivolous demands for entertainment.

In Jonson's Hero and Leander story mythical Greek characters and locations are debased and transformed into something the English and London playgoers would readily recognise: beautiful chaste vestals of love become brothel mistresses of the Bankside seduced not so much with lofty love declarations but with a popular alcoholic drink offered by a city craftsman coming from Puddle Wharf. This area, in Jonson's times, was 'a landing place on the north bank of the Thames', directly opposite the Bankside[24] and was one of the two locations that transform the idealised Hellespont of the original myth into a much more tangible Thames. Leander, far from being the god-like beautiful hero of Marlowe's poem, is here depicted as a very realistic dyer's son, who certainly lacks the gentle loving manners and sophisticated rhetorical skills of his predecessor. No heroic enterprise like swimming in an insidious strait is needed to get to the other side of the water and allow the reunion of the two lovers: it is enough just to pay one of the many scullers of the Thames to get Hero and Leander back and forth to each other's place and therefore to quickly enable the expected lovemaking outcome. In fact Leander first catches a glimpse of fair Hero when she lands from her scull at 'Trig Stairs' – a quarter of a mile from Puddle Wharf – and relieves her craving for herring in Fish Street – not far from there – and then enters the Swan tavern in the same area; here Leander woos her (V.iv.152-154) with the help of Cupid who, for the sake of this burlesque re-

telling, has been transformed into Jonas, a drawer. Simi-
larly, Damon and Phythias, two characters deriving from
the story of the two mythical friends of Syracuse in Dio-
nysius I's times – are here transfigured into two quarrel-
ling 'whoremasters' who are battling each other and Le-
ander to win Hero as their mistress. Not only 'whoremas-
ter', but also 'pimp' and 'rogue', two notorious profes-
sions in the shady English city districts, are used as in-
sults during the verbal and physical brawl.

Roguery and immorality taint every aspect of the city
society in *Bartholomew Fair* and city comedies of the
type. This is confirmed by the puppet show – where each
character is ultimately defined as either a pimp, or a
rogue, or a pander, thus representing all the roles associ-
ated with brothel keeping in the early modern period –
but also by the ballad sung by Nightingale, the malicious
ballad singer:

> NIGHTINGALE
> *But O you vile nation of cutpurses all,*
> *Relent and repent, and amend and be sound,*
> *And know that you ought not, by honest men's fall,*
> *Advance your own fortunes, to die above ground*
> (III.v.171-174).

The ballad, metatheatrically sung both for the audience
onstage and for the one watching the performance, would
actually accuse England and Britain as a whole of being a
hotbed of criminality, so that English national identity,
far from being a mirror of decorum, is revealed to be dis-
tinguished from other countries because its characteristic
trait is dishonesty, a craving for stealing and a harsh sub-
jugation to laws of the market. In the first part of the bal-
lad, Nightingale also denounces that thefts take place
everywhere, even 'at court, at Christmas, before the
King's face', as well as at any other public gatherings

(e.g.: plays, sermons, sessions, gallows and executions). The phenomenon is so vast and blatant that the reader is unsure whether Nightingale is just addressing his fellow rogues and beggars or if he is denouncing a vaster portion of society. Dishonesty and cutpursing, according to him, occur even when the king is present: this may allude not only to public events and executions – which were frequently attended by pick pockets and cheats taking advantage of big gatherings – but also to the very inclinations of all of the king's subjects, or the entire *nation* itself. Irony strikes bitterly here as the performance (like the fair) was originally attended not only by representatives of many social ranks and people coming from diverse areas of the city and the nation, but also took place at least once at court, actually *before* the king's eyes, on 1st November 1614. As much as the play, like all writing in the early modern period, generally views the monarch 'as the single most powerful unifying force in the English state',[25] here Jacobean playgoers would therefore be led to reflect on a conception of dynastic power that is subverted by the power of the underworld. Initially the play celebrated the king as a moralising authority that stands as the only counterbalance to vice, of which London itself is the centre. Now, the king and the beggar, two entities occupying the two opposite extremities of the social ladder, are thus ironically swapped, and the latter – though only in the fictional interim allowed for by drama – is able to project an idea of nation and nationalism where he gets the place of honour, in a similar way as, later on, a rag puppet suddenly acquires the ability to talk on its own and takes revenge on the Puritan's slander.

Bartholomew Fair thus shows us an ironically distorted picture of the most representative city of the English/British nation, London, the seat of political power. The dominating focus on the many vices that are here

portrayed – prostitution and brothel keeping, sinful hab-its, magical practices, poisonous preparation and immoral consumption of food, cheating, stealing, gambling and puppet playing – depicts the fair as an overwhelming carnivalesque anarchy that annihilates the power of au-thority, represented by the king and by characters who – like Overdo, the Watch and the madman and ex-soldier Trouble-all – insistently stress their being stand-ins for the king's rule. If on the one hand the play struggles to deploy elements that connect the fictitious world of dra-ma not only with the real nation but also with the *best* the country has to offer, on the other it winks at the kingly dedicatee by setting up a world where carnival usurps the role of the monarch in defining national identity.

[1] Andrew Hadfield, "Afterford: One of Those Days in England", in Willy Maley and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, eds, *This England, That Shakespeare: New Angles on Englishness and The Bard* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 221-224 (222). As he makes clear, also the two plays actually set in England, *As You Like It* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, are problematic: the source of the former is set in France and most of the characters have themselves French names, while the latter counts on the audience's recognition of many characters from *Henry V*, set in the fourteenth century.

[2] Julie Sanders, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 99.

[3] Normand Berlin, *The Base String: The Underworld in Elizabethan Drama* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1968).

[4] Quotations from Jonson's *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair* are from Ben Jonson, *The Selected Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. Martin Butler, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[5] Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy* (London and New York: Methuen, 1968).

[6] IV.vi.58. See for example Joan Fitzpatrick, "Diet and Identity in Early Modern Dietaries and Shakespeare: The Inflections of Nationality, Gender, Social Rank and Age", *Shakespeare Survey* 42 (2014): 75-90 (86).

[7] William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare*, eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

[8] In fact, according to a legend told by Michael Drayton in 1600, St David, the patron of Wales, 'fed upon the leeks he gather'd in the fields, / In memory of whom, in the revolving year / The Welchmen on his day that sacred herb do wear / […] that in their just defence they might his furth'rance have.' (*Poly-Olbion* [London, 1613]; song 4).

[9] Ben Crystal and David Crystal, *Shakespeare's Words: A Glossary and Language Companion* (London: Penguin, 2002).

[10] Jean E. Howard, "Women, Foreigners, and the Regulation of Urban Space in *Westward Ho*", in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press 2000), 150-168 (152-153).

[11] Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 151-152.

[12] Patrick Tuite, "'In manners they be rude, and monst'rous eke in fashion': Images of Otherness in Early Modern Drama", in *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination*, ed. Allison B. Kavey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 201-232 (219).

[13] Tuite, "'In manners they be rude, and monst'rous eke in fashion': Images of Otherness in Early Modern Drama", 220.

[14] Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 289-291.

[15] Marion Hollings, "Romancing the Turk: Trade, Race and Nation in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*" in *The English Renaissance, Orientalism and the Idea of Asia*, eds. Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52.

[16] Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*, esp. 3-6. Also David Baker and Willy Maley, eds, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[17] Also III.iii.47-48.

[18] He had especially condemned extremisms and had famously spurned Puritans' requests at a conference in Hampton Court in 1604. Diana Newton, *The Making of Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England 1603-1605* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 33.

[19] King James, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: 1604) sig. B1v.

[20] Sandra J. Bell, "'Precious stinke': James I's *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*', in *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, eds. Daniel Fischlin, Mark Fortier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 335.

[21] M. E. Williams, "Field, Nathan (bap. 1587, d. 1619/20)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

[22] 1598; completed by George Chapman.

[23] On Jonson's possible anti-theatricality see Laura Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-*

1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 91 and Jonas A. Barish, *Anti-Theatrical Prejudice* (London: University of California Press, 1981), 132-134.

[24] Now Puddledock. Fran C. Chalfant, *Ben Jonson's London: A Jacobean Placename Dictionary* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 145.

[25] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 9.

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Index of names

This collection of essays brings together the contributions of some of the scholars who took part in the "Shakespeare and His Contemporaries Graduate Conference", a one-day conference organised by the British Institute of Florence and the Italian Association of Shakespearean and Early Modern Studies on 10 April 2014. Under the subtitle "Forms of Nationhood", a tribute to Richard Helgerson's 1992 seminal study, the volume presents investigations on constructions of Englishness, British-ness and otherness in early modern plays, masques, treatises and travelogues.
Essays by Luca Baratta, Gabriella Del Lungo, Alice Equestri, Caterina Guardini, Nagihan Haliloğlu, Alessandra Petrina, Cristiano Ragni, Valeria Tirabasso.

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