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# Women, class, and the language of madness in early modern English drama

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## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the depiction of madwomen in a range of early modern English plays including some by Shakespeare in order to show how their madness operates at the intersection of gender, genre, and social class. Its particular focus is on language, and it argues that the speech styles of madwomen are essentially similar whatever their social class. For women, madness is a linguistically liberating condition, bringing together high and low cultural discourses. While stage madwomen's language has similarities with that of madmen, it is more licentious and transgressive because the violation of social and behavioural norms is more extreme.

KEYWORDS: madness; language; nonsense; transgression; taboo; impertinency; popular tradition; ballads; gender; liberation; imagination; sexuality.

One aim of this paper is to reconsider the depiction of madwomen and significance of their speech styles in early modern plays by thinking about how their madness operates at the intersection of gender, genre and social class. Recent accounts of the depiction of mental disorder in female characters focus particularly on Ophelia in *Hamlet* and the Jailor's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, comparing them so as to bring out their class difference; there is also a pronounced stress on the origins of female madness in

lovesickness.<sup>1</sup> By broadening the discussion to other characters, I hope also to shift the emphasis from this diagnosis and to consider other cultural implications of the language of madness. Carol Thomas Neely has already described this effectively:

This speech is something and “nothing;” both coherent and incoherent [...] characterized by fragmentation, repetition, and most importantly by [...] “cultural quotation” [...]. The prose that is used for this mad speech (although it includes embedded songs and rhymes) implies disorderly shape, associates madness with popular tradition, and contributes to its colloquial, “quoted” character. (Neely 2004:50)

She does not explicitly say that these observations apply mainly to the speech of women rather than men, although her subsequent discussion makes this clear.<sup>2</sup> One of the things that mad or distracted women in plays of this period notably do, like Lady Macbeth, is to speak what they should not, but the manner in which their transgressive utterances are voiced is as important as the content. Edgar in *King Lear* describes one of Lear’s mad pronouncements as “matter and impertinency mixed” (4.6.170). “Impertinency” means something more than “nonsense” (as the Arden editor glosses it), and one important aspect is that it is indecorous; mad characters of high social rank often use words and forms of language that are low, childish or in other ways socially inappropriate. This element is even more pronounced in the language of women. It may be related to what Jean-Jacques Lecercle in his study, *The Violence of Language*, terms “the remainder,” where “language is no longer a mere instrument, it seems to have acquired a life of its own. Language speaks, it follows its own rhythm, its own partial coherence, it proliferates in apparent, and sometimes violent, chaos” (5).<sup>3</sup> By looking more closely at the elements of “impertinency” in the speech

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance Dawson (2008) and Charney and Charney (1977:451-460). Neely in her excellent book, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (2004:83), differentiates between the madness of Ophelia and the Jailer’s Daughter, characterising the latter as “delusional female melancholy.”

<sup>2</sup> The only male character cited, who uses similar mad speech, is Edgar in *King Lear* when playing the role of Poor Tom.

<sup>3</sup> Lecercle’s brief account of the writing of Unica Zürn, who suffered from mental illness, illustrating how a “mad” speaker “is not in full control of her words, she follows the path that language opens up for her” (58-59) has some relevance to the language of stage madwomen.

of madwomen, and at the relation of this speech to popular tradition, I want to examine linkages between women's madness and licence and their role in producing a discourse that is carnivalesque in the Bakhtinian sense of the term, subversive of norms of distinction and hierarchy, and liberating.<sup>4</sup>

"Interest in insanity quickened about 1580, and madmen, melancholics, and suicides became familiar literary types" (MacDonald 1981:2).<sup>5</sup> Thus Michael MacDonald, the social historian, begins his illuminating account of the medical work of the astrological physician Richard Napier, who specialised in the treatment of mental disorders. It was a period when medical practice was regularly informed by what now appear to be competing discourses: astrology, magic and religion as well as science, a situation due to change later in the century. There were varying views of the origins of madness; it might be physical, accountable in terms of Galenic medicine to humoral imbalance, or spiritual, as divine retribution for a sinful conscience.<sup>6</sup> There was believed to be a form of mental disorder specific to women when the menstrual flow, if not released by sexual intercourse, would putrify and cause noxious vapours to ascend to the brain.<sup>7</sup> As can be inferred from the records of the practices of astrological physicians of the period, such as Simon Forman, William Lilly and especially Richard Napier,<sup>8</sup> who were consulted by members of all classes, the readings of bodily disturbance applied across the social spectrum; the symptoms of madness were subject to the same processes of interpretation

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<sup>4</sup> Bakhtin (1984) defines his view of the carnivalesque in the Introduction to his book on Rabelais. His account of "billingsgate," "the familiar speech of the marketplace" (16), has some similarities with the speech styles I discuss.

<sup>5</sup> See also Neely (2004:2), on distracted subjects as "an urgent focus of representation" in the period.

<sup>6</sup> For more detail, see Peterson (2010:35-59), and Iyengar (2011), entry on "madness." These accounts are of greater relevance to my discussion than Foucault's vague theorising about "the tragic experience of madness" (1971:31) in the Renaissance period.

<sup>7</sup> Iyengar, "*hysterica passio*."

<sup>8</sup> Macdonald stresses that Napier's patients were "mostly people of humble social standing" (1981:36). He discusses their social status on more detail on pp. 48-54. See also Thomas (1973:375-382). Thomas gives figures from Lilly's records for a period of 28 months between 1654 and 1656 showing that while 124 people classified as "gentry and above" consulted him, there were also 254 female servants (1973:379, n.192).

whatever the social class of the sufferer. Madness, declared Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, is a universal affliction: “kingdoms and provinces are melancholy, cities and families, all creatures, vegetal, sensible, and rational, [...] all sorts, sects, ages, conditions, are out of tune”(Burton 1972:1.39). In early modern England, for all its rigidity of social differentiation, temperaments were not socially conditioned; the psychopathology of the emotions, or, as they were then known, the passions, was the same for all classes. Medical treatises such as *A Table of Humane Passions. With their Causes and Effects* (1621) by Nicholas Coeffeteau, written for an educated audience, might pay more attention to conditions affecting the upper classes, but the aetiology was the same for all. In any account of madness and mental disorder there are distinctions to be made, in terms of gender as well as of social class, but they do not emanate from the physical origin of the condition. Michael MacDonald shows that the upper class and working class patients of Richard Napier differed little in the symptoms with which they consulted him, even if the terminology might be different.<sup>9</sup> While Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* considers lower class working women (“an hired servant, a poor handmaid[...] a coarse country wench”) to be less prone to melancholy than “noble virgins, nice gentlewomen,” he locates the prime cause of this in a physically active lifestyle, not any constitutional difference (Burton 1972:1, 417 (1.iii.2.(4))).<sup>10</sup> Madness in *King Lear* is “a sight most pitiful in the meanest wretch|Past speaking in a king,” because Lear’s condition impacts not just on his own body but also on the body politic. “Never alone|Did the king sigh, but with a general groan,” as Rosencrantz puts it in *Hamlet*.

Onstage, gender is more significant as a distinguishing feature of the handling of madness than social class. The point about the widespread impact of a king’s madness applies by analogy to the madness of men in comparison to that of women. Men’s functionality is more socially significant than women’s. In plays such as *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Hamlet*, *The White Devil*, *The Pilgrim*, male and female madness are implicitly contrasted. In *The Spanish Tragedy*

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<sup>9</sup> See MacDonald (1981:ch.3). Napier categorised his patients in three groups as Peers and Knights, Mr and Mrs, and No Title. The majority came from the third category.

<sup>10</sup> See the discussion of Burton’s section on women’s melancholy, added to his third edition (1628) in Neely (2004:91-93).

Hieronimo's madness is a subject of consternation to the king and court and a cause of public scandal, but it empowers him in his quest for revenge. Isabella's madness is witnessed by no-one other than her maid, and her desire for revenge for her murdered son is turned against her own body: she cuts down the arbour where Horatio was hanged then kills herself:

And as I curse this tree from further fruit,  
 So shall my womb be cursed for his sake;  
 And with this weapon will I wound the breast,  
 The hapless breast that gave Horatio suck. (4.12.35-38).

Hamlet's madness is, in the view of Claudius, so dangerous to the state that it warrants, or at least can serve as an excuse for, the "desperate appliance" (4.3.10) of sending him out of the country. Ophelia must be watched and guarded, but does not pose the same threat. The nature of their mental disorders is also contrasted. Lesel Dawson characterises Hamlet's state of mind (perhaps too broadly) as "melancholy, which is cerebral, bookish, and philosophical" whereas Ophelia suffers from "madness [...] [which is] corporal, emotional and sexual" (75). In Neely's view, Ophelia "acts out the madness [Hamlet] only plays with" (54). This distinction is debatable, and Hamlet does not at all times demonstrate the degree of rational control over his conduct that it implies. Ophelia, witnessing his violently emotional (and misogynistic) outbursts in 3.1, thinks that his "noble and most sovereign reason" has been "blasted with ecstasy" (3.1.157-159). But for Neely and Dawson a primary distinguishing quality of women's madness as represented in Ophelia (and anticipated in Isabella), comes from the association of her condition with that of female hysterics, when Ophelia's body-language, her "winks and nods and gestures" (4.5.11), mimics that of women suffering from fits of that uterine disorder known as the mother (Neely 2004:52; Dawson 2008:72-79). Female body-language is certainly a primary signifier of meaning, and the simple stage direction in the 1592 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, "She runs lunatic" (3.8.5), indicates that the stage had already developed visual codes for female madness.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In George Peele's *The Old Wives Tale* (printed 1595, written between 1591 and 1594) there appears the stage direction, "Enter Venelia his lady, mad; and goes in again" (225). Venelia never speaks.

But not all female characters who exhibit the symptoms of madness, real or feigned, suffer from uterine disorders or lovesickness: for example, Zabina in *Tamburlaine*, Pandora in *The Woman in the Moon*, Lucibella in *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, Cornelia in *The White Devil*, Anne Ratcliffe in *The Witch of Edmonton* exhibit symptoms of madness arising from quite different causes, and the gendered element in their madness is defined not by their pathology but by their codified conduct and their speech.

Zabina in *Tamburlaine*, part 1, who goes mad at the sight of her husband's dead body, is probably the first madwoman on the early modern stage.<sup>12</sup> Having left the stage at the request of Bajazeth, who has been imprisoned in a cage by Tamburlaine and asks for water, she returns to find that he has dashed his brains out on the bars of the cage. The onset of her madness is almost instantaneous; her loss of reason is signified in a descent into disjointed prose – metrically conspicuous in a largely verse play – which reflects recent bloody events in the play and the grotesque humiliations heaped on her and her husband by Tamburlaine. Before following her husband in suicide she curses Tamburlaine, then reverts to her sense of the rank he has violated: “Hell, death, Tamburlaine, hell! Make ready my coach, my chair, my jewels. I come, I come, I come!” (5.1.317-19). Zabina's short speech, with its repetitions, its mad mix of verse and prose and deranged recollections of recent experience, is a strong influence on the language of later women suffering from mental disorder. Isabella in *The Spanish Tragedy* does not share her syntactic incoherence but is similarly vividly fanciful, asking for herbs capable of purging her heart and imagining her soul ascending with “silver wings” to heaven, where her dead son Horatio sits, “Backed with a troop of fiery cherubins,| Dancing about his newly-healed wounds” (3.8.18-19). Madwomen's speech, unconstrained by reason and logic, is characterised also by imaginative freedom.

As with Zabina and Isabella, grief for loss is the immediate motivation for the madness of Lucibella in Chettle's play, *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, and Ophelia in *Hamlet*. The two plays are closely

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<sup>12</sup> Both parts of *Tamburlaine* were published in 1590 but possibly written up to two years earlier. The first edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* was printed without date but probably in 1592, although the composition has been dated between 1582 and 1591. For discussions of the dating see Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* (1981:20-22) and Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* (1970:xv-xvii).

related, and although there are some dating problems, it seems clear that it is Chettle who is the dependent.<sup>13</sup> Lucibella is the first madwoman of many to be influenced by Ophelia, and their mad scenes are similarly contextualised: each acts out her grief for a murdered father and a lost lover (Ophelia's through his apparent betrayal, Lucibella's through murder) before witnesses, some of whom bear a certain culpability for her condition. Lucibella's first lines of mad speech adopt several motifs from Ophelia's:

I pray you kill me not,  
For I am going to the rivers side  
To fetch white lilies, and blew daffodils  
To stick in Lodowicks bosom, where it bled,  
And in mine owne; my true love is not dead,  
Noe y'are deceivd in him, my father is. (1431-1436)

Along with the flowers, the river, the preoccupation with death, Lucibella shares Ophelia's fears about inadequate mourning for the dead and incomplete burial rites, and her sense of mischief at work around her. "There's tricks i'th'world" (*Hamlet* 4.5.5), claims Ophelia. Lucibella is certain that "there's knaves abroad," and, unknowingly addressing the disguised Hoffman, the man responsible for the deaths of her father and lover, asks him

how thinke you goodly Prince,  
God give you joy of your adoption;  
May not trickes be usd? (1473-1475)<sup>14</sup>

To which his response, "Alas poore Lady," recalls the uneasy attempts of Claudius to silence Ophelia with "How do you, pretty lady?" and "Pretty Ophelia." Both women disconcert the circle of observers around them with their language of madness, characterised by a mixture of "distracted prose" (Levin 2004:275) and verse, effects of babble, alliteration, internal rhymes and word-play, singing and the use of proverbial expressions and low terms. "Lye, lyer, licke dish" (2046), says Lucibella, reproving Hoffman's sidekick

<sup>13</sup> The play was first printed, anonymously, in 1631. Henslowe's *Diary* for 29 December 1602 records a payment to "harey chettle [...] for a tragedie called Hawghman," assumed to be *Hoffman*, which may not yet have been complete. It probably postdates *Hamlet* Q2 (printed 1604 but composed earlier) but not necessarily *Hamlet* Q1, printed 1603. For discussion of the dating issues, see Thorndike (1902:125-220).

<sup>14</sup> Quotations from *The Tragedy of Hoffman* are taken from the edition by Jenkins (1951).



Lorrique, for his falsehoods. And when the duchess Martha asks Lorrique what he has done, Lucibella interrupts, saying, "Knavery, I warrant you, tell truth and shame the Divell my boy, doe, and thou shalt have a fine thing by and by" (2085-2087). Her speech has that quality that Polonius uneasily recognises in Hamlet when he remarks, "How very pregnant sometimes his replies are" (2.2.208-209). Ophelia's use of language that is indecorous and distinctly inappropriate to a woman of her social status is more marked. In the words of the waiting Gentleman, she "hems, and beats her heart,|Spurns enviously at straws, speaks things in doubt|That carry but half sense" (4.5.5-7). In so doing she breaks many taboos – treating her royal observers with complete disrespect, addressing them with "winks and nods," using obscene language, and referring openly to sexual matters without any shame. While the nervous Claudius tries to defuse the subversive potential of her behaviour, Horatio, like the Gentleman, realises that her conduct is not a purely domestic matter and may "strew dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds." Just as Lucibella shows a mad prescience in recognising the guilt of Hoffman and Lorrique before the others present are aware of it, so Ophelia's cryptic utterances and her pointed distribution of flowers suggest an unconscious awareness of the dangerous secrets troubling the Danish court. Claudius calls Hamlet's condition "turbulent and dangerous lunacy" (3.1.4); Ophelia's madness, for all the prettification often misleadingly associated with it, is not totally different. She may "strew|Dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds" (4.5.14-15). The conversation of the Gravedigger and his companion in 5.1 about her death and the fact that "great folk[...] have countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves more than their even-Christen" (5.1.27-29) indicates a level of critical scrutiny circulating around the court and its environs to which the official handling of Ophelia's madness and death contributes.<sup>15</sup>

Ophelia's mad language, like Lucibella's, is fanciful and freely imaginative; it is also open and licentious in ways unavailable to her when sane. Its sexual content – not shared by Lucibella – is only one aspect of this; she can also refer to taboo subjects such as the "hugger-mugger" manner in which her father's death was hushed

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<sup>15</sup> MacDonald (1986:309-317) shows that the Gravedigger was right in his view of the privileges accorded to persons of high birth.

up ("which bewept to the grave did not go"), and the potential for this to incite her brother to rebellion. The "matter and impertinency mixed" that characterise stage madness is related by Robert Weimann (1987:119) to the "heritage of non-sensical self-expression" from popular medieval drama. It is a hybrid mode of speech including such elements of verbal patterning as alliteration, wordplay, archaic expressions and proverbs, and nonsense rhymes, commonly found in the language of the Vice, "impertinent" in the sense of "cheeky" as well as not relevant to the matter in hand. It is a popular speech style, and in Hamlet's language, which Weimann discusses, draws on "rural and plebeian experience, images [...] from the most common aspects of every day life" (130). While Weimann is interested to trace the continuity of popular tradition in the mad or "knavish" language of high-born male characters (Hamlet, Lear), he does not mention mad female characters, but their speech shares these characteristics even more conspicuously. License and impertinent speech are common not just to male and female mad characters, but also to both high and low born. In this the high-born women Ophelia and Lucibella are no different from the lowly Jailor's Daughter. All refer to folk tales and proverbs, and, significantly, all sing extracts from ballads; in Q1 Ophelia even makes her appearance "*playing on a Lute, and her haire downe singing*."<sup>16</sup> Singing by the mad is a gendered characteristic; stage madmen do not sing.

Singing itself can exercise a "disruptive and invasive power," acting as an aural sign of estrangement from the normal (Dunn 1994:50).<sup>17</sup> The form and content of these songs is significant in itself. The ballad in this period had low, plebeian and sometimes rural associations. Lucibella sings her fragment "Lo, here I come a-wooing, my ding-ding, | Lo, here I come a-suing, my darling, | Lo, here I come a-praying, to bide-a to bide-a, bide-a" (2050-2052), as if she is a travelling pedlar, concluding, "How do you lady? Well, I thank God? Will you buy a bargain, pray? It's fine apparel" (2053-2054). It has been suggested that the lines "restate the popular, labouring context of the ballad genre" and Ophelia's ballads may

<sup>16</sup> See the discussion of the lute in Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor's footnote to 4.5.16, and their account of the music in Appendix 6 to their edition of *Hamlet* (2006).

<sup>17</sup> Dunn also observes that music is the ideal vehicle to represent "feminine excess" (1994:59).

evoke similar class connotations, suggesting “a realm of childhood, of old, simple ballads sung by the spinners in the sun [...] not the aristocratic ayre, but crude songs of the common folk” (Seng 1967:143, quoting Moore 1916).<sup>18</sup> She sings extracts from several ballads, many of them about death. But the longest song, which Claudius tries unsuccessfully to interrupt, is explicitly – and in its dramatic context shockingly – about sex and the loss of virginity.<sup>19</sup>

By Gis and by Saint Charity,  
Alack and fie for shame,  
Young men will do't if they come to't –  
By Cock, they are to blame.  
Quoth she, 'Before you tumbled me,  
You promis'd me to wed.

[...]

'So would I a done, by yonder sun,  
And thou hadst not come to my bed. (4.5. 58-66)

She concludes her distribution of flowers, many of them with distinctly unappealing associations of abortion, poison and death,<sup>20</sup> by singing the line “For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy,” where “robin” seems to have been a cant word for penis.<sup>21</sup> Though she reverts to her appropriate social status as she leaves, calling for her coach and bidding goodnight to the ladies, her distracted speech, in its generic descent to a popular language of licentious freedom, releases the strong emotions she has previously had to suppress.

The madness of Ophelia and Lucibella is interpreted for the audience in the theatre by the witnesses onstage, who attempt to translate its signs into a condition they recognise. In *Macbeth* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the witnesses of women's distraction include

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<sup>18</sup> Jenkins, ed. *Hamlet* (1982:529-536) gives a helpful account of the songs.

<sup>19</sup> Jenkins, ed. *Hamlet*, notes that this song “is not otherwise known” but the line “Young men will do it if they come to it” is cited as a proverb by Burton in his section on the cure of love melancholy (*Anatomy*, III. ii.5 (3)).

<sup>20</sup> For instance fennel, rosemary and rue could be used as abortifacants, columbines were poisonous, daisies could be associated with artifice and death. See Thomas and Faircloth's dictionary entries on these terms (2014).

<sup>21</sup> The Jailer's Daughter knows the song “Bonny Robin” (4.1.107-109), which is probably the same one. See Potter's note on this in her edition of the play (1997:362). Seng discusses the phallic associations of “robin” (1967:151-153).

doctors, who comment on their symptoms; the women are both so out of control that they are made subject to medical supervision. The language of Lady Macbeth in the sleepwalking scene, with its “jump-cut rhythms” and its incoherent, dream-like quality, has clear similarities with stage madwomen’s speech.<sup>22</sup> Like Ophelia’s, it reveals through its lack of conscious control emotions and reactions which she had previously been obliged to conceal, and also, though in a different way, violates taboos. “She has spoke what she should not,” observes the Gentlewoman. She too has been witness to a display of violent emotion by a man, when Macbeth is terrorised out of his wits by the appearance of Banquo’s ghost, but, in contrast to Ophelia in her view of Hamlet’s breakdown, regards the loss of control as the violation of gender norms rather than those of class.<sup>23</sup> Not knowing the cause of her husband’s behaviour, she rebukes him for acting effeminately:

O, these flaws and starts,  
Imposters to true fear, would well become  
A woman’s story by a winter’s fire  
Authorised by her grandam. (3.4.63-66)

Karin Coddon, discussing the “transgressive ambiguity” of “spectacles of madness” notices here “Lady Macbeth’s identification of madness with popular narratives in which folly functioned as a licentious, even anarchic discourse” (Coddon 1989:485-501). Her language in 5.1 is not licentious in the sense of Ophelia’s, and she does not sing, although she cries, sighs, groans and starts; but it is incoherent and also referential, with something of the “quoted” quality that Carol Thomas Neely (2004:50) suggests connects mad characters not only with their own pre-history but also with larger themes and cultural associations. She talks openly of what should be secret, in a colloquial prose quite distinct from her usual speech style. “The thane of Fife had a wife” (5.1.36) sounds like a line from a nursery rhyme; “who would have thought the old man to have had

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<sup>22</sup> Lady Macbeth’s condition is never called madness, although some critics have referred to it as such and actors have played the sleepwalking scene as a mad scene, e.g. by Sinead Cusack (RSC, 1986), who gives an account of playing it this way in Rutter (1988:51-72). Charney and Charney (1977:458) call the sleepwalking scene a mad scene “since she speaks in a free-associational, non-rational broken discourse that we expect from Elizabethan madwomen on the stage.”

<sup>23</sup> Some critics regard Macbeth’s behaviour as bordering on madness, in his hallucination of the dagger and his reaction to Banquo’s ghost. See Thiher (1999:77).

so much blood in him?" (5.1.33-34) in its disrespectful allusion to the dead Duncan refers to the commonplace belief that the blood supply dried up with old age.

The scene, like Ophelia's is a performance, albeit an unconscious one, drawing attention to her "unruly female body" (Chakravarti 2008:141), witnessed and commented on by observers, who in this case make no attempt to intervene. Madness is a condition that is subject to interpretation, and can be read in diverse ways. The comments of the onstage observers may guide the offstage audience in reading the madness, and also on some occasions, as in *Hamlet*, indicate their own interests and investments in the situation. In Shirley's *The Cardinal* (1641) the condition of the Duchess Rosaura is described by a lord in advance of her appearance:

She's turn'd a child agen; a madness  
That would ha' made her brain and blood boil high  
In which distemper she might ha' wrought something. (5.1. 16-18)

The lord is speculating with others here as to whether the Duchess might have involved herself in revenge on the Cardinal for the murder of her husband had she not been mad. What he does not know (though the audience does) is that this madness is a contrivance and his comment alerts the audience to the fact that it is intended precisely to further this revenge. In *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621), by Rowley, Dekker and Ford, a number of observers comment variously on the madness of Anne Ratcliffe. Mother Sawyer, delighted that her enemy has been driven mad at her request by Dog, laughs at the madwoman's fancies: "Ho, ho, ho! I thank thee, my sweet mongrel" (4.1.177). Anne's husband calls for help in managing her, and his subsequent description of Anne's suicide is robbed of any pathos by the deflating comment of the simpleton Cuddy Banks. Ratcliffe's line, "She beat out her own brains, and so died," is followed by Cuddy's summation, "It's any man's case, be he never so wise, to die when his brains go a-woolgathering" (4.1.208-210).

In *Macbeth* one of the observers of female distemper is present in a professional capacity – the doctor who has been engaged to treat Lady Macbeth and takes notes of the encounter. Timothy Bright in his *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) accepts that a condition with physical causes, what he calls "natural melancholy," could display

the same symptoms as one with spiritual causes (Bright 1586:iii and 187-198),<sup>24</sup> such as “afflicted conscience,” and the Doctor is in no doubt as to which it is here: “This disease is beyond my practice [...] More needs she the divine than the physician” (5.1.59, 64).<sup>25</sup> Both Doctor and Gentlewoman are well aware of the delicacy of the situation, and careful not to implicate themselves in any potentially treasonous utterances. Like Ophelia’s mad speech, Lady Macbeth’s unguarded language has resonances beyond the private and intimate scene in which it is heard. Duncan Salkeld (1993:112), discussing the connection between madness and subversion in drama of the period, says that “As Lady Macbeth’s madness translates into a metaphor for corporate disorder, her presence on the stage becomes a dangerous political symbol.” Cornelia in *The White Devil* when mad comments bitterly on the dead body of her son Marcello, linking his death with the play’s major themes of social aspiration:

His wealth is summ’d, and this is all his store:  
This poor men get; and great men get no more,  
Now the wares are gone, we may shut up shop. (5.4.106-108)

At a different level, even a common woman like Anne Ratcliffe may in madness be a mouthpiece for social comment; she observes satirically that “All the golden meal runs into the rich knaves’ purses and the poor have nothing but bran,” and longs to scratch the faces of lawyers.

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the madness of the Jailor’s Daughter, who like Anne Ratcliffe is given some speeches of out-of-character social satire, has significance beyond her domestic situation; her social status, like Lady Macbeth’s, is central to it. Macbeth, as king, makes the implicit connection in 5.3 between his wife’s distracted mind and loss of control and the diseased condition of his country. The madness of the Jailor’s Daughter is the means by which the play contrasts the tragic-comic chivalric mainplot with the comic subplot

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<sup>24</sup> Bright stresses strongly that the two conditions cannot be dealt with in the same way.

<sup>25</sup> When Macbeth asks after his wife, the Doctor offers another diagnosis, that she is “not so sick, [...] As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies | That keep her from her rest” (5.3.38-40). The implication here is that she is suffering from a mental disease with humoral causes, but his unease in Macbeth’s company suggests that he may be consciously economical with the truth.

in their handling of the key theme of female desire. In this play gender, genre and class form a nexus, which evolves from the very different social status of the two contrasted unmarried young women, the Jailor's Daughter and Emilia. While the "maiden-hearted" Emilia cannot bring herself to choose between the two noble kinsmen, both of whom love her, the Jailor's Daughter has no such problem, and falls passionately in love with Palamon. She is a warmly sexual character, a version of the lusty country wench,<sup>26</sup> but also intensely class-conscious and aware from the first that her desire is hopeless:

Why should I love this gentleman? 'Tis odds  
He never will affect me: I am base,  
My father the mean keeper of his prison,  
And he a prince. (2.4.1-4)

She risks her life and her father's by releasing him from prison, but this does not win his love, and she goes mad. Parallels with Ophelia are commonplace, and Shakespeare and Fletcher no doubt had Ophelia's madness in mind when they wrote the play.<sup>27</sup> In their madness both sing ballads, speak fancifully, are sexually preoccupied and express anxieties about the loss of virginity, quote proverbs, ignore the attempts of onlookers to engage with them, and give rein to unfettered and bawdy imagination. Observers are anxious about their behaviour, yet try to aestheticize it. A Friend calls the Jailor's Daughter a "pretty soul" and the Doctor comments, "How prettily she's amiss!", "How her brain coins!" Gertrude's poetic elegy for Ophelia, which connects female madness, flowers, and death by water, is closely paralleled by the Wooer's lyrical description of the Jailor's Daughter singing and weeping for Palamon beside a lake; like Ophelia, she makes garlands for her hair, and tries to drown herself.

The place  
Was knee-deep where she sat; her careless tresses  
A wreath of bulrush rounded, about her stuck  
Thousand fresh water-flowers of several colours,

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<sup>26</sup> Such figures were standard types in ballads of the period. See Capp (2004:13) and Wiltenberg (1988:101-127).

<sup>27</sup> Both Shakespeare and Fletcher were involved in writing the part of the Jailor's Daughter. See Potter, ed. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1997:24-31). Of the scenes in which the Daughter appears Shakespeare wrote 2.1 and probably 3.2, Fletcher the rest.

That methought she appeared like the fair nymph  
 That feeds the lake with waters, or as Iris  
 Newly dropped from heaven. (4.1.82-88)

But there are of course differences, not the least of which is that the Jailor's Daughter is saved from drowning by the Wooer, more proactive in this situation than Gertrude. Her madness is much more expansively treated than Ophelia's, and the progress of her mental breakdown traced through four soliloquies. For a lower-class female character in a subplot she is given an extraordinary amount of stage time, and Douglas Bruster is correct to call her "a pivotal figure" (1995:277).<sup>28</sup> Bruster rightly notices "the class valences of her idiolect" (282) (though he does not make much of the fact that her four soliloquies are in verse and she is very eloquent). He distinguishes her language from Ophelia's: "Her speech is more directly about her body, and bodies generally, because in dramatic representations of her social stratum, neither madness nor bawdy is typically phrased in decorative poetry" (282). Nonetheless, she is given some "decorative poetry," just as Ophelia speaks bawdy, and the similarities are important.<sup>29</sup> The major component in differentiating the Jailor's madness from Ophelia's is genre, in which social class is a subsidiary component. Because the Jailor's Daughter is a comic character she is allowed to be rescued from drowning, and given a (more or less) happy ending. The Doctor, brought in for consultation by the worried Jailor, at first makes a diagnosis like that of Lady Macbeth's doctor: "I think she has a perturbed mind, which I cannot minister to" (4.3.60). But once the Wooer has suggested that there might be some money in it for a cure, he quickly comes up with a course of treatment, involving the Wooer's systematic impersonation of Palamon. This does the trick, even when, despite the Jailor's scruples, the Wooer is advised to sleep with the Daughter, still in the guise of Palamon. In the end, Jailor, Doctor and

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<sup>28</sup> I am greatly indebted to this important article.

<sup>29</sup> The Daughter's description of herself as "moped" (3.2.25), having neither eaten nor slept for two days while hunting for Palamon in the woods, is not necessarily a term that distinguishes her condition as lower class. Richard Napier, in McDonald's account, regarded mopishness, a "disturbance of the sensitive faculty, rather than the reason" (163), as a condition similar to but less severe than melancholy. Shakespeare's other uses of the term and its cognates (*The Tempest* 5.1.237-240), *Henry V* 3.7.142-144, *Hamlet* 3.1.78-81) do not apply it to lower class characters. The Doctor calls her condition "a most thick and profound melancholy" (4.3.50).



Wooser collude in the deception, and the Wooser and Daughter depart the stage with sex, rather than as for Ophelia and Lady Macbeth, death in prospect.

The Doctor's diagnosis, that the daughter can be cured of her madness through sex, was distinctly in line with early modern views on young women's sexuality and their tendencies to green sickness, and not necessarily inflected by social class.<sup>30</sup> He is, as Mary Beth Rose (1988:226) comments, "more successful at regulating sexuality in the Jailor's world than Theseus is in his court," and the handling of sexuality and virginity in the rural world of the subplot is more humane than in the chivalric society of the mainplot, where the virginal Emilia comments bitterly, "Oh, better never born|Than minister to such harm!" (5.3.65-66) as she listens to the sounds of the joust in which the kinsmen fight to the death for her hand. "Is this winning?" (138) she exclaims after Arcite's victory. Her bitterness for the imminent death of Palamon, the loser in the contest, predominates over any feeling of triumph. The play's bi-fold structure allows that the green world of the subplot may, as it does in *A Midsummer Nights' Dream*, offer a meaningful alternative to the colder world of the court, and the plebeian Daughter's mad eloquence a warmly imaginative and liberated language against the high-born Emilia's tight-lipped suffering.

Fletcher's *The Pilgrim* (?1621) offers a coda on the depiction of women's madness and social class. Alinda, a gentleman's daughter, takes refuge in the woods in boy's disguise to escape from her tyrannical father's attempts to marry her off to the arrogant Rodrigo and find her lover Pedro. Lost and hungry, she is taken to a madhouse, "a little craz'd, distracted" (3.7.134),<sup>31</sup> from which she escapes wearing the she-fool clothes of Kate, one of the resident madwomen, who works in the kitchen. In boy's clothes, Alinda is "a

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<sup>30</sup> Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet* calls Juliet a "green-sickness carrion" (3.5.156) and regards immediate marriage as the cure. Burton, III .ii .5(5), has a long chapter called "The last and best cure of Love-Melancholy is, to let them have their Desire." Wiltenberg (1988:12) cites ballads like "The Mayden's Lamentation for a Bedfellow" (*Pepys Ballads* 1.67) where a doctor prescribes getting a husband "without all delay" as the cure for greensickness. Charney and Charney (1977:458), cite motif F950.4 "Marvels" in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (1932-1937) as a traditional folk motif of "sickness (madness) cured by coition."

<sup>31</sup> Quotations are taken from *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Bowers (1985), vol. 6.

pretty lad" and treated sympathetically, while the "real" madwoman Kate is abused and insulted. But once outside the madhouse and apparently a she-fool, Alinda no longer seems so appealing. Neither her father nor Rodrigo recognises her, and they subject her to the sort of abuse meted out to the lower-class Kate, calling her "an arrant fool, an ignorant thing," "puppy," "puppet" and "the devil in a fool's coat." Rodrigo even refers to her as "it" despite acknowledging her sexual attractiveness: "Is't not a Faierie , or some small hobgoblin? | It has a mortall face, and I have a great mind to it[... ] it is a handsome thing, | But horribly Sun-burnt" (4.2. 29-33) He treats the disguised Alinda as he might a servant, as the reference to her sunburn (which a gentlewoman would not have) confirms. Playing the madwoman means that Alinda adopts certain mannerisms: she speaks and acts childishly, fantasises freely, and "coins" in the way that so amazes the Doctor in his observations of the Jailor's Daughter. She also uses her madness as a means of making subversive comments, addressing Rodrigo in such riddling terms as to make him think she may be "a kind of Sibill, some mad Prophet" (4.2. 50). She sings a verse from a well-known ballad, "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" about the seduction of a low-born girl by a knight<sup>32</sup> which Rodrigo at once applies to himself: "'Tis the meer Chronicle of my mis-haps" (4.2.68). Alinda's scenes, which belong to the romance strand of the play, are set against farcical scenes in the madhouse where the "real" madwoman Kate (along with a group of assorted bedlamites, a parson, a scholar, a drunken Englishman, a Welshman, chained in their cells) is confined. Unlike the condition of the bedlamites, who are shown as caricatures, comic but incurable, Alinda's briefly assumed madness is empowering, enabling her to confront her father and Rodrigo with truth-telling, and paving the way to her happy ending.

While madness is only temporarily empowering for most female madwomen, and in many cases is an immediate prelude to death, it is linguistically liberating, creating for the theatre audience that "exhilarating sense of freedom which transgression affords," as Stallybrass and White (1986:201) put it in their account of the interplay between freedom and restraint in social formations. Madwomen's characteristic speech is extravagantly metaphorical, imaginative, often childish, free of logic and restraint; in its free-

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<sup>32</sup> This is number 110 in Child's compilation.

associational style it often violates rules of grammar and syntax. It is constructed from a medley of voices, weaving together quotations from proverbs and sayings, fragments of songs and ballads, puns, innuendo and word-play. It brings together high and low cultural discourses in a carnivalesque suspension of linguistic norms. It bespeaks a condition in which the distinctions of social class and rank are endangered, and sometimes completely dismissed. In these ways, women's mad language achieves a different sort of "impertinency" from men's, more transgressive and licentious because more norms are violated. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the countrymen are delighted to come upon the Jailor's Daughter, "a dainty madwoman [...] mad as a March hare" (3.5.73-74), to lead their dances; playwrights of the period may well have found that the inclusion of scenes for madwomen similarly enlarged the possibilities of their plays.

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# **Bassanio's bailout: A brief history of risk, Shakespeare to Wall Street**

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## ABSTRACT

Shakespeare's most searching anatomy of risk, *The Merchant of Venice* depicts the wagering not only of money but of love and life itself. This paper places *Merchant* in a long history that traces the concept of risk from classical theatre to medieval scholasticism to modern sociology. Over the course of this history, the moral and economic dimensions of risk become increasingly fugitive and unmappable. Shakespeare's play illustrates this process in miniature, and in so doing casts light on our contemporary "risk society," including the financial meltdown of 2008.

KEYWORDS: William Shakespeare; risk; finance; Alexandre Kojève; G.F.W. Hegel; Ulrich Beck.

Given the perennial temptation on the part of academics, pundits, and supreme court judges alike to apply Shakespeare to contemporary events, it is surprising that so little has been made from *The Merchant of Venice* in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008. An article promisingly titled "The Merchant of Zucotti Park" did appear in the online version of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in November 2011. But the author, disappointingly, turned out to be Peter Wood, president of the National Association of Scholars, a conservative group; and his main point (when he wasn't accusing the Occupy protestors of riot, arson, vandalism and rape) was to argue *against* the forgiving of student debt then being demanded by the OWS movement. For Wood, apparently, the quality of mercy is sometimes strained when it lets improvident young Bassanios and

Antonios off the hook for their college educations. As Shakespearean allegories go, this one had at least the virtue of being unexpected.

A more interesting application of Shakespearean wisdom actually predated the crisis of 2008. An article in the *Wall Street Journal* about John Geanakoplos, professor of economics at Yale and partner at Ellington Capital, mentions Geanakoplos' claim that rereading *The Merchant of Venice* in 1997 prompted him to reconsider the importance of collateral in financial markets and to formulate a theory of "leverage cycles" that ended up looking quite prescient in the aftermath of 2008. Other attempts to connect Shakespeare's play and the 2008 financial meltdown have mostly inhabited the lower and seamier regions of the blogosphere, and I will not recount them here.

While I don't think that *The Merchant of Venice* can tell us anything about the meltdown that we didn't already know, I do think that the meltdown may alert us to some previously under-noticed dimensions of Shakespeare's play. Moreover, *The Merchant of Venice* occupies a place in a deep conceptual history that led up to the events of 2008 and thereafter, and reconstructing that lineage is not without interest. What follows, then, is an (irresponsibly) abbreviated history of the concept of risk as it relates both to Shakespeare's play and to more contemporary events.

My conceptual starting point will be Alexandre Kojève's celebrated lectures on Hegel, which played such a central role in the intellectual life of Paris in the 1940s through the 1960s. In the course of explicating Hegel's master-slave dialectic, Kojève observes:

For man to be truly human, for him to be essentially and really different from an animal, his human Desire must actually win out over his animal Desire. Now, all Desire is a desire for a value. The supreme value for an animal is its animal life. All the Desires of an animal are in the final analysis a function of its desire to preserve its life. Human Desire, therefore, must win out over this desire for preservation. In other words, man's humanity "comes to light" only if he risks his (animal) life for the sake of his human Desire. It is in and by this risk that the human reality is created and revealed as reality; it is in and by this risk that it "comes to light," i.e. is shown, demonstrated, verified, and gives proofs of being essentially different from the animal, natural reality. And that is why to speak of the "origin" of Self-Consciousness is

necessarily to speak of the risk of life (for an essentially nonvital end). (1980:6-7)

Much in this passage will prove to be of interest for *The Merchant of Venice*, not only a play concerned with masters and slaves and with life and death, but one in which the relation between the human and the animal is repeatedly placed in question.

In Kojève's exposition, two battles rage simultaneously: first the concrete one between the primordial combatants, and second the more abstract one between animal and human desire. Both are decided at once: for the victorious Master, the essentially human desire for recognition has won out over animal self-preservation, the latter being apportioned to the defeated Slave who would not risk his life. For Kojève, then, risk is not just something that humans engage in. It is constitutive of the human as such, and of those dignified attributes such as self-consciousness and freedom that define the human. Through risk, the combatant transcends animal embodiment and animal desire without ever quite leaving them behind; through risk, the animal is in effect *aufgehoben* into the human.

Something strongly implicit in Kojève's exposition is that for the creation of the human to occur, subjective and objective risk must coincide. It is not enough, in other words, for the Master to believe he is risking his life; the latter must be objectively placed in the balance. Recognition is not simply a subjective impression or perception for Kojève but rather an objective situation, part of the Real; and this is consonant with Kojève's broader interpretation of the Hegelian dialectic (1980:169-259).

Neither Kojève nor Hegel for that matter associates the master-slave dialectic with a literary genre. But despite the obviously proto-theatrical dimensions of a battle that centres on recognition, and thus converts one contestant into an audience for the other, I would suggest that the literary form most appropriate to this encounter is not drama but epic. Not that enslavement as such plays a prominent role in classical epic; but the battle to the death obviously does. By contrast, Greek tragedy seems relatively uninterested in risk. It can be found, of course: in Antigone's burial of Polyneices, for example, or in the classic Homeric encounters of Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes*. Nevertheless, figures such as Oedipus and Pentheus, who undergo risk without knowing it, are more paradigmatic. Indeed, the



separating out of subjective and objective risk which marks such characters is constitutive of tragic irony. The work of tragedy, we might say, is to disarticulate the epic unity of risk that marks both Homer and Hegel. Tragedy dwells more on mourning, the aftermath and consequence of risk, than it does on risk itself.

Unlike tragedy, Greek comedy is full of risks taken and avoided, but these lack tragic amplitude. Comic risk is not the risk of life, the only kind that counts for Kojève. In Greek drama, risk is therefore either disintegrated or diminished. Drama initiates a process in which epic risk is rendered increasingly complex, uncertain, and even fugitive. Risk is no longer something whole and self-evident but something that must be mapped, and which over time threatens to become unmappable. This fact is especially striking since, as a mode of performance, theatre is perhaps the riskiest of art forms, the one that most directly exposes its practitioners to either public ridicule or glory. If playwrights and actors do not face the loss of life, they certainly face the loss of face – and by the early modern period, the risk of economic failure as well. And yet this risky art form does not, at least in its Greek phase, particularly dwell on risk in its fictions. Perhaps this disproportion is theatre's own counterpart to tragic irony.

Even in the early modern period, it could be argued that epic and romance remain the supreme literary genres of risk. At the same time, risk also comes to play a greater role in tragic drama than it did for the Greeks. Yet it is in a comedy, if a problem comedy, that Shakespeare undertakes his great anatomy of risk. In *The Merchant of Venice*, not only do characters undergo risk; risk becomes, quite self-consciously, a subject of analysis in which its nature and mappability are placed in question. The test of the caskets, insofar as it is a game of chance, renders risk as such thematically visible ("Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath"); and the play intertwines this with both financial risk and the Hegelian risk of life itself. Despite its virtual omnipresence, however, I want to argue that risk becomes maddeningly fugitive in the play. If risk is by definition the risk of loss, the loss faced by *The Merchant of Venice* is the loss of risk itself.

The word "risk" never actually appears in Shakespeare's play, although a raft of roughly synonymous terms fills in for it: hazard, venture, peril. But the play is virtually an enacted or dramatized etymology of risk. The medieval Latin term *resicum* or *risicum* starts

appearing in the twelfth century in the Italian port cities of Pisa and Genoa, where it is used as a term in maritime commercial law indicating economic responsibility for future contingent events (Piron 2004:59-61). Shakespeare's play, set in the Mediterranean and concerned with maritime trade, thus occupies the geographical and economic birthplace of risk. The etymological origins of *resicum* are both murky and contested, but branch off in two main directions. One is to the Arabic word *rizq*, which can mean "the good apportioned by God to an individual," or in some Arab dialects a chance or favourable accident (Piron 2004:65-66). The Arabic term resembles in its semantic range the Latin *portio* or "portion" which may underlie the name Portia. Interestingly, the English term "hazard" also has an Arabic root, so perhaps it is appropriate that the first player in the test of the caskets is the Prince of Morocco.

An alternative derivation traces the word back to the Latin *resecare*, meaning "to cut or chop," a root of obvious relevance to the terms of the bond between Antonio and Shylock. Some lexicographers go so far as to connect the term with steep rocks that pose a risk to merchandise transported by ship, the "cut or chop" here being that which opens the bowels of the vessel. In this case, Salerio's whimsical musings about the source of Antonio's melancholy take us to the very heart of risk:

My wind cooling my broth  
 Would blow me to an ague, when I thought  
 What harm a wind too great might do at sea.  
 I should not see the sandy hour-glass run,  
 But I should think of shallows and of flats,  
 And see my wealthy *Andrew* dock'd in sand,  
 Vailing her high-top lower than her ribs  
 To kiss her burial. Should I go to church  
 And see the holy edifice of stone  
 And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,  
 Which touching but my gentle vessel's side,  
 Would scatter all her spices on the stream,  
 Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,  
 And, in a word, but even now worth this,  
 And now worth nothing? Shall I have the thought  
 To think on this, and shall I lack the thought  
 That such a thing bechanced would make me sad?  
 But tell not me; I know, Antonio  
 Is sad to think upon his merchandise. (1.1.22-40)

Thinking of risk, Salerio conjures its possible etymology in the fantasized scene of a merchant ship cut open by rocks. But this image simultaneously foreshadows a later fantasy, indeed the organizing one of the play: that of Antonio's body cut open by Shylock's knife. The wounded ship extruding spices and silks visually manifests the masochistic enjoyment or *jouissance* that inhabits that later fantasy as well.<sup>1</sup> But in so doing, it also connects two unlikely spaces: the open sea and the courtroom, one lawless (described in *The Winter's Tale* as "unpath'd waters") and the other the very locus of law, one a natural emptiness and the other the most civilized of human institutions.<sup>2</sup> Both, however, are spaces where characters encounter different kinds of risk. When Bassanio later refers to "merchant-marring rocks," he literalizes the connection between the marring of the merchant's ship and the marring of his body or person, thus sealing the connection between the hazards of the oceanic waste and that which Antonio faces in the courtroom.

Before turning in earnest to the play, I want to note some of the complexities surrounding what Michael Ferber (1990:446) calls "the ideology of risk" in its original, mercantile context. In theological debates, risk was used to justify the merchant's profits against the charge that he sold the same items that he bought, unchanged (Piron 2004:72-73). The "merchant adventurer," who *ventures* or risks his capital, thereby distinguished his justifiable profits from those of the usurer, who demands collateral and hence avoids risk. The scholastic philosopher Peter John Olivi took the notion of economic risk one step further when he defined it as involving not only the possible loss of one's principal but also the risk of failing to secure a reasonably expected profit. In other words, risk could now apply to merely virtual rather than actual sums. Olivi took this metaphysical nicety and gave it a theological turn when he explained the imputation of Christ's merit back onto Old Testament patriarchs by comparing it to profits which one expects to realize in the future (Piron 2004:74).

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<sup>1</sup> On Antonio's masochism, see Daniel (2013:92-119).

<sup>2</sup> As Emmanuelle Collas-Heddeland *et al.* point out (2004:39), the word and concept of risk emerge in a period when the great maritime empires give way to northern civilizations focused on exploitation of the land – in other words, to a period in which sea travel comes to seem less familiar and more perilous.

At the same time, the merchant's risks could be transferrable to other persons. Canon law held that there are cases in which loans to merchants are not considered usury because the success of the venture is uncertain and hence the lender undergoes risk (Piron 2004:72). In a sense, the usurer participates in the merchant's risk – as Shylock does when he lends money to Antonio. And as Ferber (1990:438, n.10) points out, merchants tended to distribute risk by pooling their capital – a fact that Shakespeare avoids by having Antonio bear sole risk for his ships. My point is that mercantile theory and practice render the mapping of risk increasingly complex. Risk can be transferred, shared, even applied to unreal sums. *The Merchant of Venice*, I would argue, explores the moral and psychological implications of an increasingly fugitive risk.

The ironies of the play frequently center on separations of subjective from objective risk similar to those of Greek tragic drama. Shylock suffers unexpected risk and loss twice: first when he leaves Jessica to guard his household goods and second when he confidently enters the courtroom to collect his penalty from Antonio. Likewise, Antonio signs his bond with Shylock thinking that he undergoes no real risk since his wealth is distributed among several ships. In each case, the flesh of the unsuspecting character is mortgaged: Shylock loses his "flesh and blood" in Jessica and is threatened with actual death in the courtroom, and Antonio's bond almost costs him a mortal pound of flesh. While Shylock is simply unaware of the risks he faces, Antonio's situation is more complex. The bond with Shylock makes the terms of his risk explicit, and Antonio therefore knows that if he forfeits the bond he must pay with his body. But he chooses to ignore this because he views it as a mere legal formality and hence not actually realizable. He sees the risk but neutralizes it by making it into a mere virtuality or fiction. If Peter John Olivi turns the loss of merely expected or virtual sums into actual risk, Antonio reverses this by virtualizing the loss of real, extant wealth.

I want to follow the case of Antonio at greater length because it will lead us to forms of hazard that in their complexity go far beyond the "Greek" separation of subjective and objective risk. We can begin to assess Antonio's peril by comparing it to that described in Hegel's master-slave dialectic. The bond with Shylock raises mere financial risk to that of life itself; in Hegelian terms, Antonio proves his

humanity by denying the basic animal instinct of self-preservation. Moreover, he does so to demonstrate his noble generosity to both Shylock and Bassanio – in other words, to gain recognition of his position as the master who is willing to risk. Thus far, a perfectly Hegelian scenario. Yet ironically, Antonio's sovereign gesture turns him into Shylock's slave rather than his master. According to the bond's terms, Shylock now "owns," if not Antonio's whole body, then at least a pound of it. When Antonio signs the bond he becomes Shylock's "bondsman," and Shylock understands this fully. This is why he answers the Venetians in the courtroom who demand Antonio's release with the counter-demand that they free their slaves. The risk of life ironically produces debasement rather than sovereignty. Or rather it produces both at once: a kind of "moral" mastery but physiological and legal slavery.

The play as a whole renders master-slave relations fundamentally unstable. Portia goes from mistress of Belmont to Bassanio's servant when she gives away both her person and fortune to him. When Bassanio wins her hand by risking all, she declares herself

Happiest of all [...] that her gentle spirit  
Commits itself to yours to be directed,  
As from her lord, her governor, her king.  
Myself, and what is mine, to you and yours  
Is now converted. (3.2.163-167)

But this reversal of positions is reversed again as Portia reclaims household sovereignty by play's end. Even Launcelot, the one actual servant in the play, becomes "Master Launcelot" in the game with his father. The positions of master and servant are unstable and labile in the play – never more so than when Antonio's risk allows him to attain to both at once.

But the most fundamental question surrounding Antonio is not whether risking his life has made him master or slave. Rather, it has to do with the question of whether loss of life is really the primary risk he faces. At the very least, Antonio demonstrates a Stoic resignation when he enters the courtroom in act four. But there is of course ample reason to believe that he is not merely reconciled to his fate but positively attached to it – that the thing he apparently dreads is also the thing he most fervently seeks. "Let me have judgment," he pleads, "and the Jew his will" (4.1.83). Certainly his

death would yield benefits of various kinds. Playing the role of martyr allows Antonio to place the cruelty of Shylock as individual and of the Jews as a people on public display. It thus justifies his anti-Semitic hatred and fulfils his Christian *ressentiment* at the same time. On a sexual level, it satisfies the masochistic impulses that Antonio has exhibited throughout the play. And above all, it ties Bassanio to him forever in bonds of obligation, guilt and love:

Commend me to your honourable wife:  
Tell her the process of Antonio's end;  
Say how I loved you, speak me fair in death;  
And, when the tale is told, bid her be judge  
Whether Bassanio had not once a love.  
Repent but you that you shall lose your friend,  
And he repents not that he pays your debt;  
For if the Jew do cut but deep enough,  
I'll pay it presently with all my heart. (4.1.272-280)

And Bassanio responds just as Antonio wishes, declaring that he would sacrifice his wife to save his dear friend.

While death is a terrible thing, it offers Antonio so many kinds of satisfaction as to become irresistible. Antonio does risk his life, in good Hegelian fashion, but not in the name of heroic conquest. Rather, the "human" form of desire that transcends self-preservation here takes the form of a demand for recognition bound up with resentful, passive-aggressive, and masochistic urges. Whether this surpasses in nobility the realm of the animal that it leaves behind is far from clear.<sup>3</sup>

One result of Antonio's situation is to reinforce the resemblance to Shylock that has always subtended their conflict. In effect, Antonio and Shylock each think they are about to get something they deeply want: that is, Antonio's death. And each is about to be disappointed by Portia. The "risk" that Antonio actually undergoes, therefore, may not be the risk of life, but rather the risk that he will

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<sup>3</sup> Unlike Antonio, Shylock cannot even rise to the level of attempting to risk his life. Threatened with death by the court, he collapses; and threatened immediately thereafter with the loss of his fortune, he complains "You take my life | When you do take the means whereby I live" (4.1.375-376). Unlike Antonio, who is willing to risk his life, Shylock is condemned to the animal realm of self-preservation. This is of course overlaid upon his status as the "carnal Jew" who cannot ascend to Antonio's Christian spirituality. And it comports with his repeated allusions to animals throughout the play.

be prevented from risking his life. Portia, like the goddess Fortuna from whom her name may be derived, intervenes and – depending on one's perspective – either saves or defeats Antonio.<sup>4</sup> While Shylock undergoes a classically ironic reversal in which objective and subjective risk part ways, Antonio's case is more complex. In effect, both possible outcomes represent different forms of risk for him, and at the same time different forms of fulfilment. Antonio's case requires a kind of casuistical accounting that leaves the nature and the very fact of risk ultimately undecidable. He therefore pushes the unmappability of risk well beyond the Greek template into realms more consonant with the mercantile conceptions of risk formulated in the medieval and early modern periods.

Antonio complicates the Hegelian understanding of risk insofar as the hazarding of life renders him at once master and slave with respect to Shylock. But Portia's case is more interesting still, since she is ambiguously master and slave with respect to risk itself. Or rather, she begins the play apparently subjected to a risk not of her own choosing and ends the play as the acknowledged master of risk – indeed, as the mortal incarnation of the goddess Fortuna herself. The risk to which Portia is initially subject is, of course, the test of the three caskets devised by her father, which deprives her of choice in marriage. That test is itself ambiguous insofar as it includes elements of pure chance while also claiming to establish a meritocracy by finding the wisest possible husband for Portia. Both of these aspects serve a mildly democratizing or levelling function by allowing Bassanio, a mere gentleman, to best a set of rivals who are exclusively of noble or royal blood. Bassanio's sole qualification seems to consist of being less ludicrous or comically unsuitable than the other suitors, but still things turn out for the best in a way that seems somehow providential.

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<sup>4</sup> In his speech of parting to Bassanio, the one in which he welcomes death, Antonio observes:

For herein Fortune shows herself more kind  
Than is her custom: it is still her use  
To let the wretched man outlive his wealth,  
To view with hollow eye and wrinkled brow  
An age of poverty; from which lingering penance  
Of such misery doth she cut me off. (4.1.266-271)

By saving Antonio, Portia condemns him to Fortune's "customary" end, thus reinforcing her role *as* Fortune.

I say “somehow” providential, because neither Providence nor chance has much to do with the outcome of the game. As has long been recognized, Portia cheats by surreptitiously giving Bassanio the correct answer. The evidence for this is so ample and so well known as not even to merit rehearsal. Portia proves the Jacob to her father’s Laban, prevailing through trickery that wins the audience’s admiration rather than disapproval. What interests me here are the implications of the fact that the casket game, the play’s central instance and image of risk, is rigged and hence no risk at all. Actually, this is slightly to overstate the case. Portia does not trick the first two suitors into choosing the wrong caskets. In these instances she is at risk that they may, by pure chance, happen upon the right choice. To some degree, then, a comic Providence does look out for her. But at the decisive moment she manages to defeat both chance and meritocracy by ensuring that her favoured candidate wins. In this case she becomes comic Providence herself, or at least usurps its role. Here profit and reward are distributed neither randomly nor through merit but through insider manipulation.

One result of this is to render Belmont a place at once lawful and lawless. The marrying off of Portia occurs under the guidance of her father’s will – that is to say, under the aegis of paternal law. At the same time, that law accommodates a certain degree of chance insofar as it cannot prevent a lucky but unsuitable candidate from choosing the correct casket. And more to the point, it cannot prevent Portia from adhering to the rules of the game in a merely formal sense while in fact subverting them, which means that not law but her personal whim proves sovereign. Something similar happens in the Venetian courtroom, where Portia’s tactics at once fulfil and negate the law. The equation of courtroom and oceanic waste occasioned by Solerio’s musings points to the play’s interest in spaces that are simultaneously lawful and lawless, determined and aleatory. It is Portia’s gift both to create such spaces and to manipulate their ambiguities to her advantage. In so doing, she reduces risk from a legitimating force to a mere alibi, a formality or ghost that obscures her power to bend events to her will. She reveals risk to be, in the end, nothing of the sort – a mere surface appearance of the arbitrary that serves as cover for her shrewd interventions.

Similar ambiguities characterize the mythic figure of Fortuna for whom Portia increasingly comes to stand as an allegorical



embodiment. Fortune's wheel is lawful and lawless at once, the instrument of pure chance and simultaneously of the *law* of chance to which all mortals must submit. Fortuna likewise occupies a kind of middle realm, not quite as transcendent as the Olympian deities yet perched above the mundane sphere she controls. The arbitrariness and determinism she simultaneously represents are somehow immanent to the world while remaining beyond its control. It is never quite clear whether Fortuna descends from above or is rather emitted from the secular realm as the mere manifestation of its own inner logic.

Portia operates as a specifically comic Fortuna. She is not a blind nemesis, reversing all positions in their turn, but one who assures a happy outcome. In some respects she simply *is* the conventions of comic drama instantiated as a person. Nowhere is this clearer than at the moment in act 5, scene 1 when she perfects the play's happy ending by announcing that Antonio's ships were not lost after all:

Antonio, you are welcome;  
And I have better news in store for you  
Than you expect: unseal this letter soon;  
There you shall find three of your argosies  
Are richly come to harbour suddenly:  
You shall not know by what strange accident  
I chanced on this letter. (5.1.273-279)

Portia's speech combines two miracles: the unexpected arrival of Antonio's ships and the inexplicable means by which she becomes bearer of this news. Her final two lines, "you shall not know by what strange accident | I chanced on this letter," are directed specifically at Antonio but more generally at the play's audience, who are informed that even romance comedy's loose standards of verisimilitude are now being violated in a way that will receive no explanation. Nowhere else does Portia seem less like a human character and more like a force of divine intervention, as if the goddess Fortuna herself momentarily burst out of her human disguise. Not only does Portia subvert the laws of Belmont and Venice; here she subverts the law of dramatic believability as she momentarily verges on becoming somehow *too* blatantly comic, *too* providential. She occupies a liminal realm at once inside the fiction of the play and outside it, visibly manipulating comedy's structuring mechanisms. And not incidentally, in so doing she retroactively

evaporates any sense of risk. If things always turn out for the best, if a governing Providence assures that the finest people are always rewarded, then the risks they undertake are mere seeming, destined to be negated after the fact.

This is perhaps a good thing for comic drama, but it has complicated effects when applied to mercantile risk, which has the ideological task of justifying mercantile profit. On the one hand, it suggests that the successful negotiation of risk indicates divine election. Rejecting Shylock's parable of Jacob and Laban, Antonio states:

This was a venture, sir, that Jacob served for;  
A thing not in his power to bring to pass,  
But sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven. (1.3.88-90)

Likewise, as he is about to choose in the game of the caskets, the Prince of Morocco prays "Some god direct my judgment!" (2.7.13). The notion that apparent risk or chance reveals the elect of God does justify mercantile profit, but in an older, theological mode. If Portia is indeed the vessel of some divine providence, this ratifies the outcome not only of the casket game but of the play as a whole, in which the worthy are rewarded.

And yet this divine transcendence is always haunted by a bad immanence: the possibility that the rules of the game are not being regulated by an outside beneficent force but rather manipulated to Portia's own advantage and that of the other players she favours by one of the participants who should be subject to those rules. If risk is negated not by an outsider but by a privileged insider, then what might otherwise look like justice comes to seem like naked self-interest. And of course, what makes *The Merchant of Venice* such an interesting problem comedy is the pervasive sense that the characters who come out on top are not "the best" in any moral sense but simply the wealthy, attractive members of an in-group who make sure that their own kind profit at the expense of marginalized outsiders such as Shylock.

I think I have sufficiently tipped my hand by this point to make the central conceit of this paper explicit. What is that peculiar kind of space imagined by Shakespeare's play – a space at once anarchic and lawful, dangerous yet ultimately comic, governed by a kind of immanent providence that converts chance into merit and rewards

the risky, yet a space constantly haunted by the possibility that all of this is mere appearance concealing manipulation? What is this space but the space of the market itself, its governing providence nothing other than what Adam Smith would later call the Invisible Hand? Within *The Merchant of Venice*, the role of Invisible Hand is played by Portia/Fortuna, who represents both good and bad forms of immanence. As the characterological incarnation of comic convention, Portia displays a wit and initiative that enable the play's social world to surmount its conflicts and achieve the status of happily self-governing order. But at the same time, she manifests the self-serving quality of such manipulation. She is, in effect, the first inside trader.

I recognize that such blatant allegoresis runs the risk of turning into self-parody, if it has not already done so. A wiser critic than I might well turn back at this point and let well enough alone. But for better or worse, I cannot resist the temptation of pushing things further still, and I shall do so by turning to the character of Bassanio. Bassanio appears to more discerning readers of the play as an empty-headed character who appeals to Portia based on his good looks alone. Certainly someone who compares his wooing of Portia to Jason's pursuit of the Golden Fleece is unlikely to possess the wisdom required to pick the leaden casket without help. But I think that Bassanio's fecklessness has not been sufficiently appreciated. Not only is he willing to put Antonio at mortal risk in order to squeeze more money out of him, but the pretences under which he does so are misleading at best, beginning with the simile of the two arrows with which he attempts to persuade Antonio of the wisdom of lending him still more money:

In my school-days, when I had lost one shaft,  
I shot his fellow of the self-same flight  
The self-same way with more advised watch,  
To find the other forth, and by adventuring both  
I oft found both: I urge this childhood proof,  
Because what follows is pure innocence.  
I owe you much, and, like a willful youth,  
That which I owe is lost; but if you please  
To shoot another arrow that self way  
Which you did shoot the first, I do not doubt,  
As I will watch the aim, or to find both  
Or bring your latter hazard back again  
And thankfully rest debtor for the first. (1.1.140-152)

Depicting Portia, that “lady richly left,” as a means of repaying Antonio is disturbing enough. In fact, however, Bassanio’s pursuit of Portia is no sure thing. Shylock inadvertently recalls and critiques Bassanio’s image after the flight of Jessica: “No news of them? Why, so! And I know not what spent in the search. Why thou loss upon loss – the thief gone with so much, and so much to find the thief!” (3.1.86-89). Even more disturbing, though, it is by no means obvious that the money borrowed from Antonio plays any significant role in the winning of Portia. For one thing, as far as Bassanio knows, her marriage is determined by the game of the caskets, not by personal choice, so there is no need to woo her with lavish spending. Later in the play, moreover, Bassanio reminds her that

When I did first impart my love to you,  
I freely told you, all the wealth I had  
Ran in my veins, I was a gentleman. (3.2.253-255)

In other words, Portia knows from the start that Bassanio is without means and seems not to care. His spending would therefore seem to have more to do with impressing the other suitors and keeping up appearances for them than it does with Portia. Finally, most of the borrowed money seems to be spent in Venice rather than Belmont. Bassanio does mention sending a servant to Portia bearing “gifts of rich value” (2.9.90), but he also mentions feasting his “best esteemed acquaintance” (2.2.170) in Venice, of buying rich new liveries for his servants, and of adding Launcelot to his retinue and furnishing him with the most expensive livery of all. Bassanio puts his best friend’s life at risk, then, neither to win Portia nor to repay his debts to Antonio thereby, but for the most part just to continue his ongoing spending spree. What I am tempted to call Bassanio’s bailout does not achieve a reformation of his profligate habits but simply allows him to perpetuate them. Bassanio is simply too big to fail, just as Antonio is too good to fail, and so the play finds itself committed to covering their respective debts. In the world of comic drama, fortunately, new funds and newly-saved ships can be conjured up at the stroke of a pen. Shakespeare’s play initially makes up Antonio’s losses by having the Duke appropriate Shylock’s wealth, thereby reminding us at least that someone else might suffer devastating loss in order to cover Antonio’s bets. That three of his ships eventually come in, meaning that the expropriation of Shylock’s wealth was unnecessary after all, simply rubs salt in the wounds. This debt, like Bassanio’s, didn’t really need to be paid. If the merchant’s profits are

justified by his undergoing risk, then Antonio should have been allowed to absorb his loss. That he too is bailed out unnecessarily casts doubt on the underlying logic of the entire system.

In his book *Risk Society*, which became something of an instant classic, the German sociologist Ulrich Beck argues that the production and distribution of risk is both an engine of modernization and one of its underlying, seemingly insoluble problems. Beck (1992:12) divides capitalist modernity into two phases: in the first, marked by industrialization, "the 'logic' of wealth production dominates the 'logic' of risk production." In the second phase or risk society, "this relation is reversed." One of the consequences of this transition is that risk becomes increasingly difficult to map.

Anyone who set out to discover new countries and continents – like Columbus – certainly accepted "risks." But these were *personal* risks, not global dangers like those that arise for all humanity from nuclear fusion or the storage of radioactive waste. In that earlier period, the word risk had a note of bravery and adventure, not the threat of self-destruction of all life on earth (Beck 1992:21).

In early mercantile and entrepreneurial endeavour, subjective and objective risks coincide, just as they do for the Hegelian master. The one who wishes to recoup wealth is the one who must personally undergo risk, and this invests him with a quasi-heroic character. As modernity becomes increasingly advanced and self-reflexive, however, risks are distributed in ways that become increasingly difficult to map:

Everyone is cause *and* effect, and thus *non*-cause. The causes dribble away into a general amalgam of agents and conditions, reactions and counter reactions, which brings social certainty and popularity to the concept of system. This reveals in exemplary fashion the ethical significance of the system concept: *one can do something and continue doing it without having to take personal responsibility for it*. It is as if one were acting while being personally absent. (Beck 1992:33)

As Beck points out, the notion of systemic risk is both necessary to comprehend the dynamics of modernity and an appealing alibi for those who wish to evade responsibility for generating risks. The unmappability of risk provides a kind of cover; it can rarely be proven, for instance, that a given particular carcinogen caused a

given individual case of cancer, and so the perpetrator escapes responsibility. Modern risk is not only untraceable, moreover, but invisible as well. “The risks of civilization today typically *escape perception* and are localized in the sphere of *physical and chemical formulas* (e.g. toxins in the foodstuffs or the nuclear threat)” (1992:21). Beck describes such risks as “the stowaways of normal consumption” (1992:40). The invisibility of modern toxins produces objective risk with no subjective counterpart other than perhaps a generalized wariness toward the food supply in some well-educated sectors of society. But if this disequilibrium between subjective and objective risk results in something like tragic irony, it is an irony which, unlike that of Oedipus and Pentheus, never comes to light.

The general unmappability of risk in advanced modernity abets a redistribution of risk that is in part unplanned and in part planned. While the Renaissance merchant proudly assumes his risk, the owner of the chemical company is at no greater danger from its toxic by-products than any other citizen – quite possibly less so, given the ability of wealthier and better-educated strata to reduce their own environmental risks while increasing them for others. In effect, the redistribution of risks is the dystopian counterpart to, and inversion of, the redistribution of wealth which capitalism makes sure will never happen.

One way of understanding the relation between industrial and risk societies involves shifting relations between risk and wealth. In the industrial and pre-industrial phases, the appropriation of profit and the endurance of personal risk coincide – if not always in fact, then at least as alibi and ideological justification. In risk society, the possibility of loss is still invoked as an alibi for profit, but this alibi becomes increasingly hollow as not only environmental but even economic risk itself is displaced onto others. Beck (1992:147) notes, for instance, that “portions of entrepreneurial risk can be shifted onto the employees as flexible underemployment.” Even this, however, keeps the displacement of economic risk within the confines of the firm – from employers to employees – and thus merely updates the older forms of capitalist exploitation analysed by Marx. The financial crisis of 2008, however, raised this redistribution to a new level, displacing the consequences of truly insane levels of financial risk onto the population at large, and particularly its most vulnerable sectors. It is as if economic risk finally achieved the same

kinds of generalized dispersal previously associated only with environmental hazards.

All of this lies in a future too distant for even Shakespeare to imagine. And yet, I would argue, some of the fundamental logics of this process are already laid bare in *The Merchant of Venice*. The bailout of a highly leveraged Bassanio by Antonio, and the bailout of an even more heavily leveraged Antonio by Portia, aided by the Venetian state as the agency of risk redistribution, ends up looking oddly prescient. Above all the coincidence of good and bad forms of immanence in Portia dramatizes a secular form of comic providence which, under closer inspection, manipulates, displaces, and redistributes risk for the benefit of a social coterie.

I want to conclude with a few words on Mercy, the subject of Portia's famous courtroom speech in Act IV. The ideals expressed in this speech are of course negated by the subsequent treatment of Shylock, whose life is spared, true, but who is stripped of his wealth, forcibly converted, and who practically staggers offstage under the force of this double blow. But I wonder whether a different problem with mercy was not revealed in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008, when none of the principals who drove the world's economy off a cliff were prosecuted for their offenses. Here too the distribution of mercy was highly selective: little or none for those who lost homes, jobs, and life savings, but an unspoken blanket amnesty for the wealthy bankers and speculators who caused this misery. In Shakespeare's play, too, the real problem with Mercy may lie not only in the one character to whom it is not applied, but perhaps even more fundamentally in those to whom it is. The financial crisis of *The Merchant of Venice*, like that of 2008, allows the play's "golden" characters to get off scot free, both in a practical sense and in the sympathies of the audience. Perhaps Shakespeare's most powerful lesson about mercy, then, is not that it is "mightiest in the mightiest," as Portia puts it, but rather that it is also (and for the very same reason) mightiest *toward* the mightiest.

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**Framing “Nova Albion”:  
Marking possession in Richard Hakluyt’s  
*The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and  
Discoveries of the English Nation*\***

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the textual framing of a cluster of items in Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600) relating to the area on the Pacific coast of North America that Francis Drake named “Nova Albion.” Contextualised in relation to the colonial programmes of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, it explores how a variety of editorial techniques combine to encourage a particular understanding of the history of exploration in this region that privileges English territorial claims over those of Spain. What is revealed is a delicate negotiation of the tensions raised by Hakluyt’s use of pre-existing, mainly non-English materials to attempt to legitimise Drake’s actions by aligning them with the Spanish conquistadorial tradition, while at the same time down-playing the extent and significance of previous Spanish activity in that region.

KEYWORDS: Drake; Hakluyt; Nova Albion; paratexts; Spain; travel writing; conquest, California.

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On 11 June 1578, Queen Elizabeth I of England, granted “our trustie and welbeloued seruaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonshire knight:”

free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people [...].<sup>1</sup>

Five years later, on 9 September 1583, Gilbert was drowned while re-crossing the Atlantic from Newfoundland, where he had just enacted a claim of possession over all territory within two hundred leagues of St. John’s harbour on behalf of the English crown.<sup>2</sup> The following March, fresh letters patent, with terms repeating almost word-for-word those made out to Gilbert, were issued to his half-brother, the equally “trusty and welbeloued seruaut Walter Raleigh Esquire.”<sup>3</sup> For Crown purposes, Raleigh was a direct substitute for Gilbert, and his venture essentially a continuation of Gilbert’s existing project.<sup>4</sup>

The similarity of the two patents indicates the degree to which those directing English overseas ventures were sensitive to the formalities of legal precedent. Yet they do not signal complete submission by the English queen – and head of the Protestant Church of England – to the terms of Pope Alexander VI’s 1493 bull *Inter caetera*.<sup>5</sup> This divided the world beyond Europe longitudinally

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, quotations in this essay are from Hakluyt (1598-1600), hereafter *PN2*. For Hakluyt’s transcription of Gilbert’s patent see: *PN2* III:135-137 (135).

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Gilbert’s final voyage see: *PN2* III:143-161.

<sup>3</sup> For Hakluyt’s transcription of Raleigh’s patent see: *PN2* III:243-245 (243). Unless otherwise stated, quotations representing both the Gilbert and Raleigh patents are from Raleigh’s.

<sup>4</sup> Only two substantive differences exist between the two patents. Raleigh’s patent expands Gilbert’s relatively general claim to “all commodities, iurisdiccions and royalties” to specify additional title over “prerogatiues ... priuiledges, franchises, and preeminences,” suggesting a development in thinking about how colonial rights could be exploited financially. A further change redefines the territory available to the patentee from lands “not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people” (in Gilbert’s patent) to those “not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people” (in Raleigh’s), emphasising the Crown’s sole authority in determining matters of sovereign “possession,” while restricting its subjects to the more subordinate acts of “inhabiting.”

<sup>5</sup> For a summary of the weakening of papal authority in relation to issues of sovereignty, see MacMillan (2006:18-25).

between Spain (to the west) and Portugal (to the east), with the precise line of division set by those two countries the following year, in their bilateral Treaty of Tordesillas, at 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. These agreements sought to settle sovereignty over future discoveries as well as past, but the Gilbert and Raleigh patents' insistence on the criterion of actual "possession" created scope (at least in English minds) for the establishment of English authority in places not yet visited or made subject to sustained occupation by its Iberian rivals.

Nonetheless, having been issued during a period in which England had not yet openly committed itself to conflict with Spain (which, from 1580, also held the crown of Portugal), the patents' explicit commitment to respect the pre-existing claims of "any Christian Prince being in amitie with vs" effectively restricted would-be English planters to those more northerly latitudes where no European presence had yet taken root.<sup>6</sup> Most of this early English activity (including Gilbert's and Raleigh's) concentrated on locations along the Atlantic seaboard that could be reached directly without encountering Spanish resistance. However, it was the first, surprising penetration into the Pacific by an English force, under the command of the as-yet un-knighted Francis Drake, that inspired the specific territorial controversy on which this article will focus, one which highlights the subtlety and sensitivity of Elizabethan England's negotiation of the issue of Spanish imperial precedence.

The texts of the Gilbert and Raleigh patents quoted above, and the narratives relating to Drake to which I now turn, were published together in 1600 by the English clergyman and colonial advocate Richard Hakluyt, in the third volume of the second, much-enlarged edition of his immense travel compendium *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*.<sup>7</sup> This work emerged in a much different political context to that in which the patents had been first granted. England's intervention in support of the Dutch Revolt in 1585 had been followed by over a decade of "obstinately undeclared" naval warfare (Elliott 1968:312-313). This

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<sup>6</sup> Versions of this formula also occur in a number of related narratives and discussions in *The Principal Navigations*. See PN2 III:135, 143, 146, 178, 180, 243, 279, and 661.

<sup>7</sup> Transcriptions of both patents had also previously appeared in the first, shorter edition of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, but most of the other material discussed below did not. See Hakluyt (1589:677-679, 725-728); hereafter PN1.

included a series of Spanish Armadas being sent toward England (1588, 1596 and 1597), a similar number of large-scale English attacks on Cadiz (1587, 1596) and Spanish-ruled Lisbon (1589), numerous more-ambiguously-defined raids by Englishmen in the West Indies, and endless skirmishes between various English and Spanish ships in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The criterion of England and Spain being “in amitie” was therefore very much open to question. Yet for all of this Anglo-Spanish antagonism, Spain’s dominant position on both sides of the Atlantic had still not yet been seriously challenged. The 1589 Portugal expedition, launched to capitalise on the momentum of the previous year’s Armada defence, failed either to permanently cripple Spain as a naval power or to effectively promote internal dissension on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>8</sup> Equally, in the two decades since the Gilbert and Raleigh patents had been issued, England had still failed to establish a single successful colony on the western side of the Atlantic. Since England was as yet unable to impose itself as a *de facto* authority in the New World, any claim its proponents hoped to make over territory there still had to be presented in *de jure* form – albeit with no fixed authority having yet replaced the papacy’s former role in determining such disputes.<sup>9</sup>

This delicate situation is reflected in several aspects of Hakluyt’s handling of the Anglo-Spanish contest in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations*, dealing with voyages to “all parts of the Newfound World of America, or the West Indies” (PN2 III: Title page). The volume’s dedicatory epistle demands “a good and Christian peace” with Spain, while at the same time presenting its contents as contributing to the ongoing war effort: “I haue vsed the vttermost of my best endeouour, to get, and hauing gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way auaille vs or annoy them” (PN2 III: Sig. A2v). Hakluyt’s editorial activity is presented in terms which, as Mary Fuller notes, “put it in the same category of difficulty and effort as that actual voyaging which he never performed” (1995:153). The publication of Spanish “secrets” – including two “rutters” or confidential navigational guides to the West Indies, at the end of a section detailing over three decades of illicit English

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<sup>8</sup> On the aims of the Portugal expedition, see Wernham (1951).

<sup>9</sup> For Hakluyt’s rejection of the bull *Inter caetera*, and of papal authority more generally in determining sovereignty over the sea, see Pirillo (2012:181-82).

trade and plunder in this region – is presented by Hakluyt as a personal intervention in the conflict between the two sides (PN2 III:603-613, 613-627).

Yet Hakluyt also knew that his country could not impose its will on Spain by force with any certainty. Weaker economically and unproven as a military aggressor, England could not yet forsake subtler methods of establishing territorial claims in the New World. Hakluyt was not new to either geopolitics or propaganda. As chaplain to the English ambassador in Paris between 1584 and 1589 – during which years the proxy war in the West Indies transferred into open conflict in European seas and ports – he reported regularly to Elizabeth's Principal Secretary (and chief spy-master) Sir Francis Walsingham on matters including the activities there of the former Spanish ambassador to England, Bernardino de Mendoza.<sup>10</sup> Over the same period, Hakluyt was directly involved with Raleigh's Virginia enterprise, contributing a considerable amount of promotional material including the extensive manuscript prospectus now known as "The Discourse of Western Planting," which he presented in person to Elizabeth in October 1584 (Hakluyt 1993).

The "Discourse" is a sustained piece of original writing – the longest such piece Hakluyt is known to have produced. This makes it an entirely different kind of work to *The Principall Navigations*, which loosely re-packages around six hundred mainly independently-produced travel narratives and documents into regionally-defined, chronologically-ordered sequences. In composing the former, Hakluyt had available to him all the rhetorical strategies that a "sometime Master of Arts" at Oxford will have been trained to use.<sup>11</sup> However, as editor rather than author of the latter, his influence over its final text was necessarily exerted in a much different manner – principally via the hints he could insert at various points in the paratext, the text around the text such as intertitles and marginal notes (MacCrossan 2012:139-151). In the case

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<sup>10</sup> For details of this relationship, culminating in Hakluyt's dedication of the first edition of *The Principall Navigations* to Walsingham in 1589, and of Hakluyt's other activities during this period, see D.B. and A.M. Quinn's "A Hakluyt Chronology." (1974a:1:277-303).

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of Hakluyt's use of the authorial freedom afforded by the "Discourse" format in constructing an anti-Spanish colonial programme, see Borge (2012).

of a particular five-item cluster of texts, centred on activities on the west coast of North America, an especially intensive form of paratextual framing can be detected. The organisation and presentation – and, in a sense, even the very existence – of this cluster reflects the sensitivity of the legal pressures surrounding England's relatively late entry into New World colonisation.

David Quinn has described Hakluyt's first collection of voyaging material, *Diuers Voyages Touching the Discouerie of America* (1582), as an attempt "to establish the English title to North America as a next step towards the justification of the Gilbert enterprise" (1967:30). He suggests that the components of *Diuers Voyages* are arranged into a "logical sequence," the conclusion of which is the justice of the English territorial claims (30). Just such a "logical sequence" appears to be in place in the section of the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* documenting early Spanish expeditions northwards beyond the Pacific coast of Mexico, and Drake's later passage in the same direction during his circumnavigation of 1577-1580. A number of deviations from Hakluyt's standard model of arranging largely unmediated second-hand texts in strict chronological order together suggest that this whole section has been constructed specifically in order to bolster the legal status of England's claim to sovereignty (through Drake) against that of Spain (through two *conquistadors* from the time of Cortés). This is partly a matter of selection, but also reflects specific interventions into the text which add significant emphasis to the English claim.

If the narratives of Drake's circumnavigation are accurate, he and his men arrived at "Nova Albion," a site on the Pacific coast of North America previously unvisited by Europeans, on 17 June 1579.<sup>12</sup> Within a few days, the reports indicate, and at the request of the indigenous people, "in the name, and to the vse of Her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Countrey in his hands" (PN2 III:442). Preceding by several years Gilbert's disastrous voyage to Newfoundland, this was England's first formal claim to an American possession.<sup>13</sup> A narrative of the whole circumnavigation,

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<sup>12</sup> The focus of this article is textual rather than historical. It therefore makes no attempt to establish the actual site of Nova Albion, or to judge between the many detailed investigations that have been made into this issue.

<sup>13</sup> Although Gilbert had by this date been in possession of his patent for a year, Drake could have had no knowledge of this fact, having left England on 13 December 1577.

"The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577," appeared as a late addition to the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, and was reprinted in the second edition (PN1 643A-L; PN2 III:730-742). The second edition also privileges the Nova Albion leg of Drake's expedition by reproducing the extract describing it as a stand-alone narrative, re-contextualised within a discrete section (PN2 III:397-447).<sup>14</sup>

A freshly-devised intertitle for this newly-separate item summarises the who, where, what, why, and how of the events it describes:

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the hauen of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueua Espanna, to the Northwest of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discovering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Maiestie, and named it Noua Albion. (PN2 III:440)

Although the agent here is Drake, the intertitle – with care reminiscent of the alteration in Raleigh's patent to distinguish the sovereign right of "possessing" from the subordinate, practical business of "inhabiting" – makes clear that the ultimate beneficiary is Elizabeth I. The location is at 38 degrees of northerly latitude, the territory is "rich" and "excellent," and the submission is voluntary, but also cemented by an explicit performative speech-act: an act of naming. This intertitle thus introduces a number of ways in which the narrative operates within the conventions established over the preceding decades of Spanish conquest in the New World. The naming of "Nova Albion" referred to at the end of the intertitle has a clear model in Spanish Imperial practice, dating back to Columbus's foregrounding of this ritual when encountering a new island during his first voyage ("and so to each one I gave a new name") (Jane

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<sup>14</sup> The "Nova Albion" narrative (PN2 III:440-442) is drawn from the part of the "Famous Voyage" narrative found at PN1 643G-I and PN2 III:736-738.

1988:2).<sup>15</sup> Similarly, in the wake of Spain's geopolitically-transformative extractions of gold and silver in South America, the promise of "rich minerall matter" is plausible and attractive. It is also essential in attempting to draw investment, whether state or private, for future expeditions to make permanent Drake's claim of "dominion." Since Drake himself – the individual to whom the residents reportedly "did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines" – had died in the interim, the outcome of such a venture would be less predictable, and would have to be extremely lucrative to be an attractive investment – more so than, say, the raiding of ships and towns on which Drake himself and others such as the "Privateering" Earl of Cumberland had focused in intervening years. But most urgently, the intertitle foregrounds the issue of the legal status of Nova Albion at the time of Drake's landing there, by emphasising its precise location at 38 degrees of northerly latitude, and its having been acquired by Drake via voluntary submission by a local "Lord," with no evidence of any prior or active Spanish claim to the region. For Drake's claim to have had any legitimacy even to an English audience, the land had to be proven to be – in the words of Gilbert's patent – "not actually possessed of any Christian Prince or people." It is toward proving this un-possessioned status that the bulk of Hakluyt's editorial labour in this section of his collection can be seen to have been directed.

The "Nova Albion" narrative begins with Drake, having already passed through the Straights of Magellan and ransacked a number of Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast of South America, pausing to carry out repairs on his ship at an island eight degrees north of the equator, before striking a final blow against a Spanish American possession, at Huatulco ("Guatulco") at fifteen degrees fifty minutes latitude. Seeking a route back to England, he chooses attempting to cross the Pacific and round the Cape of Good Hope rather than trying to retrace his outward route via the Straights. The remainder of the narrative, spanning a mere 1,800 words, records how he sails northward for a significant distance, southward again, lands, encounters the indigenous population, observes a ceremony among them which results in the spontaneous offer of dominion to

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<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of this act of "pure linguistic formalism" see Greenblatt (1991:52-85).



him, surveys the wealth of this new acquisition, and conducts his own ceremony of possession-taking.

The narrative concludes by suggesting: “It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place” (*PN2* III:442).<sup>16</sup> This is a curious sentence in the context of this item. Its sudden switch from reporting the events sequentially from an eye-witness perspective to articulating a much broader, definitively historical viewpoint marks a dramatic change in tone that is cut off (by the ending of the excerpt) as soon as it occurs. However this statement is also remarkably fragile, considering the key role it seeks or is made to play in buttressing the legitimacy of Drake’s (and England’s) right to engage in imperial activity in that region. There is superficial force in the doubly-articulated assertion that Spaniards “had never bene in” and “neither did ever” enter the area, augmented by the technically-toned (though imprecise) buffer of “by many degrees to the Southwards.” But the authority or even the origin of the statement as a whole is unsecured, clouded in the irrevocably ambiguous opening “It seemeth.” In its bald functionality, this sentence embodies the drive apparent throughout the whole “Nova Albion” section to minimise and contain the extent of earlier Spanish explorations in nearby regions so as to secure the conceptual availability of the tract of land that Drake is reported to have accepted and claimed for England.

The framing of Nova Albion’s availability is both a structural and a semantic operation. It employs all aspects of editorial control, from the broadest tools – selection, ordering, excerpting – to a much subtler, finer polishing – the rewording of individual phrases, or the addition of specific, short, timely marginal notes. The intertitle with which the “Nova Albion” section opens begins a process whereby it is suggested that a significant distinction be drawn between the achievements of Drake and those of his predecessors:

The First and Second Discouery of the gulfe of California, and of the Sea-coast on the Northwest or backside of America, lying to the West of New Mexico, Cibola and Quiuira, together with Sir

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<sup>16</sup> This line is taken directly from the full ‘Famous Voyage’ narrative, and is not a fresh interpolation. See *PN1* Sig. Mmm8 and *PN2* III:738.

Francis Drakes landing and taking possession vpon Noua Albion in the behalfe of the Crowne of England, and the notable voyage of Francis Gaule; Wherein amongst many other memorable matters is set downe the huge bredth of the Ocean sea from China and Japan to the Northwest parts of America, in the 38. and 40. degrees. (PN2 III:397)

While recognition is given to the fact that others had ventured on missions of “discovery” in this region prior to that of the Englishman, only Drake’s “taking possession” is acknowledged. This is a significant omission, since the narratives of both “The First and Second Discover[ies],” led by Francisco de Ulloa (“Francis Vlloa”) and Hernando de Alarcón (“Fernando Alarchon”) respectively, contain numerous references to that specific type of action.

The Ulloa narrative recalls an exploratory expedition that took place in 1539-1540.<sup>17</sup> Composed by Francisco Preciado, it explicitly describes ceremonies of possession-taking being performed at several locations, yet it is framed in a way that combats any suggestion that Drake’s claim could have encroached on that of Ulloa (PN2 III:399, 400, 401, 404, 420).<sup>18</sup> Primarily, this is achieved through the addition of marginal notes to the Ulloa narrative in places where they do not occur in Hakluyt’s acknowledged source, the third volume of Giovanni Battista Ramusio’s collection of *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Ramusio 1556:3:339v-354).<sup>19</sup> These notes help to systematically demarcate the limits of Ulloa’s exploration, making clearer the extent to which Drake can be shown to have reached territory still unknown to Europeans – thirty eight degrees latitude, according to the intertitle of the Drake extract. In one such moment, which anticipates the careful framing of Drake as a surrogate for his

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<sup>17</sup> “A relation of the discovery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble Fernando Cortez Marques of the Vally, made with three ships; The one called Santa Agueda of 120. tunnes, the other the Trinitie of 35. tunnes, and the thirde S. Thomas of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worshipfull knight Francis de Vlloa borne in the Citie of Merida. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by M. Iohn Baptista Ramusio” (PN2 III:397-424).

<sup>18</sup> An alternative narrative of this expedition, under Ulloa’s name, but not published by Ramusio, was accompanied by seven written acts of possession, formally notarised by Pedro de Palencia. See Wagner (1929:46-49).

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of Hakluyt’s engagement with Ramusio’s text, see Small (2012:45-55).

sovereign Elizabeth I, the narrative shows Ulloa symbolically performing the imperial speech-act within a context of two layers of superior authority: his immediate general Hernán Cortés, and their ultimate monarch, Charles V. “[H]ere the Captaine tooke possession for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Maiestie” (PN2 III:401). The marginal note here responds by confirming the location of this event as being well south of Drake’s own, similar performance: “Ancon de S. Andres, or, The hauen of S. Andrew in 32 degrees.” On another occasion, a pair of consecutive notes distill the narrative’s account of attempting for two days to sail northward from the Isla de Cedros in difficult conditions into two cold statements: “Thirtie degrees of Northerly latitude” as the starting position, and “Twentie leagues beyond the Ile of Cedars” (i.e. less than a degree further north) as the finish. These notes occur only alongside Hakluyt’s translation, not in his Italian source.<sup>20</sup>

A less subtle device impacting on the way in which the Ulloa narrative influences the reception of the Drake narrative is the unmarked interpolation of an entirely new paragraph to the end of the former’s main body text:

Moreouer after the departure of the *Santa Agueda* for Nueua Espanna, the General Francis Villoa in the ship called the *Trinitie* proceeding on his dicouery coasted the land vntill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno standing in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newspaine, because he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him. (PN2 III:424)

As elsewhere in the narrative, this statement of quantifiable Spanish futility in pushing northward (relative to Drake’s later achievement) inspires a marginal note recapitulating its facts: “Cabo del Enganno in 30 degrees & a half.” But there is an issue with this concluding paragraph: it has no counterpart in the source text. Rather it appears, like the marginal notes, to have been added to the *Principal Navigations* text specifically to demarcate the limit of Ulloa’s exploration, and to preserve the un-possessioned status of Nova Albion in anticipation of the subsequent Drake narrative. This form of

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<sup>20</sup> I follow David and Alison Quinn in treating the 1556 edition of Ramusio’s *Navigazioni et Viaggi* as the source of the Ulloa and Alarcón narratives. See Quinn and Quinn (1974b:2:444-445). A reference to a woodcut of tall sea-weed on f.353-v in that edition is present in the English translation, though this image is not. See PN2 III:424.

interpolation is quite rare in *The Principal Navigations*. Unlike Ramusio, Hakluyt does not programmatically couch his materials in original *discorsi* or commentaries. That he chose to so blatantly – and so decisively – supplement the record here further demonstrates his investment in the framing of this section.

This process can be seen to continue as the sequence progresses to the narrative of a second *conquistador*, Alarcón, whose 1540 expedition to the head of the Gulf of California follows Ulloa's sequentially just as it did chronologically (PN2 III:425-439; from Ramusio 1556:3:363-370-v). As a narrative of election to governorship by popular acclamation, the Alarcón text provides a useful precedent for Drake's claim to have been freely offered lordship over the people of "Nova Albion": at a key moment in the account a local leader is reported to instruct his countrymen, "This is our Lord [...] let vs willingly serve this lord, which wisheth vs so well" (PN2 III:431). Particularly encouraging to English Protestant audiences wishing to emulate Spanish conversion rates is a marginal note observing: "These people are greatly inclined to learne the Christian faith" (PN2 III:431). As it turns out, the version of Christianity apparently communicated by Alarcón to people with whom he shared little linguistic common ground was very light on doctrine: "And I tolde him that hee was in heauen, and that hee was called Iesus Christ, and I went no farther in diuinitie[...]" (PN2 III:430). Moreover, the version of "Christianity" to which they are allegedly "greatly inclined" is an oddly distorted form, featuring elements of a personal, paganistic cult. In this somewhat bizarre narrative, Alarcón is represented as spreading Christianity via a heretical fallacy of posing as the son of the sun, and in the process he is also offered dominion over this people:

Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and sayd, seeing thou doest vs so much good, and wilt not haue vs to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receiue thee for our Lord, and alwayes serue thee. (PN2 III:429)

This declaration makes it clear that Alarcón has been accepted not for what he is (a mortal), but rather for what he has claimed to be (the progeny of a deity). Nonetheless, when the Nova Albion narrative shows Drake similarly benefitting from a spontaneous offer of sovereignty, this kind of behaviour seems more plausible

than it would otherwise without the Alarcón narrative's having set a pattern for it to map onto.

Valuable as it is in providing almost a model for Drake's means of acquisition, however, it would have been counterproductive for the Alarcón narrative to risk being seen to pre-empt Drake's claim. A particularly threatening statement as regards the English claim occurs shortly before the end of the account, when the narrator attests "I bring with me many actes of taking possession of all that Coast" (PN2 III:439). With no references to latitude in the text to provide material from which to construct restrictive marginal notes, and in a context in which understanding of the geography of that part of the world was still far from complete, the possibility that Alarcón's acts of possession might provide a pretext for over-riding that of Drake could not be risked. Instead, an implied limit is supplied by the mechanism of inserting a short "extract of a Spanish letter written from Pueblo de los Angeles in Nueua Espanna in October 1597" (PN2 III:439). In this, more than forty folio pages of evidence of exploration by Ulloa and Alarcón is written off in the course of little more than one hundred and fifty words. Reporting that the viceroy of Mexico was preparing a fresh party of *conquistadors* to take possession of California in 1597, its implication is that almost two decades after Drake's taking possession of Nova Albion, Spain has never actually possessed this territory. For all that Spanish forces "haue bene sent [...] to conquer" to the North, the letter admits they have always been "forced backe" (echoing Hakluyt's interpolation at the end of the Ulloa narrative), an apparent admission that the "actes of taking possession" by Ulloa and Alarcón were never solidified.

It is important to notice that this letter appears in an incorrect chronological position, upsetting Hakluyt's standard practice established across three folio volumes of allowing items within regional sections to follow each other in the simple order of time. Both the Drake narrative that follows it (1579) and the narrative of Francisco Gali ("Francis Gualle") that concludes the "Nova Albion" section (1582-1584) significantly pre-date the letter. This incongruity creates a tension in the volume's table of contents, where the letter is placed last in this section, in its correct chronological position, resulting in a disordering of the otherwise smoothly ascending sequence of page numbers (PN2 III: Sig. A6r-v). The letter's out-of-

place insertion at this point in the Nova Albion sequence testifies to the anxiety that the Alarcón narrative in particular presents in terms of the question of precedence.

It is with this editorially-enhanced sense of California and the coast northward of it being as yet *res nullius* that this sequence finally arrives at the actual narrative of Drake's own imperial moment. When the people of Nova Albion, "making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects" are said to have offered Drake their "supplication that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king," a context has been established showing the land to have been still legally un-possessed by European Christians (PN2 III:441).

The care with which the *conquistadors'* northward push is delineated in this section – particularly in the Ulloa narrative, where the marginal notes continually keep track of landmarks' relative distance from each other in leagues – is put into sharp relief by a curious discrepancy between "The Famous Voyage" narrative and this "Nova Albion" extract. In both, Drake's journey as far north as Nova Albion is described as unplanned. Being at a certain moment becalmed, he is apparently left with no choice but to continue sailing northwards ("he saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sayle some what Northerly to get a winde," PN2 III:440). At this point the two narratives of the voyage diverge. While "The Famous Voyage" says they sailed "600. leagues at the least for a good winde," the "Nova Albion" narrative says Drake "sayled 800 leagues at the least" (PN2 III:737, 440). The difference is significant, in the order of six hundred miles, with the larger number greatly increasing the plausibility of the section's implied argument that Drake's "faire and good Bay" was clearly further north than any territory already claimed by Spain (PN2 III:440).

It is admittedly impossible to prove that the change from 600 to 800 was deliberate. Given the vagaries of the hand-press process in sixteenth-century printing, allowance must inevitably be left for the possibility that the similarly-shaped numbers 6 and 8 may have simply been exchanged mistakenly. Such a slip could have been introduced by any one of the many people involved in the final production of the text, from Hakluyt himself, to one of the assistants

Quinn suspects he may have had, to any of the surely many printers and apprentices who will have worked on a text of this size (Hakluyt 1965:1:xviii-xx). Yet it seems extraordinary that this politically very sensitive error should have made it into circulation unnoticed. Julia Schleck rightly advises caution when assuming the extent of Hakluyt's "high documentary standards," but an error of this importance nonetheless seems incompatible with the care taken to correct another, relatively insignificant sequential mix-up in the "Nova Albion" narrative during its extraction from the longer "Famous Voyage" account (2006:788). That the shorter extract was scrutinised and, where necessary, altered in preparation for its independent resetting is apparent from the re-ordering of the moments at which Drake conducted his attack on Huatulco and the repair of his ship at the Isle of Cano. In the "Famous Voyage" narrative it appears that the repairs at Cano, which lies off the coast of Costa Rica, were undertaken only *after* the sacking of Huatulco (PN2 III:736). The versions of "The Famous Voyage" narrative in both editions of *The Principal Navigations* agree on this point.<sup>21</sup> A contrasting view, however, is found in a report of English activities in the New World by the Portuguese captive Lopez Vaz, also printed in *The Principal Navigations*, which includes a section on Drake's circumnavigation in which the Cano stopover is described as preceding the Huatulco raid (PN2 III:793). Vaz claims to have based this part of his history on the testimony of the experienced Portuguese pilot and navigator, Nuño da Silva, who accompanied Drake through the Straights of Magellan as a prisoner, and whose own narrative appears immediately following "The Famous Voyage" in the 1600 volume (PN2 III:742-748). The Silva text affirms Vaz's sequence (PN2 III:747).<sup>22</sup> This question of sequence becomes significant when it is observed that, in spite of its having been sourced from "The Famous Voyage," the "Nova Albion" narrative agrees instead with the Silva/Vaz chronology in placing the Cano stop *before* the Huatulco raid (PN2 III:440). Were the "Nova Albion" narrative to be merely cosmetically different from its source, it

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<sup>21</sup> The island at which Drake's party effect their repairs is called "the island of Canon" in the 1589 text, and is identified as "The Island of Cockles" in the marginal note, but all refer to the same event. See PN1 643H

<sup>22</sup> Although the Silva narrative never actually mentions Cano by name, a positive identification is made in the margin, supplying further evidence of these having been created with analytical, rather than simply emphatic, intent.

would suggest little of consequence. A factual amendment, however, indicates that the preparation of the “Nova Albion” text involved a more thorough process of revision and a deeper level of scrutiny. The fact that this sequential error has been corrected in the “Nova Albion” text demonstrates that the text of “The Famous Voyage” was re-evaluated, either with reference to maps or else in comparison with the evidence of Silva/Vaz. The degree of care taken over this relatively unimportant detail raises the existence of the 600/800 slip particularly remarkable.

The final item in the “Nova Albion” section contributes both to the overall argument of the section as it is framed, and also to the visibility of this framing (PN2 III:442-447). Taken from the 1598 English translation of the Dutch merchant Jan Huyghen van Linschoten’s 1596 *Itinerario* (a source which, like Ramusio’s *Navigazioni et viaggi*, Hakluyt draws on several times in *The Principal Navigations*), this is a narrative of the voyage of Gali across the Pacific from Mexico to Southeast Asia and back between 1582 and 1584 (Linschoten 1598:411-416).<sup>23</sup> Since its destination and the area on which it focuses for two of its three chapters (approximately three-quarters of its length) is not California, but rather the Philippines and Macau, it is out of place in Hakluyt’s collection – not chronologically, as in the letter from Pueblo de los Angeles, but rather geographically. It would belong more properly either closer to the end of the third volume, among the longer circumnavigation voyages of Drake and Thomas Cavendish (which follow similar routes across the Pacific), and the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis’s discussions of affairs in East Asia, or in the second part of the second volume, with Peter Martyr d’Anghiera’s reports on China and Japan. Either of these more geographically-appropriate locations would make a greater proportion of the information it contains more easily and usefully accessible. Its inclusion in the “Nova Albion” section therefore suggests that the information it provides on the American coast of the Pacific must serve some particular function in that specific context.

As elsewhere in this section, the paratextual framing of this narrative would seem to support this assumption. Although the original Dutch edition of the *Itinerario* includes numerous printed

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<sup>23</sup> Chapters 1-3 in the Hakluyt version are Chapters 52-54 in Linschoten.



marginal notes, these are absent in the English edition which Hakluyt used as his source. The appearance of marginal notes in the version of the Gali narrative in *The Principal Navigations* therefore suggests creative design rather than mechanical, printing-house retransmission. This seems particularly so once the relative paucity of marginal annotation in the first two chapters (dealing with the outward voyage and observations of Southeast Asia) is contrasted with the sudden density of notes accompanying the third chapter. The first of a key cluster occurs just as Gali is describing his first (and most northerly) point of contact with the North American coast on his return voyage. It reads “Iapon 900. leagues distant from the coast of America in 37 degrees and an halfe” (PN2 III:446). The two facts in this short note serve two different agendas. The reference to “900. leagues” emphasizes Gali’s observation that the Northern Pacific was much wider and more open than previously thought. This discovery made more plausible hopes for a Northeast or Northwest Passage, which for Hakluyt’s purposes would eliminate the need to traverse Spanish waters to reach eastern trading partners – not to mention this new possession of Nova Albion. This would increase the potential value of Drake’s acquisition and therefore also its attractiveness to future investors.<sup>24</sup> Hakluyt’s investment in this argument is evidenced by the entry for the Gali narrative in the volume’s table of contents:

The memorable voyage of Francis Gualle a Spanish capitaine and pilot, vndertaken at the appointment of the viceroy of New Spaine, from the hauen of Acapulco in the sayd prouince, to the islands of the Luçones or the Philippinas, vnto the hauen of Manilla, and from thence to the hauen of Macao in China; and from Macao by the Lequeos, the isles of Iapan, and other isles to the East of Iapan, and likewise by the Northwest part of America in 37 degrees and ½ backe againe to Acapulco, begun the 10 of March 1582, & ended 1584. Out of which voyage, besides great probabilities of a North, Northwest, or Northeast passage, may euidently be gathered, that the sea betweene Iapan and America is by many hundred leagues broader, and the land betweene Cape Mendocino and Cape California, is many hundred leagues narrower, then we finde them to be in the ordinary maps and relations. (PN2 III: Sig.A6r-v)

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<sup>24</sup> Hakluyt included a series of documents concerning the Northeast Passage and English voyages in its direction toward the end of the first volume of his collection. See PN2 I:509-514.

From the beginning until the dates of the voyage, this is taken almost word for word from the on-page intertitle, which itself is simply replicating the corresponding intertitle in the English edition of Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The final passage however, goes far beyond the standard function of a contents entry (stating the name of the voyager, the route or destination, and the date travelled), by concluding with a statement of the significance of this text in terms of wider navigational debates.

The only other significant addition to the intertitle sourced from the Linschoten text in the contents entry is the reference to the critical number "37 degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ." The importance of this figure to Hakluyt is readily apparent in the fact that it – not the latitude of Manila, Macau or any of the other Asian destinations – is the only one to receive mention here, but its sensitivity becomes much more apparent in the context of the cluster of marginal notes discussed above. As it happens, this latitude is not actually mentioned in the immediate vicinity of the "900. leagues" note, making it an external addition to Gali's testimony at this point. In fact, when it does occur a few lines later it is actually accompanied by a marginal note of its own, stating for a second time the crucial co-ordinate of "Seuen and thirty deg. and an halfe" (PN<sub>2</sub> III:446). This use of two marginal notes to highlight the same fact betrays its crucial importance. For these repeated references to 37 $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees are a continuation of earlier efforts in this section to pen Spanish activity below the 38 degrees level of Nova Albion, defending the principle of Drake's claim even though he left no occupying force to secure it. The particular care with which this margin is defended in this instance perhaps also reflects its narrowness, with half a degree of latitude equalling only a little over 30 miles.

That the Gali narrative is an integrated element in the framing of Nova Albion is clear from the next note in this cluster. While Gali is precise about the latitude of his landfall, he does not refer to it by any name. Instead it is distinguished in his narrative by a particular natural phenomenon, certain offshore "drifts of rootes, leaues of trees, reeds, and other leaues like figge leaues." By means of a marginal direction to "Read Francis Vlloa chap. 16," Hakluyt seems to link this observation with the tall sea-growing weeds discussed twice in Ulloa as being in the vicinity of the Isla de Cedros, at the much safer remove from Nova Albion of "28 deg. and a quarter"

(PN2 III:418, 424). Hakluyt is here explicitly leading his readers to engage with a framework of cross-references between the various component texts in this section, a process which will lead them to create a mental map of this disputed region based primarily on the co-ordinates and conclusions to which he has given prominence.

Gali's progress away from Nova Albion continues to be tracked in the next marginal note, as his journey south is stated to have taken him to "Cabo de San Lucas in 22. deg.," but it is the following note which proves particularly helpful to the establishment of a case that Spain had never been in a position to stake a claim to Nova Albion prior to Drake's. The text at this point describes three havens at latitudes of  $30\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $28\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $23\frac{1}{2}$  degrees – all safely below the critical 38 degree level – and helpfully describes them as "now lately found out." This testimony, dated several years after Drake's Pacific activities, would seem to confirm that the Spanish had only recently achieved even this limited knowledge. Typically (at least for this section of *The Principal Navigations*) this inference is emphasised in the marginal note's echoing "Hauens lately found out."

Drake's right to claim Nova Albion for England is validated throughout this sequence by the suggestion that Spanish efforts to establish authority had been limited in terms not only of their success, but particularly of their scope. The marginal notes in the Ulloa and Gali narratives, and the letter from Pueblo de los Angeles, firmly demarcate the extent of Spanish progress, so as to define Nova Albion as territory over which no European had established authority.

It should always be remembered, however, that *The Principal Navigations* is a complex text composed of a heterogeneous array of components. This analysis of a specific cluster of these component texts is not presented as being typical, or even especially representative, of the wider collection. It shows how paratextual framing could, along with more intrusive editorial techniques, be used to try to marshal a series of discrete items in order to bolster a particular view of English navigational success. However, while most of these techniques are visible (at a much lower density) elsewhere in the collection, the evident care with which this particular section can be seen to have been assembled is exceptional. If nothing else, the prohibitive size of the collection seems to have prevented the level of sustained shaping and polishing visible here

from having been implemented consistently. That in itself renders the care on display in this section all the more significant. For all the time and energy that he spent and would spend before and after the publication of his great collections in promoting English settlement along North America's Atlantic coast, here it is to this question of Nova Albion that Hakluyt devotes the most exceptional, obvious effort.

It is unnecessary here to attempt to define Hakluyt's ultimate goal in framing this section as he did. David Harris Sacks (2006) and David Boruchoff (2009) both sensibly caution against assuming exclusively secular motivations for his editorial labours, but there were certainly also solid geopolitical reasons why England would have wished to acquire a foothold in the Americas beyond the reach of Spanish control. Whatever the immediate motivation, or combination of motivations, it is certain that the textual traces discussed above convey the contours of Hakluyt's engagement with this set of materials at least as surely as they are made to demarcate the limits of Spanish exploration in the region they describe.

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# Peninsula Lost: Mapping Milton's Celtiberian cartographies\*

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## ABSTRACT

In *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634), John Milton depicts Comus "ripe and frolic of his full grown age, Roving the *Celtic* and *Iberian* fields." While Milton's complex engagement with Portugal and Spain has been the subject of some discussion by critics, few attempts have been made to place his writings on the Iberian Peninsula within the wider context of his theories of climatic influence and colonialism, beyond the "western design" against Spanish colonial possessions. Anti-Catholicism and anti-imperialism may be the key to Milton's Cromwellian correspondence with Spain and Portugal on behalf of the English republic in the 1650s but his Iberian interests can be viewed too as part of a deeper excavation of British and Irish histories. The purpose of this article – its "roving commission" – is to explore the presence of the Peninsula in Milton's work from "Lycidas" (1637) through to *The History of Britain* (1670) in relation to recent archipelagic readings of Milton, examining the ways in which Celtic and Iberian concerns are intertwined in Milton (as indeed they were for his predecessor, Edmund Spenser).

KEYWORDS: Britain; Catholicism; Celtic; colonialism; Cromwell; Empire; England; Europe; Iberia; Ireland; John Milton; monarchy; Naples; "New World;" Portugal; Revolution; Spain; translation.

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This exploratory essay excavates key aspects of John Milton's Iberian interests, examining the ways in which his knowledge of and dealings with Portugal and Spain impinged on his poetry and prose, and suggesting that English and British imperial aspirations, from Ireland to the "New World," compromised and complicated the politics of the Commonwealth, making Cromwell's colonial republicanism less distinct from the imperial monarchy of Charles I than Milton might have wished. At the same time the argument offered here, drawing on recent "Archipelagic" readings of Milton, suggests that his attitude to Empire is revealed not just in his writings on Portugal and Spain but also in his treatment of England's most significant colonial project, the Plantation of Ulster, making Milton's Irish *Observations* and the Spanish Treaty (1652) and Declaration (1655) documents deserving of a close comparative analysis such as is beyond the scope of the present intervention, although some intriguing advances have been made in that direction already (Lim 1998:196-204).

The entry under "Celtiberian" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* reads: "Of or pertaining to Celtiberia, an ancient province of Spain lying between the Tagus and the Ebro, or to its inhabitants the Celtiberi, a union of Celts with Iberians." The term reappeared in English translations of Lucan and Livy around 1600 in reference to Rome's Celtiberian Wars. While Milton's complex engagement with Portugal and Spain has been the subject of some discussion by critics, few attempts have been made to place his writings on the Iberian Peninsula in the wider context of his theories of climatic influence and colonialism, beyond the "western design" against Spanish colonial possessions. Anti-Catholicism and anti-imperialism are key to Milton's Cromwellian correspondence with Spain and Portugal on behalf of the English republic in the 1650s but his Iberian interests can be viewed too as part of an ongoing excavation of British and Irish histories. Milton's interests in Spain and Portugal are bound up with his writings on Ireland, and future research ought to focus in a sustained manner on such links. What I aim to do here is more modest, an approach I hope is justified both by the relative novelty of the topic and by the specific context of a plenary paper written for a conference. The purpose of this essay – its "roving commission" – is to explore the presence of the Iberian Peninsula in Milton's work from "Lycidas" (1637) to *The History of Britain* (1670), examining the ways in which Celtic and Iberian concerns are



intertwined for Milton, as they were for his predecessor, Edmund Spenser (Carroll 1996; Fuchs 2002; Herron 2002).

As John Shawcross acknowledges in his study of the poet's influence or as he calls it "presence" in that region, "little has been written about Milton and Iberia" (1998:41). It is a skeleton topic, but not a ghost topic. References to Spain and Portugal in Milton's work are few and fleeting, but have some significance in relation to his larger concerns. The earliest allusions are to be found in the poetry, in *Comus* (1634) and *Lycidas* (1637; published 1645), a lament for a loss of life on the Irish Seas, with its movement between the Hebrides and Anglesey and Namancos (Nemancos) and Bayona, and its allusion to "Fountain *Arethuse*" (line 85) in the Sicilian city of Syracuse, "then ruled from Spanish Naples" (Campbell and Corns 2008:121). Lawrence Lipking has linked "*Lycidas*" to *Os Lusíads*, the imperial epic of Portuguese writer Vaz de Camões, first published in 1572 and translated into English in 1655 (Lipking 1996). Milton's use of the word "Namancos" (line 162) has drawn puzzlement. In 1907, Albert Cook explained the reference as a misreading of "Nemancos," an error that first appeared in a 1606 map (1907:124-128). Nemancos is "one of the 36 archpresbyteries – an Englishman might call them rural deaneries – into which the archbishopric of Santiago de Compostella is divided" (Cook 1907:126).

In *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634), Milton depicts Comus "ripe and frolic of his full grown age, Roving the *Celtic* and *Iberian* fields." In his note on this line in his edition of *The Complete Poems*, Gordon Campbell glosses "*Celtic* and *Iberian*" as "*French* and *Spanish*" (1980:493), but for Philip Schwyzer, mindful that it was first performed at Ludlow Castle on the Anglo-Welsh border, the Celtiberian connection comes closer to home, so that "the background of Comus, who has retired to Britain after 'Roving the Celtic, and Iberian fields' [...] closely resembles Spenser's genealogy of the Irish race. [...] Untamed, seductive, Ibero-Celtic in origin, Comus blends features of the wild Irishman with characteristics more specifically appropriate to the Welsh border" (1997:35). Likewise, for Achsa Guibbory "The references to the 'Celtic and Iberian fields' recall the common belief that many of the Irish had migrated from Spain, which explained their Catholicism and supposed barbarity," as well as playing on the recurrent fear of a Spanish landing in Wales (2006:160).

The prose too contains passing allusions to Iberia. In *The Reason of Church Government* (1641c) Milton writes of the bishops: "if to bring a num and chil stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of minde upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all, if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schisme, they keep away schisme indeed; and by this kind of discipline all *Italy* and *Spaine* is as purely and politickly kept from schisme as *England* hath beene by them" (Milton 1641c:23). In *Areopagitica* (1644), Milton says of the proposed law on licensing: "If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon books" (Milton 1644:19). In *Tetrachordon* (1645), Milton mentions that "the Councel of *Eliberis* [*Elvira*] in *Spain* decreed the husband excommunicat, *If he kept his wife being an adulteress; but if he left her, he might after ten yeares be receav'd into communion, if he retain'd her any while in his house after the adultery known*" (Milton 1645:83). In *Observations Upon the Articles of Peace made with the Irish Rebels* (1649), Milton says of the Belfast Presbytery, "we hold it no more to be *the hedg and bulwark of Religion*, than the Popish and Prelaticall Courts, or the *Spanish Inquisition*" (Milton 1649a:60).

This last reference is in line with Milton's arguments in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), where he attacks tyrants, "whether forren or native:"

For looke how much right the King of *Spaine* hath to govern us at all, so much right hath the King of *England* to govern us tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any league, comming from *Spaine* in person to subdue us or to destroy us, might lawfully by the people of *England* either bee slaine in fight, or put to death in captivity, what hath a native King to plead, bound by so many Covnants, benefits and honours to the welfare of his people. (Milton 1649b:19)

Here Milton adds: "Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the World, neither is it the English Sea that can sever us from that duty and relation: a straiter bond yet there is between fellow-subjects, neighbours, and friends" (Milton 1649b:19).

Also in *The Tenure*, Milton cites the example of the Dutch Republic as an instance of a nation that freed itself from the yoke of empire, as England had at the time of the Reformation, and again from “monarchal pride” (*PL* II.428) in 1649: “In the yeare 1581. the States of *Holland* in a general Assembly at the *Hague*, abjur’d all obedience and subjection to *Philip* King of *Spaine*; [...] From that time, to this no State or Kingdom in the World hath equally prosperd” (Milton 1649b:28). Milton made this point again in 1651 in *A defence of the people of England* (1651; trans. 1692), when he asked his royalist opponent Claudius Salmasius: “did you not remember, that the Commonwealth of the people of *Rome* flourished and became glorious when they had banished their Kings? Could you possibly forget that of the *Low-Countries*? which after it had shook off the yoke of the King of *Spain*, after long and tedious Wars, but Crown’d with success, obtained its Liberty” (Milton 1692:121).

In *Eikonoklastes* (1649; 1650), Milton accused the late king of a Celtiberian conspiracy at the time of the Ulster Rising of 1641, first by trying to rescue Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, “to that end expressly commanding the admittance of new Soldiers into the Tower [...] under pretence for the *Portugall*; though that Ambassador, beeing sent to, utterly deny’d to know of any such Commission from his Maister” (Milton 1650:81), and secondly, by refusing to disband “8000 *Irish* Papists [...] under pretence of lending them to the *Spaniard*; and so kept them undisbanded till very neere the Mounth wherin that Rebellion broke forth. He was also raising Forces in London, pretendedly to serve the *Portugall*, but with intent to seise the Tower” (Milton 1650:90). Milton’s claim that Charles manipulated his Iberian and Hibernian interests, playing them off against one another “under pretence,” is further proof of the intertwined nature of those ideological investments.

In *The History of Britain* (1670), Milton records an intriguing moment in Archipelagic-Iberian relations, part of the myth of Spanish origins for Ireland (Carroll 1996). Of the ancient British king Gurguntius, Milton says that after subduing the Danes: “In his return finding about the *Orkneies* 30 Ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholinus* wrongfully banish’t, as he pleaded, besought him that som part of his Territory might be assign’d them to dwell in, he sent

with them certain of his own men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage" (Milton 1670:24).

Finally, in the posthumously published *A brief history of Moscovia* (1682), Milton wrote: "1584. At the Coronation of *Pheodor* the Emperour, *Ierom Horsey* being then Agent in *Russia*, and call'd for to court with one *Iohn de Wale* a Merchant of the *Netherlands* and a Subject of *Spain*, some of the Nobles would have preferr'd the *Fleming* before the *English*. But to that our Agent would in no case agree, saying he would rather have his Leggs cut off by the Knees, then bring his present in course after a Subject of *Spain*. The Emperour and Prince *Boris* perceiving the controversy, gave order to admit *Horsey* first" (Milton 1682:99-100). A free Englishman was above a Spanish colonial subject in the pecking order.

As well as the allusions to Spain and Portugal in his poetry and prose, we have Milton's involvement in documents drawn up by the Cromwellian regime regarding those two countries in his capacity as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Commonwealth Council of State, a post to which he was appointed on 15 March 1649, just as Cromwell was preparing to lead the English army into Ireland. According to Gordon Campbell, "Milton had a modest competence in the Spanish language, sufficient at least to translate from the Spanish and hold his own in a conversation, but [...] his command of Spanish literature was slight" (1996:131). Most of Milton's work for the Council of State apparently involved rendering English drafts into Latin. Two key documents are the Spanish Treaty of 12 November 1652, entitled *ARTICLES for the Renewing of a Peace and Friendship between the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and his most Serene Majesty the King of Spain; offered by the Council of State to the Ambassador of the said King*, and the 1655 text that supplanted it, *A Declaration of His Highness, by the Advice of His Council; setting forth, on the behalf of this Commonwealth, the Justice of their Cause against Spain*. According to Robert Fallon, the early attribution of the 1655 Declaration to Milton is doubtful, whereas the Spanish Treaty of 12 November 1652 is more certainly Milton's work, albeit administrative rather than authorial (Fallon 1993:99-100).

If Milton appears to have relatively little to say on Iberian issues, then Milton critics are also largely silent on the topic. Recent biographies barely touch on Spain or Portugal. Any mention made is

likely to allude simply to Milton's anti-Catholicism, and the 1655 Cromwellian Declaration once ascribed to Milton – though now cast into doubt – has reinforced that sense of anti-Spanish feeling. Fallon's case for seeing Milton as a key figure in the composition of the draft Spanish treaty of 1652 suggests Milton's main involvement with Spain lay in brokering a peace rather than declaring war.

If Milton's relations with Spain and Portugal are complex, so too are Anglo-Iberian relations in the period as a whole, and indeed Brito-Celtiberian or Archipelagic-Peninsular relations. One focal point of Anglo-Spanish tension in the late sixteenth century was Ireland. England's enlargement into Britain was part of an imperial project – the Western Design – that threatened Iberian domination of the New World. According to Marx, the Cromwellian republic was shipwrecked on Ireland (Marx and Engels 1986:378-379). This claim can be extended: the republic was shipwrecked on Empire.

Two years after the Treaty of Granada, which saw the curtailment of Moorish power in the south of Spain, Spanish-born Pope Alexander VI divided the "New World" between Spain and Portugal in 1493, reinforced by the treaties of Tordesillas and Saragossa in 1494 and 1529. England's Reformation and accompanying declaration of itself as an empire challenged that division. The 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome asserted England's independence from papal jurisdiction: "Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, so hath been accepted in the world" (MacLachlan 1990:66). From the moment it established itself as a separate nation independent of empire – Rome – England simultaneously declared itself an Empire, albeit one consisting of various Tudor "borderlands" – the English Pale in Ireland, the Marches of Wales, and the Pale around Calais. Between the defeat of the Armada in 1588 and the Spanish treaties drawn up by James VI and I in 1604 and Charles I in November 1630, called a "Plenopotency," Anglo-Spanish or Brito-Iberian relations were uneasy (Fallon 1993:95).

In a 1926 essay entitled "Milton in Spain," Edgar Allison Peers wrote, "The history, such as it is, of the vogue of Milton in Spain, is strikingly different from that of the influence of every other Englishman of letters who has up to the present been studied in his relations with Spanish literature," which Peers found unsurprising

since Spain is, he said, "a country which has so little sympathy with the England of the Commonwealth" (1926:169, 183). Yet after Charles I was executed in January 1649, Spain was the first European state to recognise the new republic, "the first European nation to appoint a minister of ambassadorial rank [the experienced diplomat, Alphonso de Cardenas] to the Republic as well as the first to acknowledge Parliament as the sovereign power in England," and as Robert Fallon observes, "Anglo-Spanish relations were quite cordial during the early years of the Republic" (1993:93; 88-89). At that time, Britain and Spain shared a common enemy in Portugal, which asserted its independence in 1640 after 60 years as part of the Iberian Union established by Philip II in 1581.

The new English Republic certainly had hostile relations with Portugal. King John IV supported exiled English royalists (Fallon 1993:43). Behind and between all the negotiations with Spain and arguably Portugal too loomed the spectre of the so-called "New World." As Fallon observes: "Cromwell's vision of a Western Design soon overshadowed all other considerations of peace and war with Spain" (1993:96). Milton was intensely involved in the Spanish negotiations in the early 1650s, but less so after 1654 and he was allegedly not directly involved in relation to Cromwell's declaration of war, which was in fact a public admission that an Anglo-Spanish colonial conflict was already underway. Fallon takes the view that Milton's contribution to the *Declaration* is rendered doubtful in part because the document "itself is a compendium of Spanish abuses against the English and the Indians in the New World, a subject that had no apparent impact upon his imagination" (1993:99-100). This is a debatable point. In both his drafting of the Spanish treaty and in his Irish *Observations* of 1649 Milton could be said to have been preoccupied with precisely such colonial concerns, and David Armitage has shown just how embroiled in Empire Milton was, albeit in Armitage's view as an opponent (1992; 1995). Rodger Martin has traced Milton's interest in the New World from the allusions to Brazil and Peru in *Animadversions* (1641) through to the references to the Incan and Mexican Emperors Atabalipa and Montezuma in *Paradise Lost* (11.407-409) (1998:328; Milton 1641c:29).

Conveniently coinciding with Cromwell's turn against Spain, Milton's nephew John Phillips published in 1656

an English translation of Bartolome de las Casas's *The Tears of the Indians*, a devastating condemnation of Spanish atrocities in America. Estimates of how many Indians died in the years after Cortez's conquest of Mexico vary; Casas's subtitle reads "an historical [...] account of the cruel massacres and slaughter of above twenty-millions of innocent people." (Fallon 1993:99)

Fallon states: "I can bring to mind no reference in *Milton's* poetry or prose to this barbarous destruction of an entire race. Were the Spanish Declaration his work, the passage on the genocide [...] would constitute his sole allusion to it" (Fallon 1993:99, n.65). But is this true? Milton's preoccupation with the "Black Legend" suggests otherwise (Hodgkins 2002). Milton's *Observations* also offers counter-evidence. There his estimate of 200,000 Protestants slain in the Ulster Rising outstrips most contemporary figures and is the kind of claim that "made atrocities against Irish Catholics more likely" (Kerrigan 2008a:227). Milton had also written about an atrocity in "On the Late Massacre at Piedmont" (1655), and the final massacre alluded to on the last page of Cromwell's *Declaration* is "that sad tragedy which was lately acted upon our Brethren in the Valleys of *Piedmont*" (142).

The 1655 *Declaration* was, as Fallon points out, "in effect a declaration of war [...] a statement condemning the Spanish for crimes against the English stretching back to the year of the Armada, and accusing them of treacherously planning to renew the war against England" (1993:88). The murder of Cromwell's Commonwealth ambassador Anthony Ascham in Madrid on 6 June 1650 tainted the peace negotiations (Baldwin 2004; Fallon 1993:91). These negotiations were also tainted by the fact that England/Britain wanted access to the Iberian empire. The *Declaration* is a fascinating text, a rich and complex work, and one that needs to be read alongside the 1649 *Observations* on Ireland, as does the Spanish Treaty, for obvious reasons, since both texts contain detailed comments on disputed articles of negotiation. 1649 was not the absolute break it seemed at first sight. Killing the king did not kill expansionist ambitions. Rather, an imperial monarchy was merely replaced by a colonial republic.

Evidence of continuity within discontinuity occurs in the negotiation of the treaty. As Fallon explains, the 1652 draft was "based largely in wording and particulars on the 1630 document. Some inapplicable articles of the old treaty are omitted and others brought up to date, e.g., in those provisions that require the English

to impose sanctions of one kind or another against a third power, Cardenas simply changed the name of the country from 'Holland,' Spain's old enemy, to 'Portugal' its new one" (1993:95-96). Article 8 of the Spanish Treaty is interesting, as it shows that Empire was a major stumbling block. The draft proposed article reads:

That the People of the Common-Wealth of *England*, and the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, may freely without any Licence or Safe Conduct, General or Special, Sail into each others Islands, Countries, Ports, Towns, or Villages, and Places possessed by either of them respectively and other Parts, as well in *America*, as *Asia* or *Africa*, and there to Traffick, Remain and Trade with all sorts of Wares and Merchandizes, and them at their pleasure, in their own Ships, to Transport to any other Place or Country, any Law made and published by either part to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. (Fallon 1993:235)

The Spanish revision of this article reads: "*The Ambassador propounds instead of this the following Article, That the Subjects of Spain, and the People of England respectively, may freely without any Licence or Safe-Conduct, General or Special, Sail into the Kingdoms, Dominions, Ports, Havens, Towns, and Villages of each other, and that there be free Commerce, except, as hitherto, in the Kingdoms, Provinces, Islands, Ports and Places strengthened with Forts, Lodges, or Castles, and all other possessed by the one or the other Party in the East or West Indies, or other Parts as well in America, as in Asia or Africa, so as the Subjects of Spain shall not Sail nor Trade into the Ports, Islands, Dominions and Plantations which England possesseth in the said Parts, nor the People of England into the Kingdoms, Islands and Dominions which in all the aforesaid Parts are possessed by and belong to Spain*" (Fallon 1993:235). Spain clearly wished to retain the Pope's donation and its grip on the "New World."

Thomas Birch attributed the Declaration to Milton in his 1738 edition of the prose works (Shawcross 1998:42-43). The War of Jenkins' Ear, or *Guerra del Asiento*, that broke out in 1739, took its name from Robert Jenkins, who had his ear cut off by the Spanish Coast Guard in the Caribbean in 1731. Shawcross thinks the 1738 "publication of Milton's Spanish Treaty was clearly for immediate political reasons," but it was the 1655 *Declaration* that was published, not the 1652 treaty, and as Fallon argued, Milton had no hand in the latter (1998:43). The *Declaration*, in which Cromwell challenges the "Pope's Donation" of the New World to Portugal and Spain (116),



was dislodged from Milton's works in the Yale edition of the prose, but my own reading of Milton's works from this period makes me wonder how secure that revision is. In any case, the *Declaration* is a fascinating document. It claims that English colonial possessions were "devoid of people" prior to settlement, and the reference throughout is to "England" and "English" (not "Commonwealth"). It speaks of James I's attempts to "slubber up a peace with Spain" (121). That word "slubber" is used by Shakespeare in *Othello* (1.3.225) and *The Merchant of Venice* (2.8.39), but more to the point Milton uses it in *Of Reformation* (1641b), when speaking of "the art of policie [...]" in Christian Common-wealths:"

It is a work good, and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended vertue to order wel one house; but to govern a Nation piously, and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle. And certainly of no lesse a mind, nor of lesse excellence in another way, were they who by writing layd the solid, and true foundations of this Science, which being of greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath bin more canker'd in her principles, more soyl'd, and slubber'd with aphorisming pedantry then the art of policie; and that most, where a man would thinke should least be, in Christian Common-wealths. They teach not that to govern well is to train up a Nation in true wisdom and vertue, and that which springs from thence magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likenes to *God*, which in one word we call *godlines*, & that this is the true flourishing of a Land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance: to teach thus were meer pulpitry to them. (Milton 1641b:42-43)

The use of one word does not prove Milton's authorship but I have yet to see the incontrovertible argument for the *Declaration* not having Milton's stamp on it. Cromwell speaks of "the common Brotherhood between all Mankind" when he allies the English colonists and natives of that region as victims of Spanish atrocities. This recalls Milton's allusion to "a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the World" (Milton 1649b:19).

John Thurloe, Secretary to the Council of State under Cromwell, certainly believed that British-Spanish relations were wrecked by imperial ambitions and, from Spain's perspective, the competing claims of the Cromwellian Commonwealth to colonial possessions.

Thurloe informed the earl of Clarendon: "Don Alonso [Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador] was pleased to answer: that to ask a liberty from the inquisition and free sayling in the West Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes" (Cited Armitage 1992:536). This echoes the 1655 *Declaration*, where Cromwell denies demanding of the King of Spain "his right Eye, much less (as hath been said) both his eyes," and makes it clear that those two eyes are the Inquisition and exclusive rights to the New World, Spanish spheres of influence that the Commonwealth intended to go eyeball-to-eyeball on (Cromwell 1655:122-123).

Cromwell early in 1655 had launched an audacious expedition to Hispaniola (known in Spanish as La Espanola or locally as Ispayola, and consisting of the Dominican Republic and Haiti) and Cuba (Armitage 1992:538). The April 1655 landing by Cromwellian forces on Hispaniola was a failure. Supplied with "six black clerical coats" and "two thousand Bibles," the English troops' greatest achievement in the words of General Robert Venables, who served in Ireland from 1649-1654 and presided over the massacre at Drogheda, occurred when the "soldiers brought forth a large statue of the Virgin Mary, well accoutered, and palted her to death with oranges" (Cited Armitage 1992:539-540). Venables was joint commander with William Penn, another colonist for whom Ireland was a staging post to the so-called New World. Jamaica was attacked next by the same expeditionary force on 10 May 1655 (Armitage 1992:540).

One Portuguese angle on Milton mentioned already is his awareness and indeed use of Camoens' *Lusiads*, translated into English in 1655 by Sir Richard Fanshawe, British ambassador to Portugal and later Spain under Charles II. As John Shawcross notes, "Fanshawe's ten-book structure in his version of the epic about Vasco da Gama was influential in Milton's structuring *Paradise Lost* originally in ten books" (1992:42). Shawcross notes another English translation of the *Lusiads* in 1776 by William Julius Mickle, which draws its "language, diction, and images [...] from *Paradise Lost* [...]" and [in its] notes [discusses] Milton in relation to epic theory and practice or in relation to Camões" (1998:48). Portugal became important again after the Restoration when on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1662 Charles II married by proxy the Portuguese princess the Infanta Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of John IV, who allegedly popularised the taking of tea in England, an Eastern import already

established in Portugal. She was reportedly offered a glass of ale on 13 May 1662 on landing at Portsmouth in lieu of the tea she had asked for. Catherine's dowry included Bombay and Tangier. The latter proved a costly gift, because between 1662 and 1684 the British garrison there cost £75,000 a year, a two million pounds drain on the treasury over the period.

As Barbara Fuchs and others have noted, connections between Ireland, Spain and Morocco in the early modern period are complex (Fuchs 2002; Stradling 1994). Comparisons were made between Spanish treatment of natives in the New World and English treatment of the Irish. The Irish enlisted the aid of the Spanish to expel the English while the Spanish used the Irish to help in the struggle against the Moors. Sir John Davies compared the transplantation of the Irish in Ulster to the Spanish expulsion of the Moors. Writing to the Earl of Salisbury on 8 November 1610, Davies declared: "this transplantation of the natives is made by his Majesty rather like a father than like a lord or monarch. The Romans transplanted whole nations out of Germany into France; the Spaniards lately removed all the Moors out of Granada into Barbary, without providing them any new seats there" (Cited Fuchs 2002:50). One of the final twists in the tail of Hiberno-Spanish-Moorish relations came when Irish troops served (on both sides) at the Siege of Tangier in 1680, where William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, who subsequently served as Governor of Jamaica, commanded English/British forces. Tangier was a costly disaster, abandoned by Britain in 1684.

Iberian works translated in Milton's day included "Francisco de Quintana's (called Francisco de las Coveras) *The History of Don Fenise* (1651), *The Novels of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas* (1671), and Bartolomé de las Casas' *The Tears of the Indians being An Historical and true Account Of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters [...] Committed by the Spaniards* (1656)" (Shawcross 1992:41). Las Casas' work is especially significant for having been translated by John Phillips, Milton's nephew. As Shawcross notes, "Phillips cites the very recent wars between Spain and England, the treaty enacted under Oliver Cromwell [...] and Spanish cruelties." More Milton Iberian connections emerge when we recall that "Phillips also translated *The History of the Most Renowned Don Quixote* (1687), and his older brother Edward produced *The Illustrious Shepherdess* (with *The*

*Imperial Brother*) in 1656, translated from Juan Pérez de Montalván's *Sucesos y prodigios de amor* ('La villana de Pinto' and 'El envidioso castigado')" (Shawcross 1992:42).

Shawcross lists all the known Spanish and Portuguese translations of Milton, including lost versions of *Paradise Lost*. The earliest known translation of Milton's epic into Spanish as *El Paraíso perdido* "was allegedly undertaken in 1747, in prose, by Ignacio de Luzán; no full translation was published and none has been discovered" (Shawcross 1998:44). Shawcross also lists the Portuguese translations of *Paradise Lost*, beginning with the prose version by José Amaro da Silva published in Lisbon in the revolutionary year of 1789, alongside *Paradiso Restaurado*. Shawcross concludes: "In all, in the last couple of decades of the eighteenth century and then throughout the nineteenth century Spanish and Portuguese versions of *Paradise Lost* were available, as well as *Paradise Regain'd* in Portuguese, and influence or presence can be seen in works and criticism thereafter" (1998:46).

David Armitage calls Milton a "poet against empire," despite the fact that "*Paradise Lost* is an epic of empire," because it is an epic "built around only two narratives – the biblical narrative of the Fall, and the story of Satan's colonization of the New World" (Armitage 1995:215, 216). Armitage sees Milton as rejecting the royalist Richard Fanshawe's 1655 translation of Camoens' *Lusiads* (216). In "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the languages of Empire," Armitage looks at the moment in 1655 when Cromwell was dubbed emperor (Armitage 1992:532). Satan in this reading is Vasco da Gama, and Milton is attacking "territorial expansion and empire-building" (Armitage 1995:223). But Ireland arguably complicates Armitage's reading of Milton as a poet against empire. We can compare Robert Fallon, who speaks of domestic matters and "enemies at home" when he touches on Ireland (Fallon 1993:26, 54). Other critics take a more nuanced view of Milton's approach to empire (Evans 1996:146, 147; Hodgkins 2002:64-66). Christopher Hodgkins points to "the rich pattern of parallels in *Paradise Lost* between Satan's overthrow of Eden and Cortés's conquest of what Milton calls 'Rich Mexico the seat of Montezume'" (2002:64).

Later poets responded to Milton in their Iberian interventions. Robert Southey visited Portugal and Spain in 1795, and in *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal. With Some*

*Account of Spanish and Portuguese Poetry* (1797) Shawcross notes "Miltonic influence [...] arising during (and because of?) his Iberian residence" (1998:48). In an excellent essay that appeared in 2012, "The People and the Poet Redeemed: William Wordsworth and the Peninsular Uprising," Georgina Green reminds us that Wordsworth, in *The Convention of Cintra* (1809), drew on Milton in his defence of Spain and Portugal at the time of the Peninsular Uprising against Napoleon and French rule in 1808. Like his contemporaries, Henry Brougham and Francis Jeffrey, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, Wordsworth was inspired by "Spain's embodiment of the principles of popular sovereignty" (Green 2012:936). Brougham and Jeffrey declared "the plain and broad fact is this – that every Englishman who has, for the last six months, heartily wished that the Spaniards should succeed, has knowingly and wilfully wished for a radical reform" (Cited Green 2012:936). Green observes that "For Robert Southey," who travelled to Spain and Portugal in the 1790s and translated poetry in the style of Milton, "the British generals 'betrayed the cause of Spain and Portugal [...] by degrading into a common and petty war between soldier and soldier, that which is the struggle of a nation against a foreign usurper, a business of natural life and death, a war of virtue against vice, light against darkness, the good principle against the evil one'" (2012:938). For Green, "Wordsworth's 1809 tract on the Peninsular Uprising represents his most successful and unequivocal commitment to 'the people' and their sovereignty" (2012:939).

According to Green: "Wordsworth interprets the Peninsular Uprising as an emanation of constituent power [...] The people of the peninsula are imagined as Milton's Lycidas, whom nature would not harm, but who dies at sea thanks to the manmade 'fatal and perfidious bark' which, like the Convention of Cintra was 'Built in th'eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark' [...] By associating the Spanish people with Milton's Lycidas, Wordsworth imagines this conflict through the politics of pastoral poetry, just as he had in the *Lyrical Ballads*" (2012:951-952). Another chance of liberty shipwrecked by empire. According to Wordsworth:

It was not for the soil, or for the cities and forts, that Portugal was valued, but for the human feeling which was there; for the rights of human nature which might be there conspicuously asserted; for a triumph over injustice and oppression there to be achieved, which could neither be concealed nor disguised, and which

should penetrate the darkest corner of the dark Continent of Europe by its splendour. We combated for victory in the empire of reason, for strong-holds in the imagination. Lisbon and Portugal, as city and soil, were chiefly prized by us as a *language*; but our Generals mistook the counters of the game for the stake played for. (Cited Green 2012:952)

Approaching the Peninsular Uprising from a different perspective, in "From Spain to New Spain: Revisiting the *Potestas Populi* in Hispanic Political Thought," Mónica Quijada traces the development of radical republican and anti-colonial thought in early modern Spain, and "studies the configuration in Hispanic political thought of the principle that true legitimacy is based on the consent of the community and on the contractual nature of the origin of political power" (2008:185). According to Quijada, the 1812 Constitution of Cadiz, the exiled government's defiant issuing of a liberal constitution, has to be read in the context of a long struggle. Quijada comments:

Perhaps it is not completely coincidental that Bartolomé de las Casas' *De rege potestate*, published in 1571 in Germany after being banned in Spain, was enthusiastically embraced by liberals who republished it in 1822 in Paris and in 1843 in Spain. The introduction of the latter edition stated that the treatise "could serve as a solid foundation for the most splendid democratic constitution of a modern republic [...] nothing [it went on to say] more liberal, more democratic, more essentially popular and equitable, nor more coercive in principle to the power of princes and rulers, has been written and established in modern constitutions." (2008:218-219)

For Quijada, "these ideas [...] form part of a political imaginaire, created throughout the centuries, an imaginaire that contributed to defining the patterns of participation in the Hispanic world during the age of the Great Atlantic Revolutions, in expanding electoral practices associated with the adaptation and reconfiguration of the municipal tradition, and in shaping a constitution such as the one of Cadiz" (2008:218-219). A Spanish version of *Paradise Lost*, produced in 1868 by Colombian translator Aníbal Galindo, was seen by A. C. Howell "as inspiration in the struggle of Latin-American nations to attain liberty," evidence, John Shawcross argues, that "*Paradise Lost* has frequently been the source of thought countering oppression as in the American colonies just before and just after the founding government came into existence and as in the French experience of

those same times” (Shawcross 1998:41-42). And indeed Milton’s influence on anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles for independence is more marked and remarked upon than his more problematic legacy as an advocate of the subjection of Ireland (Davies 1995; Fenton 2005).

“A little onward lend thy guiding hand | To these dark steps, a little further on” (*Samson Agonistes*, 1-2). Another key aspect of Milton’s Iberian politics can be seen in his complex relationship with the Spanish viceroyalty of Naples, a hugely significant European centre (Naddeo 2004). Indeed, the title of “Spanish Naples” could be broadened to “Iberian Italy,” because as Peter Mazur’s recent research reveals, there was a potent Portuguese presence there too (Mazur 2013:81-99). Milton visited Naples in 1638 and became acquainted with the poet Giambattista Manso, “an habitué of the vice-regal court” (Campbell and Corns 2008:119-121). In *Comus*, when Milton speaks of “the Songs of Sirens sweet, | By dead Parthenope’s dear tomb” (878), he alludes to the ancient name of Naples (Campbell 1980:496). In *The Tenure*, Milton warns against complacency or compromise in the face of tyranny and cites as evidence contemporary experience, including the April 1648 suppression of the Neapolitan revolt that broke out in October 1647:

How the massacre at *Paris* was the effect of that credulous peace which the French Protestants made with *Charles* the ninth thir King; and that the main visible cause which to this day hath sav’d the *Netherlands* from utter ruine, was thir finall not beleiving the perfidious cruelty which as a constant maxim of State hath bin us’d by the Spanish Kings on thir Subjects that have tak’n armes and after trusted them; as no later age but can testi’fie, heretofore in *Belgia* it self, and this very yeare in *Naples*. (Milton 1649b:40)

Peter Burke has noted the way in which the rising in Naples was represented, taking its place in a pattern of similar revolts (2009:252). Three aspects of the Neapolitan rebellion are worth noting in relation to Milton. The first is that contemporaries drew analogies between England’s grip on Ireland and Spain’s on Naples. Joad Raymond observes that a contemporary of Milton’s, writing in the *The Moderate Intelligencer* in May 1649 “compared England’s problem in Ireland with Spain’s problem in Naples” (2004:321). This is not an analogy that Milton would have cared for, since it likened two states that he wanted to see as distinct in their actions. Here, quite apart from the competition for colonies in the “New World” we have a form of

internal colonialism, internal to Europe, whereby Spain and England are competing for territories. The second feature of the Neapolitan situation that should catch our eye is that a contemporary account of it judged it to be a “revolution” (Giraffi 1647; Rachum 1995:197-199, 207). The third aspect is the fact that “In October 1647, rebel leaders proclaimed a ‘Royal Neapolitan Republic’ under the protection of Louis XIV of France” (Musi 2013:143). A rising in a colony and the proclamation of a republic in the context of what was referred to as a revolution: what more evocative example could there be for a writer engaged precisely in defending a republic and a revolution against a “complication of interests” that revolved around three kingdoms (Raymond 2004).

Neapolitan experience impinged on Milton in other ways. Before he settled on the theme of the loss of Eden, Milton had famously planned an Arthurian epic, and it was an epic inspired by his visit to Naples, for in his *Epistle to Manso* Milton declared:

If ever I shall summon back our native kings into our songs, and  
Arthur waging his wars beneath the earth, or if ever I shall  
proclaim the magnanimous heroes of the table which their  
mutual fidelity made invincible, and (if only the spirit be with  
me) shall shatter the Saxon phalanxes under the British Mars!  
(Cited Landon 1965:60)

It was thus in Italy, on Spanish colonial territory, that Milton hatched the plan for a patriotic poem he would never write, perhaps because the complex interplay of ethnicities that he later mapped out in his *History of Britain* (1670) did not lend itself to the simplistic taking of sides that he envisaged in that Latin epistle. Indeed, when Milton critics conflate “English” and “British” – as when in a recent essay we are told how “Milton confides to Manso his plans to compose an English epic, praising the deeds of King Arthur” (Revard 2013:215) – they not only overlook the fact that Milton’s proposed epic was to relate the story of how British Arthur smashed the Saxons, but underplay the extent to which it was precisely Milton’s complex sense of European and Archipelagic ethnicities that made both the *History of Britain* and his lifelong engagement with Iberian issues so varied, vexed and volatile.

Milton’s *History of Britain* (1670) stands in lieu of the Arthurian epic he left unwritten (Cooper 2013). Michael Landon has mapped out the ways in which Milton searched for patterns and precedents,



looking to the past but also to other nations for lessons in liberty and examples of servitude:

If Milton began his *History of Britain* merely to provide old plots for contemporary writers, that was not his aim at the end. He found in the events of English history from 45 A.D. to 1066 a series of salutary lessons for mid-seventeenth century Englishmen. What was to be feared was the spiritual and moral decay of society, which would, inevitably, ultimately lead to disaster. This could be clearly seen, Milton felt, in the conquest of the ancient Britons by the Romans, the conquest of the Romano-Britons by the Anglo-Saxons, and the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons firstly by the Danes and finally by the Normans. (Landon 1965:72-73)

The visit to Spanish Naples, the jewel in the crown of Iberian Italy, prompted Milton's promise to tackle Arthur, but it also gave him a close look at the operations of empire within Europe and, through the subsequent Neapolitan revolt, an insight into what a rebellion against empire might look like. The fact that his argument in the *Observations*, particularly the description of the Irish rebellion as threatening "to disalliege a whole Feudary Kingdome from the ancient Dominion of *England*?" echo Spanish claims to Naples is an irony Milton appears to have missed (Milton 1649a:49). In comparing the Belfast Presbytery with the Spanish Inquisition he overlooked another potential comparison that would have been far less convenient (Lim 1998:196-204; Milton 1649a:60).

Future directions for research might include a more detailed comparison between Milton's writings on Spain and Portugal and his engagement with Ireland than has hitherto been effected. John Kerrigan (2008b:230), David Loewenstein (1992:310) and Catherine Canino (1998) have argued that Milton's writings on Ireland fed and led into *Paradise Lost*. Might an argument be made that his engagement with the politics of Spain and Portugal also form part of the allegory of his epic poem? Fallon develops ideas along these lines in *Divided Empire* (1995). Certainly from *Comus* (1634) through to *The History of Britain* (1670) Spain and Portugal were on Milton's radar. There is also the question of the Iberian afterlife of Milton. John Shawcross has traced Milton's impact on Spanish and Portuguese writers up to the middle of the twentieth century. Milton's Celtiberian concerns, connections and complications are fascinating as part of a wider preoccupation with the ways in which

early modern writers engaged with “Celtic” themes and issues around nation, state and empire (Maley and Loughnane 2013; Pittock 1999). More interestingly, as I have indicated, Georgina Green and Mónica Quijada have shown Milton’s influence on the ways in which, respectively, writers like Wordsworth and Southey responded to the Peninsular Uprising, also known as the Spanish War of Independence, and the ways in which Milton’s writings impacted upon liberation struggles in the Americas in the nineteenth century and after.

Having turned his back on the Iberian Peninsula – “look homeward Angel” (“Lycidas” 163) – after his brief period engaged in treaty negotiations with Portugal and Spain in the early 1650s, Milton might have been pleased to see his own work contribute to the quest for liberty in those competing kingdoms and in their colonies. If Milton really was, as David Armitage insists, a poet against empire – a claim that has to be qualified by his position on Ireland – then he may have found some consolation in the fact that his writings, and in particular *Paradise Lost*, became touchstone texts in anti-colonial struggles, and this despite the dissolution of Cromwell’s Commonwealth through costly colonial ventures, and the subsequent restoration of the monarchy and consolidation of the British Empire. What Milton would have made of the translation of *Samson Agonistes* by José Garcíá Nieto and Charles David Ley into Spanish in 1949 in the context of Franco’s Spain, we will never know (Shawcross 1998:46); or what he might have thought of Salvador Dalí’s 1974 illustrations to *Paradise Lost*.

While I was writing this paper and thinking about those Irish men who went to Spain in the sixteenth century to help expel the Moors from the south, and those who travelled to Tangier in the 1660s, I thought of my father, who went to Spain in 1936 as a “brigadista,” a volunteer for liberty, to Albacete, then to Jarama, where he was captured in February 1937 and sent to prison first in Talavera de la Reina then to Salamanca before being released in May of that year in exchange for Italian Black Arrows detained at Guadalajara. When his machine gun company was surrounded on Suicide Hill on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1937 at Jarama by Moorish cavalry, there was an echo of a long history. In 1990, I spoke to a Moroccan student, whose father fought for Franco, about the wider implications of that conflict. According to Paul Preston, in his latest

book about Spain, *The Spanish Holocaust* (2012), the Civil War/Revolution was a colonial war. Here, Preston develops a thesis first aired in an earlier essay, where he had argued that “the right coped with the loss of a ‘real’ overseas empire by internalizing the empire [...] by regarding metropolitan Spain as the empire and the proletariat as the subject colonial race” (2004:281). Milton, in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, declared: “Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the World, neither is it the English Sea that can sever us from that duty and relation” (Milton 1649b:19). Southey and Wordsworth knew this too. Yet the after-effects of Empire ripple on, disturbing that bond and bringing with it bondage, a bondage that has deep roots and complex, twisted strands.

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# **“Warts and all”: John Lyly’s atheist aesthetics\***

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## ABSTRACT

This paper finds some evidence of an atomist aesthetic in certain passages of John Lyly’s *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*. It then addresses the issue of how Lyly might have become acquainted with atomist philosophy and, in particular, the thought of Empedocles, whether through his reading or his membership of the Oxford circle. Finally, by showing how Lyly’s early play *Campaspe* combines his aesthetic views and atomist controversy, the paper confirms the reasonableness of its initial proposition and opens the way not only for a reassessment of Lyly and his works but also for a reappraisal of the baroque in early modern English literature and for a revision of standard accounts of the origins of English atomism.

KEYWORDS: John Lyly; atomism; aesthetics; Empedocles; *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*; *Campaspe*.

## **1. Introduction**

This article proposes that John Lyly (1564?-1606) was an atheist, a claim that is less contentious than it sounds. In the first place, atheism in late sixteenth-century England need not have meant lack of belief in any divine being. Rather, “atheism” was one brush with

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which early proponents of philosophical and scientific materialism were tarred; cognate slurs included “atomism” and “Epicureanism.” Atheism was, so to speak, a broad church with room on its pews for “mechanical tradesmen,” Galenists, Arians, deists, medical practitioners who focused on secondary causes and, later, the Royal Society (Hill 1997:60, 72, 129, 154, 162, 114), not to mention Christopher Marlowe, Sir Walter Raleigh, George Chapman, Thomas Hariot and other members of the “wizard” Earl of Northumberland’s circle. To all of these might be added Edmund Spenser, the Lucretian strain of whose poetical philosophising was identified almost one hundred years ago (Greenlaw 1920); Gabriel Harvey, whose earthquake letters pit natural philosophy against superstition (Passannante 2008); and John Donne, an evident adept of atomist science and thought (Hirsch 1991).

What is more unusual about Lyly is the atomist nature of his aesthetics, which bears close conceptual affinities to Empedoclean physics and predates the atomist slant of baroque aesthetics some associate with Lucilio “Giulio Cesare” Vanini and Marin Mersenne. By no means does this paper wish to transform Lyly into a baroque writer *tout court*, but it does suggest that Lyly, like many of his contemporaries, may be regarded with profit as a *libertine érudit*, a figure familiar to us from histories of early Enlightenment philosophy, but whose lineage runs backwards from Vanini, through Giordano Bruno, Jean Bodin, Niccolò Machiavelli and Pietro Pomponazzi, to philosophers of antiquity and Empedocles himself (Israel 2001:14-15).<sup>1</sup> When in his *Dialogues des Morts* (1683-1684) Bernard le Bovier de Fontanelle joined Empedocles and Vanini in conversation, he was formalising a partnership – facilitated by their fiery ends on Etna and at the stake, respectively – which has survived to the present. For Fontanelle, their subversive philosophical ideas, rendered them “Fools to all posterity” (1730:252). This paper proposes that Lyly might sit well in their company. In the process, it discovers some of the possible philosophical foundations for that “mutability,” “relentless process of change” or “riot” that Leah Scragg (2003:6, 8) and Katherine Wilson (2013:179) have found seething beneath the apparent composure and balance of Lyly’s antithesis, parison and paroemion.

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<sup>1</sup> Israel cites Popkin (1979:87-109) and Gregory (1998:325-7).

In his classic study, G. K. Hunter (1962) argued that Lyly was a second-class humanist turned courtier. Arthur J. Kinney hinted at a different Lyly, schooled in “the New Learning” (1986:148) and disaffected with Renaissance humanist poetics. Leah Scragg, meanwhile, has built on Jonas Barish’s (1956) pioneering study of Lyly’s “doubleness” to rewrite disaffection as “modernity,” manifest in his “radical destabilization of meaning” (Scragg 2003:19). Michael Pincombe’s (1996) portrait of Lyly as a “counter-courtly” playwright gives that radicalism a more overtly political strain, visible in his satire (Berry 1898:116) and implicit in his antitheses which, according to Marcia E. Picallo (2008:83) questioned the fixed concepts of the established order.<sup>2</sup> This paper adds momentum to this progression towards a critical, radical Lyly, conversant with controversial philosophical ideas that threatened religious orthodoxy and political ideology. It therefore also adds some intensity to the hue of the new, revisionist picture that is emerging of Lyly in such works as Andy Kesson’s recent *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship* (2014). At the same time, it acts as a petition for a reappraisal of the baroque in early modern English literature and for a revision of conventional accounts of the origins of English atomism.

## 2. “Warts-and-all” beauty

Lyly’s *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and its sequel, *Euphues and his England* (1580), were among the best-selling works of Elizabethan England and are today felt as being somehow seminal, whether of a style (“Euphuism”) or of a genre (the novel). But their catch-all categorisation as “prose fiction” is eloquent of the difficulty critics encounter when actually trying to define their nature and achievement. The style has precursors, but is by no means merely derivative; the form and genre have points in common with courtesy books, particularly Baldessare Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier*, Greek romances, Roman comedy, Boccaccio’s *Decameron* and contemporary Italian prose romance and Spanish *picaresque*, but are clearly distinct from all of them. Critics seem not quite to know what to do with the works, much as Elizabeth I did not quite know what to do with their author: Lyly, ever awaiting preferment, was ever

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<sup>2</sup> Lyly’s subversive politics of gender has been noted by, among others, Rackin (1987) and Wixson (2001).

disappointed. Despite the success of *Euphues*, he died in extreme poverty, his star as playwright eclipsed by those of his younger contemporaries, Marlowe and Shakespeare.

If the *Euphues* works as a whole are perplexing, so too are many of their details. Not the least of these is the opening of Lyly's epistle dedicatory to Sir William West, Lord Delaware (de la Warr), which prefaces *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*:

Paratius [= Parrhasius] drawing the counterfaite of Helen (right honorable) made the attier of hir head loose, who being demaunded why he dyd so, he aunswered, she was loose. Vulcan was painted curiously, yet with a polt foote. Venus cunningly, yet with hir Mole. Alexander hauing a Skar in his cheeke helde his finger vpon it that Appelles might not paint it, Appelles painted him with his finger cleauing to his face, why quod Alexander I layde my finger on my Skarre bicause I would not haue thee see it, (yea sayd Appelles) and I drew it there bicause none els should perceiue it, for if thy finger had bene away, either thy Skarre would haue ben seene, or my arte mislyked: whereby I gather, that in all perfect workes aswell the fault as the face is to be showen. (Lyly 1902:1.179)

One puzzle is the origin of the four *exempla* Lyly adduces concerning ancient art works. The source for the painting of Vulcan is Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (i.29.80-83) where, as pointed out by R. Warwick Bond (Lyly 1902:1.328), Lyly's most exhaustive editor, Cicero praises a statue of the lame god by Alcamenes. However, Bond finds the *exempla* of Parrhasius and of Alexander and Apelles to be of Lyly's own invention since neither appears in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* or Plutarch's *Lives*, the standard sources for information about ancient artists. On Venus, Bond's notes are silent. In their note on Helen, William Croll and Harry Clemons (Lyly 1906:3) hint that Lyly has confused Pliny's account of Zeuxis (*Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36), which does mention a picture of Helen, with his other of Parrhasius, which does not; as for the *exemplum* of Alexander and Appelles, they agree with Bond that it was of Lyly's own making. In her more recent edition, Leah Scragg (2003:27) casts no further light on the matter.

That Lyly should be inaccurate on some points (he talks of a painting of Vulcan, Cicero of a statue; he speaks of Parrhasius in relation to Helen, Pliny of Zeuxis) is not perhaps surprising since what is known of his time at Oxford can suggest that Lyly was not

the most assiduous of students (Bond 1902:6-8), though Gabriel Harvey's jaundiced remarks are not entirely trustworthy. What is more surprising is Lyly's invention of the Alexander and Apelles *exemplum*, particularly as Apelles is a frequent reference throughout the rest of the work and a character in his play *Campaspe*. Such fabrication ran counter to contemporary rhetorical practice regarding the use of *exempla* which, if they were to persuade, needed the credentials of authority. In the absence of any sources, the conclusion is that Lyly must have had some compelling reasons to invent authority in this unusual way.

The passage is obviously written under the influence of what Lyly wrote on the first page of *Anatomy* itself:

And true it is that some men write and most men beleeeue, that in all perfecte shapes, a blemmish bringeth rather a liking euery way to the eyes, then a loathing any waye to the minde. Venus had hir Mole in hir cheeke which made hir more amiable: Helen hir scarre on hir chinne which Paris called Cos amoris, the Whetstone of loue. Aristippus his wart, Lycurgus his wenne: So likewise in the disposition of ye minde, either vertue is ouershadowed with some vice, or vice ouercast with some vertue. Alexander valiaunt in warre, yet gyuen to wine. Tullie eloquent in his gloses, yet vayneglorious: Salomon wyse, yet to too wanton: Dauid holye but yet an homicide: none more wittie then Euphues yet at the first none more wicked. (Lyly 1902:1.184)

The Venus/mole *exemplum* is shared by both passages. The source for Helen and her scar is unknown, but to Bond (Lyly 1902:1.131) it has the smack of authenticity. In contrast, Bond judges the Aristippus and Lycurgus *exempla* to be a further invention of Lyly's. Clemons and Croll (1906:10) and Scragg (2003:32) are similarly unable to find parallels.<sup>3</sup> Aristippus had appeared relatively recently in Richard Edwards's play *Damon and Pithias* (1565), which Lyly had in mind when writing *Campaspe* in 1583 (Hunter 1991:5, 13), but again there was no mention of any dermatological eruption. The following four *exempla*, referring to Alexander the Great, Cicero, Solomon and David, were all genuine and well-enough known to be commonplace. Worth noting at this stage is that Aristippus' unauthorised wart implies the virtues of the founder of the Cyrenaic

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<sup>3</sup> Laurie Maguire (2009:66-69) discusses the same passage in connection with Helen of Troy's absolute beauty, but is unable to trace the sources of Lyly's allusions or ideas.

School of philosophy, whom Lyly's readers would have known from Diogenes Laertius (1925:II.8.65-86) as a proto-Epicurean hedonist and voluptuary, that is to say, an unregenerate atheist or *libertine érudit avant la lettre*.

Another of this passage's debutants (hence, perhaps, Lyly's translation, "the Whetstone of loue") is the Latin expression "*Cos amoris*," with no parallels until, a good thirty years later, Thomas Dekker's *The Gull's Hornbook* (1904 (1609):17), Thomas Coryat's *Crudities* (1905 (1611):404), George Griffin's acrostic on Coryat's name (Coryat 1905:101), and John Josselyn's *New Englands Rarities* (1865 [1671]:157) (see Sell 2014). What emerges from these instances is an identification between moles and sexual looseness. The physical blemish becomes a sign of a moral flaw in a sexually-signed trope which owes much to the Aristotelian view of woman as the biologically imperfect sex and the Augustinian and Thomist view of woman as the morally weaker sex on account of that biological imperfection (*propter imperfectionem corporalis naturae*; see McGowan 1985:217-8). However, Lyly's *exempla* extend to physically blemished males, his own Euphues has a flawed character, and, in the dedicatory epistle, he seems to argue that much as a mole can be attractive – a whetstone that sharpens appetite, what Josselyn calls a "come-at-me" – so too can a defective work of literature such as his own. If, on the one hand, in the epistle dedicatory Lyly is simply affecting the conventional self-effacement of the modesty topos, he is on the other formulating an aesthetic argument whereby perfection must countenance or accommodate imperfection: "in all perfect workes aswell the fault as the face is to be shoven." The first page of *Anatomy* itself takes that argument a stage further by suggesting that the "fault," now "blemish," can actually enhance a perfect work: "in all perfecte shapes, a blemmish bringeth rather a liking euery way to the eyes, then a loathing any waye to the minde." Perfection, in other words, can be improved by imperfection. Perfection may even depend on imperfection, a thought Shakespeare's Enobarbus might have shared, who tells us how Cleopatra "did make defect perfection" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, 2.2.238).

Lyly's first postulate (perfect works must show imperfections) was anything but mainstream at the time he was writing. In art theory from Leon Battista Alberti, through Michelangelo, to Giorgio Vasari, it was the legitimate task of the painter or sculptor to

“eliminat[e] the imperfections in natural objects” in order to reveal “what nature is always aiming at but is also frustrated from producing” (Blunt 1940:18). As Alberti, under the influence of Aristotle (*Protreptikos* B13, *Physica* 199a:16), put it in *De Re Aedificatoria* (1485), “it is very rarely granted even for Nature herself to produce anything absolutely perfect in every part” (qtd. Blunt 1940:15). Thus art took on for itself the prosthetic and moral function of supplementing and improving on nature that is familiar to us from Renaissance and early modern literary theory, not least Sir Philip Sidney’s *Apology for Poetry*, where the poet’s “erected wit” releases him from “subjection” to Nature’s works and opens up vistas of “perfection.” Among art theorists, only Leonardo doggedly insisted that a perfect work should reflect the imperfections of reality: to try to improve on Nature was to be unnatural and mannered (Blunt 1940:30).

Lyly is unlikely to have been familiar with Leonardo’s ideas; in any case Leonardo never went so far as to claim that something, be it nature or a work of art that imitated nature, attained perfection on account of its imperfections: it is one thing to say a painting is perfect because it is a perfect representation of natural imperfections, quite another that a painting is perfect because of its imperfections as a work of art. Yet this seems to be Lyly’s position according to his second postulate. For his assertion that “in all perfecte shapes, a blemmish bringeth rather a liking euery way to the eyes, then a loathing any waye to the minde” suggests that the aesthetic effect of a perfect work of art will actually be enhanced – become more perfect still – if there is a flaw to it.<sup>4</sup>

Lyly’s *Euphues* works are noticeably preoccupied with the notion of perfection. A major contention of both *Anatomy* and *England* is that personal and moral perfection can in theory be achieved through nurture and education, while, *pace* Aristotle, Augustine and Aquinas, the female objects of male desire are usually presented as perfectly or absolutely beautiful, both physically and, therefore presumably, morally: as Euphues ponders of Livia, “how can she be in minde any way imperfect, who in body is perfect euery way?” (Lyly 1902:1.213). However, Euphues’ experience shows that

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<sup>4</sup> Greenblatt (2010:18-48) implies that Shakespeare’s attention to beauty marks liberated the subject from the “virtually programmatic impersonality” of conventional canons of ideal, harmonious and perfect beauty.

theory and assumptions are never fully applicable in practice or borne out by facts, a disheartening conclusion made inevitable perhaps by the superintendant and unique perfection of Elizabeth I.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Atomist aesthetics

According to some, the term “baroque” comes from the Spanish word *barrueco* (or Portuguese *barroco*) which in turn derived from Latin *veruca*, meaning wart (Hollander 1998:202). Early modern jewellers applied the word to misshapen pearls whose imperfect shapes suited their fashioning as mythological figures and animals (Pearl Distributors 2012). Lyly’s views call to mind the allegedly baroque aesthetic of imperfect perfection which historian of aesthetics Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz attributes to Vanini and, to a lesser extent, Joseph Scaliger and Marin Mersenne, all of whom, according to Tatarkiewicz, were drawing on the metaphysical theories of the pre-Socratic philosopher Empedocles (c.490-c.430 BC). Tatarkiewicz defines “the Baroque aesthetic” as follows: “True perfection lies in ceaseless improvement, constant elaboration, in enrichment, in the appearance of new things, properties, values” (1980:77). This definition certainly seems compatible with Lyly, and if “baroque” originally meant verruca, it would be a doubly fitting term to apply to Lyly’s aesthetic which makes room for Aristippus and Lycurgus, “warts and all.” There are problems with Tatarkiewicz’s definition of the notoriously slippery term “baroque,” any meaningful discussion of which lies beyond the scope of this paper, whose only aim is to isolate an atomist strain in some of its purported tenets. That said, others have suggested that the baroque is best conceived as a debate around Renaissance ideas and ideals of classical perfection (Checa and Morán 1982:14), while at least one critic has advanced Lyly’s *Euphues* works as foreshadowing in its style English literary baroque (Hanak 1970:323).

The key text in Vanini is to be found in the fiftieth dialogue, “On God” [“De Deo”] of his *De Admirandis Naturae* (1619:352-367). Andrzej Nowicki (1970), the first modern scholar to scrutinize the relationship between Vanini and Empedocles as it emerges in this

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<sup>5</sup> Lyly discusses the problems posed to human representational arts by Elizabeth’s beauty at some length in *England* (e.g. 1902:II.38-40, 205-215). See Riehl (2010:93-98).

dialogue, puts the matter as follows: “To Empedocles – as represented by Vanini – perfection depends on incompleteness (*perfectio propter imperfectionem*), since it possesses a potential for development and complementing with new characteristics (*perfectio complementi*)” (qtd. in Tatarkiewicz 1980:77). Vanini’s Empedoclean aesthetic is the result of combining the ultimate end of the universe, “perpetuity” (*perpetuitas*) with the means to obtaining that end, “generation” (*generatio*). According to Empedocles, the attributes of perpetuity are perfection and rest (*quies*), those of generation, imperfection and motion (*motus*). It is the antithetical nature of their respective attributes which leads to the paradox that if generation is a means to, or guarantor of, perpetuity, then rest depends on motion and perfection on imperfection:

If rest is the perfection of motion, and generation logically consists of motion, then the end of generation is rest: as nature tends to that end, she generates no more: everything before the end is imperfect, for it is on account of something else: then the world for Empedocles must be perfect on account of imperfection and, as he states, perpetual on account of generation.” (Vanini 1616:363; my translation)<sup>6</sup>

What concerns us here is not the philosophical validity of Vanini’s argument, but the kinship it bears with Lyly’s aesthetic of perfection (the flaw enhances perfection = *perfectio propter imperfectionem*) and, potentially, his antithetical style reflecting an antithetical nature. However, Vanini’s dialogue raises several problems. In the first place, it is not strictly speaking an argument about aesthetics, although it could be – and indeed would be – applied to aesthetics. Secondly, we will look in vain for any direct source for the paradox in Empedocles, which might suggest that Vanini was creating a straw man for dialectical purposes: while his argument rests on a materialist view of the universe that is rooted in the Sicilian philosopher (but is also paralleled in Parmenides and Xenophanes), nowhere does this particular paradox find expression in those fragments of Empedocles that survive. Thirdly, Vanini was born in 1585, seven years after *Anatomy* was published, and Lyly died in

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<sup>6</sup> “Si quies est perfectio motus, & generatio constat ratione motus, ergo finis generationis quies est: cum eum natura finem adispicitur, non amplius generat: omnia ante finem, imperfectio, sunt enim propter aliud: Ergo Mundus erit Empedocli perfectus propter imperfectionem, Est enim perpetuus per generationem, ut asserit” (original emphasis).



1606, a decade before the publication of *De Admirandis Naturæ*. This enforces the hypothesis that Vanini was formulating ideas that were already in circulation before Lyly commenced his *Euphues* works. When around 1727 William Warburton noted how Edmund's speech on bastardy in Shakespeare's *King Lear* anticipated the thoughts of the atheist Vanini, he ascribed Shakespeare's prescience to "the divinity of his genius" (Blair 1753:1.lxii): evidence that such ideas were actually current at the time Shakespeare and, before him, Lyly were writing would help demonstrate the accuracy of Warburton's hunch.

It is difficult to assess how familiar, if at all, Lyly and his contemporaries might have been with Empedocles. It was not until 1573 that Henri Estienne published the "Empedoclis Fragmenta" with Joseph Scaliger's commentary as the first work collected in his *Poiësis philosophos*. Scaliger's strictly philological comments do not address Empedocles' thinking, let alone any possible implications for aesthetics;<sup>7</sup> nor do any of the annotations he made to his own copy of Estienne's printed edition.<sup>8</sup> It is in any case highly improbable that Lyly would have read Estienne's edition. Even Sidney, in his *Apology for Poetry* (1973:97), written perhaps between the two *Euphues* works, seems only to have known of Empedocles as a philosopher-poet, not actually to have read him. Sidney did know Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), the undisputedly baroque figure who was in England between 1583 and 1585, and had the uncertain privilege of being the dedicatee of two of the three dialogues (*Cause, Principle and Unity* and *Ash Wednesday Supper*) the Italian wrote during his English sojourn. Lyly too might have met Bruno, and his play *Endymion* (first performed 1588) draws on the cabbalistic interpretation of the Endymion story as depicting the ascent of the soul from erotic desire to divine contemplation which Bruno set out in the same dialogues and had inspired Cardinal Bembo's famous speech in Book IV of *The Book of the Courtier* (Gannon 1976; Bevington 1996:12). Bruno cites Empedocles often, but once again, there is no trace of the notion of "imperfect perfection," and once again, even if there were, Bruno's England visit and the publication of his works

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<sup>7</sup> I have reviewed Scaliger's notes as cited in Simon Karsten's edition of Empedocles (1838). Scaliger visited England around 1566, but its barbarity, dull libraries and idle scholars made little impression on him, nor he on them (Grafton 1983:120).

<sup>8</sup> I have reviewed them as reproduced and discussed in Marzillo (2011).

postdate Lyly's *Euphues*. Nonetheless, Lyly's evident familiarity with Bruno's London works hints at a measure of philosophical affinity.

What Lyly might have known of Empedocles would have been gleaned from classical and renaissance sources. The most obvious one was Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, available in printed form in Latin translation since the late fifteenth century and in the original Greek since 1533. The picture that emerges of Empedocles (Laertius 1925:2. 367-391 [viii. 51-77]) is of a statesman, philosopher and poet given to the excesses proper to the "egotistic, melancholy, eloquent soul that he was [...] the wonder-worker and the hierophant, in purple robe and golden girdle" (Leonard 1908:2). Most notorious was the alleged manner of his death by leaping into the crater of Mount Etna in an attempt to secure veneration as a god. As for Empedocles' philosophical doctrines, readers of Laertius like Lyly would have learnt of his materialist view that everything in the universe was composed of four elements, fire, water, earth and air, a proposition he formulated to counter the Eleatic School's (Parmenides, Xenon) insistence on a single, eternal reality, and which was accepted by Plato and Aristotle. He would, too, have been aware of Empedocles' love/strife binary, that pair of mysterious forces which organised and modified the combinations of the elements, and of his beliefs in endless physical mutability and reincarnation. All of this was hot stuff in late sixteenth-century England; but there is no trace of any Empedoclean ideas of perfection and imperfection.

Among the transmitters of Empedoclean thought, Lucretius (c.99-c.55 BCE) was particularly notorious. His great philosophical epic, *De rerum natura* served to introduce not only Roman readers, but also Renaissance readers after its rediscovery in 1417 by Poggio Bracciolini, to the ideas of Epicurus. Epicurean materialism was perhaps based more on Democritan atomism and his own principle of the "swerve" (*clinamen*) than on the ideas of Empedocles, and in the poem generally it is difficult to isolate completely Empedoclean and Epicurean strands (Garani 2007:4).<sup>9</sup> However that might be, the Epicurean-materialist triad formed by Empedocles, Epicurus and Lucretius was viewed with great suspicion throughout the

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<sup>9</sup> Lucretius discusses Empedocles at length in the first book of the poem (1982:59-69 [1.716-829]). Scholars are still divided over whether Empedocles was anything more than a poetical influence on Lucretius. See, for example, Campbell (1999).

Renaissance. Francesco Zabarella's early defense of Epicurus, *De Felicitate* (1400) was not actually published until 1655, while Lorenzo Valla's *De Voluptate*, an Epicurean dialogue which praised pleasure and recriminated scholasticism and asceticism, led to his trial on theological grounds (his patron, Alfonso of Aragón, intervened to save him). Espousing Epicurean materialism was dangerous: Machiavelli, Ariosto, Guicciardini and Montaigne got away with it; others, like Bruno, were not so lucky.<sup>10</sup>

As a transmitter of knowledge about Empedocles, Plutarch deserves special mention in connection with Lyly. In his *Moralia*, which Lyly drew on frequently, most probably in Jaques Amyot's French translation of 1572 (a copy of which was in the Earl of Oxford's library [Nelson 2003:53]), the name of Empedocles appears side by side with that of Apelles in an anecdote about how the painter's poverty was relieved by the generosity of the philosopher Arcesilaus. Plutarch makes Arcesilaus quote Empedocles on entering the painter's humble abode: "Here is nothing here (quoth he) I see well, but these four bare elements that Empedocles writeth of: Hot fire, cold water, sheer and soft: |Gross earth, pure air that spreads aloft" (Plutarch n.d.:73).<sup>11</sup> Whether or not this otherwise insignificant textual conjunction of philosopher and artist inspired Lyly's atomist aesthetics, his play *Campaspe* is articulated around the discourses of art and science in what might otherwise seem an arbitrary combination.

In addition to Laertius, Lucretius and Plutarch, Empedoclean ideas could be gleaned from the many references in the standard surviving works of ancient philosophy – in addition to Plato and Aristotle, Cicero's *De amicitia* and Theophrastus' *De sensu et sensibilis* – and in the writings of those that transmitted his and the other atomists' notions from antiquity to late sixteenth-century England. Isidore of Seville, Bede, Hrabanus Maurus, William of Conches and Vincent of Beauvais all knew of atomist philosophy, which Conches "openly taught" (Stones 1928:445-446). Subsequent propagators in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries included Nicholas of Cusa,

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<sup>10</sup> On the influence of Epicureanism see Jones (1989), C. Wilson (2008) and Greenblatt (2011), who discusses Machiavelli's reading of Lucretius and offers a useful synopsis of "the Lucretian challenge" (2011:150, 185-199).

<sup>11</sup> In his *Life of Arcesilaus*, Laertius makes no mention of this anecdote.

Girolamo Fracastoro, Peter Ramus and, of course, Bruno (Stones 1928:446-452). Earlier, both the scholastic Adam of Buckfield and Aquinas had regarded Empedocles as a “naturalist philosopher;” long before them, Plotinus attributed to him Pythagorean views on the soul and its purification, reconciled him with Platonism, and thereby facilitated allegorical readings of him by early Christian Platonists and Neoplatonists such as Clement of Alexandria, Hierocles of Alexandria, Simplicius, who translated him into Latin, and Olympiodorus the Younger (Bercovitch 1968:68-71). By the fifteenth century, some Neoplatonists found in Empedocles the “source of Plato’s theory of Ideas and of the soul;” Marsilio Ficino traced to him the notion of man as microcosm, Pico della Mirandola the “doctrine of the soul’s purification” (Bercovitch 1968:71-72). Throughout the sixteenth century many anthologies reproduced excerpts from his writings so that readers could decide for themselves whether he was a “naturalist” or a Platonist (Bercovitch 1968:72-73). Among those readers might well have been Thomas Nashe, who accurately quoted from Fragment 115, Gabriel Harvey, who “Without all exception|subscribe[d]” to his doctrine of contraries, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who counted him “the deep philosopher,” not to mention Thomas Kyd, Spenser, Thomas Watson, William Shakespeare and Robert Herrick, or Bacon, who incorporated important elements of his philosophy into his own cosmology (Bercovitch 1968:73, 74n24, 78-79). Though still shadowy, Empedocles was by no means unknown.

#### 4. Atomism in Oxford’s circle

After securing both BA and MA from Oxford, where he appears to have had little inclination for academic study, more, according to detractors like erstwhile friend Gabriel Harvey, for a libertine life of “horning, gaming, fooling, and knaving” (he may have been rusticated for three years), Lyly found himself in 1575 in need of employment after rejection for a fellowship at Magdalen College.<sup>12</sup> By 1578 Lyly was living in rented rooms at the Savoy Hospital, the expense probably born by Lord Burleigh, a distant relative through marriage (Hunter 2004); Burleigh’s son-in-law, Edward de Vere, 17<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Lyly was also incorporated MA at Cambridge in 1579, a procedure for which there were little or no residence requirements.

Earl of Oxford, was also renting accommodation there. So too were Harvey and Edmund Spenser (Bond 1902:1:17-18), both of whose philosophy was considerably influenced by their reading of Lucretius (Greenlaw 1920; Jardine 47-48n39) and both of whom may have introduced Lyly to materialist philosophy. In 1578 *Anatomy* was published, with its dedication to the otherwise undistinguished Lord Delaware. When *England* was published in 1580, its dedication to de Vere makes it quite likely that Lyly was by then already working as what Harvey would term Oxford's "minion Secretarie" (qtd. Nelson 2003:289). Himself a playwright, Oxford may have encouraged Lyly's turn to drama; certainly he transferred to him the lease of the Blackfriars Theatre in 1583. Oxford's notorious libertinism ruled him out of securing any important office or command and may, together with his literary interests, have led him to identify a fellow-spirit and sufferer in Lyly; more practically, by recruiting Lyly to produce plays for a royal audience, Oxford might have hoped to curry some favour with Elizabeth.

Licentious, hedonistic, extravagant and scandalous living was a charge conventionally brought against the materialist philosophers such as Empedocles, Aristippus and Epicurus, and later Bruno and Vanini – all of them as erudite as allegedly libertine. Epicurus' advocacy of pleasurable living was an easy stick with which to beat him even if what was really at stake were the atheistic consequences of his atomism. If charges of sensualism and luxury were convenient rhetorical stratagems which avoided the potentially more hazardous task of taking atomistic arguments seriously enough in order to be able to refute them, it becomes reasonable to suppose that what underlay contemporary slanders on Oxford's and Lyly's immoral demeanour may have been the suspicion of atheism. It was Oxford himself who was purported to have introduced atheism – along with Italian fashions – to the English court on his return from a sixteenth-month tour of France, Germany and Italy between 1574 and 1576 (Ward 1928:143). In Venice, Oxford may have come across victims of the Inquisition denounced for holding Epicurean beliefs regarding the chance creation of the world and the mortality of the soul (Nelson 2003:212). Yet his atheism may also have derived from sources available in England such as John Proctor's *The Fal of the Late Arrian* (1549). Be that as it may, Oxford's atheism was attested by Henry Howard, Francis Southwell and Charles Arundel, while "the Articles of Atheism brought against Raleigh in 1594 may date back to

his association with Oxford in 1579" (Nelson 2003:211). The precise nature of Oxford's atheism cannot be ascertained with certainty. He may have indulged in alchemy and prognostication, acting as the patron of a circle of mages and esoterists to which Lyly, accused of "dabbling in magic" (Bond 1902:1.29) also belonged, even if grudgingly: "Loth I am to be a prophett, and to be a wiche I loath," he wrote in a letter to Burleigh in 1582 (Nelson 2003:225). It begins to appear that Oxford and his circle were subject to the same smears as Northumberland, "the Wizard earl," and his, smears which perhaps attacked subversive science under the guise of wizardry and magic.

If Oxford were, like Northumberland, an atomist, Nicholas Hill, a disciple of Bruno and author of *Philosophia Epicurea, Democritana, Theophrastica* (Paris, 1601), would certainly have felt at home when becoming the former's secretary on expulsion from Cambridge in 1591, possibly on account of his suspect philosophical ideas (Hill 1997:130). The fact that in his diary entry for 25 October 1602 John Manningham accused "great profest philospher" Hill of "seduc[ing], indeed gull[ing]" a certain Sir Richard Basset "by imagined Alchymie" (qtd. Nelson 2003:62) demonstrates how one man's science may well have been another's atheism.

## 5. Atomism in *Campaspe*

The historical record allows speculation as to Lyly's atomism and/or atheism, but no hard evidence; and certainly, Lyly never cites Empedocles by name or quotes directly from him. The *Euphues* works do refer to Epicurus several times, but always as the butt of hackneyed jibes at gluttony and "licentiousnesse" (Lyly 1902:1.186, 188, 190, 276; 2.55, 99, 172). *Anatomy* does include a discussion on religious matters between Atheos and Euphues, the former subscribing to a materialist, Pantheist view that "if there be any God, it is the worlde wherein we lyue, that is the onely God," a view which Euphues brands as "detestable heresie" (Lyly 1902:1.292, 300). Despite reproving the fallaciousness of Euphues' arguments, which prove God's existence on the authority of the Scriptures, Atheos is "somewhat easily overcome" by them, as Bond noted (Lyly 1902: 1.365). The dialogue could be read as an exercise in containing atheistic subversion, but there is no proof either way. Lyly's attack on English fashion in *England* (Lyly 1902:2.194), a work which is

noticeably more ambivalent towards Italian culture than the more acerbic *Anatomy* (Hadfield 1998:170-179) may be a nod in the direction of his new patron, Oxford, whose Italianate sartorial taste was lampooned by Harvey in *Speculum Tuscanismi*; but the suspicion of libertinism is as soon allayed as aroused.

Lyly's first play, *Campaspe* (1583), does however bring into tantalising conjunction Lyly's aesthetics and atomist debate, as if prompted by the Arcesilaus anecdote from Plutarch's *Moralia*. The play opens with Clitus and Parmenio discussing the genetics of Alexander's perfection (Lyly 1902:2.317 [I.i.7-13]), while later, Hephestion delivers himself of a Petrarchan analysis of "al the perfection that may be in *Campaspe*" but yet advises Alexander to nurture his divine pretensions and shun her earthly charms (330-331 [II.ii.62-76]). More importantly, as already mentioned, the plot turns on Apelles deliberate marring of his portrait of Campaspe. When entrusted by Alexander with the task of painting Campaspe, Apelles expresses doubts about the successful accomplishment of the commission: "Bewty is not so soone shadowed, whose perfection commeth not within the compasse either of cunning or of colour" (333 [II.ii.157-158]). A little later he identifies that beauty with Campaspe's "absolute" (336 [III.iii.7]) face, a face so complete that its perfection lacks nothing and, as he explains to Alexander, means that any artistic representation of it will never be finished and therefore never perfect: to his customer's impatient question "When will you finish *Campaspe*?", Apelles replies, "Never finishe: for always in absolute bewtie there is somewhat aboue art" (339-340 [III.iv.80-82]). By this time, Apelles has fallen in love with the woman sitting for him as he confesses in a soliloquy which seems to confirm the atomistic basis of his aesthetics. Contemplating his portrait of Campaspe, he wishes it might come to life, but suspects Venus is so envious of its beauty that she will refuse to work any such miracle. More practically, he acknowledges the misplacement of his love for the "concubine of the Lord of the world" (342 [III.v.33]); more philosophically he realises that he has painted "the expresse image of *Venus*, but so[me]what fresher: the only pattern of that eternitie, which *Iupiter* dreaming of aslepe, could not conceiue again waki[n]g" (342 [III.v.41-43]). In other words, his portrait has attained a perfection inaccessible even to the Gods. It is a perfection which replicates "eternitie" and thereby transforms the subject portrayed, Campaspe, into a goddess herself; and it is as Venus that Apelles

now apostrophises his portrait: “Blush *Venus*, for I am ashamed to end thee” (342 [III.v.43-44]). As in Vanini’s reading of Empedocles, perfection here is identified with eternity or perpetuity; Apelles, cowed by the hubris of bestowing immortality on Campaspe, feels dread at the prospect of actually completing the portrait, making its perfection absolute and himself greater than the gods, a danger that is brought out explicitly in a later exchange between him and Campaspe:

*Apel.* Whom do you loue best in the world?

*Camp.* He that made me last in the world.

*Apel.* That was God.

*Camp.* I had thought it had been a man. (347 [IV.ii.34-40]).

Luckily for Apelles, the love-plight he is submerged in affords him the means not to have to complete the painting. For so keen is he to set his eyes once more on Campaspe that he conceives a ruse to see her again and confess his love for her: “Assoone as Alexander hath viewed this portraiture, I will be deuise give it a blemish, that by that meanes she may come again to my shop” (343 [III.v.57-59]). Apelles, then, deliberately makes imperfect his perfect work of art so that, in a variation on the blemish/“come-at-me” trope, the girl he loves will be obliged to go back to his painter’s shop. Thus the aesthetics of imperfection enables Lyly’s play to achieve its comic resolution and completion.

As a foil to the love plot Lyly introduces Athenian philosophers onto the stage where they embark on a discussion of the relationship between the moon and the tides. How the moon might affect the tides if there was no contact between them was a question which had vexed materialist philosophers since Aristotle and was being debated even as Lyly wrote his play.<sup>13</sup> Between 1583 and 1585 Bruno was wrestling with the issue in his London dialogues (Blum 2012:36). Whatever else may be affirmed of Lyly, he was certainly conversant with one of the hot scientific topics of his day, a topic which forced one to take a stand with the atheists or the faithful. Taken together with his play’s dramatization of his novel aesthetics of perfection, this textualization of a contemporary scientific controversy makes it

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<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that Pincombe finds Lyly’s Aristotle a mere “time-serving propagandist” (1996:29).



at least plausible that Lyly's aesthetics have a basis in atomist philosophy where the concept of perpetuity was predicated on generation. That being the case, Lyly's dramatic engagement with the moon in *Endymion* and *The Woman in the Moon* (where Pandora, a possibly veiled portrait of Elizabeth, is initially a "perfect" compound of the four Empedoclean elements, "purest water, earth, and ayre, and fyre" (Lyly 1902.3.244 [I.i.62]), finally "mutable" and "fickle"),<sup>14</sup> as well as through the figure of Diana in *Gallathea*, might take on a new resonance in the context of contemporary political debate over Elizabeth's virginity, potential matches and eventual succession: self-proclaimed *eadem semper*, Elizabeth's perfection resided in her immutability, yet the perpetuity of the English crown required the change intrinsic to generation and its corollary of unmaidenly imperfection. Meanwhile, in a metaphorical economy where on the one hand courtiers like Raleigh cast themselves as the ocean petitioning Cynthia, their lunar queen, and where on the other social instability was figured as tempest, seditious elements in society as "roarers" and "ruffian billows," scientific debate over the effective relationship between moon and tide begins to acquire a charged political undertow.

## 5. Conclusions

This paper raises more questions than it answers. Its thesis that Lyly espoused an atomist aesthetic requires wide-ranging substantiation from a close reading of all his works. The political implications of an aesthetic where perfection is predicated on perpetuity, imperfection on generation, also need to be teased out carefully before rereading Lyly's plays against the backdrop of contemporary debate over Elizabeth's virginity and the problem of succession. More broadly, if Lyly's aesthetics do have an atomist slant which may properly be identified as baroque, then it is time for English literature of the late-sixteenth century to be re-examined from the optic of an aesthetic and cultural category which is generally associated with continental (and Roman Catholic) Europe and absent from standard accounts of English literary history. More broadly still, this paper is further testimony to the need for standard histories of philosophy and

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<sup>14</sup> Scragg (2006) suggests an early date for *The Woman in the Moon* and blames the suppression of the Paul's boys circa 1590 on the "royal displeasure" it incurred.

science to be revised. Interest in Epicurean materialism in England is usually understood to have taken root in the wake of Pierre Gassendi's reconciliation of atomism with Christian doctrine with the publication of *Philosophiæ Epicuri Syntagma* in 1649 (Kargon 1964:184) or of the Paris salon of the Cavendish circle in the mid-1640s, which was "the centre of a revival of Epicureanism led by Hobbes and Gassendi" (Wilson 2008:27).<sup>15</sup> Perhaps, as some of the studies cited here indicate, that revival started much earlier, before any reconciliation with Christianity made atomism respectable. And perhaps Lyly was one of its revivers, with no qualms about its heresies. For Lyly was capable of airing the most radical of ideas, whether on the virginity of Mary or the insubstantiality of art. When in *England* Lyly asserts of the virgin queen's overmastering power that "This is the onelye myracle that virginitie ever wrought" (1902:2.205), the compliment contains a scarcely veiled confession of either radical Puritanism, which would sit ill with Lyly's attachment to the Burlegh circle, or outright religious scepticism – both of which, in any case, would qualify him as atheist. When in his prologue to *Endymion* Lyly writes: "We present neither comedy, nor tragedy, nor story, nor anything but that whosoever heareth may say this: Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon," he not only anticipates Shakespearean dissatisfaction with conventional genres, but also the proto-postmodernism of Lawrence Sterne's aesthetic nihilism, grounded as it would be in the same empiricist rationalism and demystification of the cosmos which the early Greek materialist philosophers had first essayed, which led Bruno and Vanini to the stake, and which may, less drastically, have barred Lyly from mastership of the revels. Lyly may well be a more dangerous, subversive and exciting writer than standard accounts of his eclipse by Marlowe, Shakespeare and company suggest.

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<sup>15</sup> Slightly earlier, Robert Greville, son of Fulke Greville, and Kenelm Digby had also advocated atomism in *The Nature of Truth* (1641) and *Two Treatises* (1644) respectively. Fulke Greville had participated in scientific discussions with Bruno.

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**The authority of geography in  
*Pericles, Prince of Tyre* :  
Jacob Falckenburgk and Dionysius Periegetes**

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ABSTRACT

Taking into account the complex authorship of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, this paper surveys the intertextual influence of the Latin verse narrative of the Apollonius saga by Jacob Falckenburgk (London, 1578) and Thomas Twayne's translation of *Orbis terrae descriptio* (*The Surveye of the world*) by Dionysius Periegetes (London, 1572) on the erratic geography of *Pericles*. Drawing on the Pericles/Apollonius tales (the play and its Latin verse and English prose intertexts), as well as the ancient geographic narrative describing the Eastern Mediterranean spaces of the settings, the play decentres the authority of ancient geography maintained via the well-travelled Apollonius tale or through the weight of classical texts. *Pericles* destabilizes the authority of both classical language and geography through a process of defamiliarization of and distancing from the legitimization of ancient texts and geographic tradition. Through the suggestion of alterity during the dramatic interaction, the play incorporates the recognition of difference and the support of tolerance within early modern transnational communities.

KEYWORDS: Shakespeare; romances; geography; Latin; Falckenburgk; Periegetes; Renaissance drama.



*Temporis atque loci pro ratione canam.*<sup>1</sup>

It might seem a hopeless or heedlessly daring task to attempt a discussion about intertextuality, or the transmigration of motifs in a play of such authorial complexity<sup>2</sup> and oddly shaped narrative style as *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. Not surprisingly, David Skeeel calls *Pericles* “perhaps the most paradoxical of Shakespeare’s plays” (2000:1), considering that paradox and the mixed mode seem to be its theatrical default modes. I will focus on the performative aspects of geography and the creation of place in Shakespeare and Wilkins’s play, in the sense coined by John Gillies (2003:177) and Rob Sullivan (2011:1)<sup>3</sup> as viewed from the perspective of drama. Looking at how classical geographic texts and allusions to space inflect dramatic representations of places in *Pericles*, my purpose is to open still-unexplored pathways into the play’s generic peculiarity, in the hope of explaining some of its incongruities through the lens of geography. Discussing the cultural geography of stage romance, Cyrus Mulready explores the intersections of drama, romance, and overseas expansion, arguing that stage romances responded to the audience’s interest in an emerging global empire (2013:2-3). Mulready reads *The Tempest* and *Pericles* as “presenting differing responses to geographic shifts brought on by the expanding globe” (30). Extending this argument of adaptable performative action via

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<sup>1</sup> “I shall sing for reason of time and place” (Falckenburgk 1578:Aiiij), my translation.

<sup>2</sup> Since this is neither a source study nor an authorship debate, I accept the consensus for Shakespeare-Wilkins’ dual authorship. See Jackson (1990:192-196; 1993:239-249; 2003); Klause (2010:395-400; 2012:538-544); Jackson (2011:260-6; 2013:434-439); McMannaway (1969:1259); Smith (1974:1479); Schanzer (1972:149); Bevington (1992:1398); Jowett (2003:117); Knapp (2009:29). Hillman sees the play as an artistic whole, whatever the circumstances of composition, through Gower’s choric role (1985:427). Whether Shakespeare revised an earlier play or not, or whether Wilkins had a hand in the first acts, does not alter my discussion of the play’s geographic scope in relation to Falckenburgk and Dionysius Periegetes. However, since my argument focuses mainly on Acts III and IV, considered much more Shakespearean by Jackson and McMannaway than Acts I and II, my hope is that comments on geography, space, and ethnicity will illuminate indirectly the problem of authorship.

<sup>3</sup> Gillies understands place in Shakespeare’s later plays in relation to “the embodied self” and notes that “The various settings of the late plays tend, like the Near-Eastern cities of *Pericles* (Antioch, Tyre, Pentapolis, Tharsis, Mitilene), to be qualitatively “thin” and virtually interchangeable” (2003:177). Sullivan explores the ways in which speech act theory can be applied to geography and views the creation of place as being implicated in performance (2011:1).

geographic reconstruction,<sup>4</sup> I would add that the impact of classical geography in shaping a mental picture of dramatic space in *Pericles* destabilizes a stereotypical articulation of locale by encouraging the recognition of ethnic diversity. The play's geographic and ethnographic variety inflects alterity and allegorizes new ways of looking at an old world.

The particular handling of topographical tropes – common to the many variants of the Apollonius tale and to *Pericles* – validates the generic specificity of the prose and dramatic romance. In addition, new geographic knowledge restated the legitimacy of these foundation texts. In her attempt to recover the figurative geography of *Pericles* and *The Comedy of Errors* – which share a similarly exotic geographic space – Linda McJannet observes that “setting is operative in both plays as both a literal and a symbolic marker” (1998:87). Similarly, Roger Warren argues that the late plays of Shakespeare are united by the “spiritual journeys” undertaken by their characters (2003:8). In my view, the play's emotionally charged metaphoric space of Eastern Mediterranean locations is adapted from ancient geographers' accounts, with a particular dynamic twist specific to dramatic action. Translations from classical geographers such as Pliny, Strabo, Mela, or Solinus were widely popular in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, despite the gross inconsistencies of these reports and the advances of new geography. In the Dedictory Epistle to Sir William Cecil, appended to his translation of Pomponius Mela's Latin geography, Arthur Golding states that the works of ancient geographers need to be revived, despite the limitations of the knowledge conveyed, because they offer readers “the pleasure of infancy” (Golding 1585:n.p.). The fictionalized and even romanticized geographic narratives transmitted from the ancients to early modern times account for the emblematic dramatizations of space in *Pericles*. Furthermore, next to the revered tradition of the Apollonius romances – also of classical origin and frequently reiterated in the vernacular – filiation from classical geographic accounts legitimizes the gross inconsistencies and erratic transgressions of physical space in the play.

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<sup>4</sup> In exploring the dramatization of geographic space in the play I have considered essays on representations of geography in *Pericles* by Relihan (1992:281-299); McJannet (1998:86-106); Cormack (2001:155-180); Hanna (2002:102-131); Holland (2005:11-29); Laureano Domínguez (2009:71-97).

The intricate generation of the Apollonius tales and their wide proliferation would appear to have no connection with the idea of firm authorship, whereas the story is remarkable for its persistence and stability. The long line of translations, imitations, *märchen*, *volksbücher*, sagas, romances, and ballads flow into the dramatic version of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, which maintains the inconsistent geographic locations of the original story. In retelling the classical romance tale of Apollonius of Tyre, *Pericles* draws on non-dramatic sources: John Gower's verse *Confessio Amantis* and Twyne's prose romance narrative (probably derived via a French version from the *Gesta Romanorum*, in a lineage parallel to Gower's). Alternatively, we might consider as an analogue the 1578 Latin verse rendition of Apollonius of Tyre, written by the Brandenburg count Jacob Falckenburgk and published in London<sup>5</sup> – which is another example of the rich intertextuality of the Pericles stories.<sup>6</sup> While I do not posit this particular version as another source for *Pericles*, I will demonstrate how these textual fountains were perpetually renewed in early modern times through a dialogic exchange among the various disciplines of cosmography and geography, just as ancient geography texts were dutifully revived by translators. In the attempt to compile, translate, comment on, and alter classical texts creatively, Renaissance scholarship throughout Europe constantly sought to recover the past in order to connect it to the future. Little did it matter that the regions described by ancient geographers no longer resembled early modern locations – sometimes not even in name; the metaphoric journey developed by geographic narratives was powerful enough to resuscitate nostalgia and dislocate creative energies. Dramatic adaptations of ancient narratives such as *Pericles* reveal spatial dynamism through action; the theatre displaces the legacy of ancient geography in performance. This disruption of space as laid out by the ancients exposes, I believe, *Pericles'* metatheatricity.

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<sup>5</sup> This is the only edition of the work. The volume is inscribed in the *Book Trade Directory* for the year 1578, at R. G. (Richardus Grapheus), number 2373, "Jacobus Falckenburgius, Britannia sive de Appolonica [...] Encomium" (Arber 1875:5;108).

<sup>6</sup> Humphrey Newcomb argues that the entwined intertextuality in the setting of Pericles tales defeats ordinal logic and frustrates the reproductive assumptions inherent in traditional "source" studies (2009:21).

In the Apollonius sequence of prose and verse romances, it is difficult to discern which variant preceded the other. Any version of the Apollonius saga might serve as an example, and I have chosen the seldom debated and infrequently mentioned Latin verse narrative by Jacob Falckenburgk (London, 1578).<sup>7</sup> Rather than looking at the reiterated Apollonius story of this text, however, I will discuss the geographic allusions from the five-page dedication written by the German Count Jacob Falckenburgk in acclamation of Queen Elizabeth, Leicester, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and a pleiad of Oxonian personalities of the time. The Dedicatory Epistle of Falckenburgk's Latin verse rendition of the Apollonius tale, consisting of 162 Latin hexameters and signed "I. Falckenburgk, Germanus," places the English queen at the centre of a new world of geographic discovery, while reminding readers that we live exposed to "*ter mille periclis*."<sup>8</sup> The Queen is "*Regina Britannos*," "*virtutis amatrix*," "*Ysabella*," "*Elizabetha*," "*Elissa*;" she is also "*Anglia Minerva*," at once an image of Juno and Pallas, the pupil of Heroes and Mars. The hyperbolic images describing Queen Elizabeth are paralleled only by the enumeration of the lesser stars surrounding her, the earls of Leicester, Arundel, Bedford, Sussex, Derby, Kent, Huntingdon, Cumberland, Herford, Pembroke, Northumberland, Southampton, and Essex (Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex), as

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<sup>7</sup> Bullough (1966:6, 349-374) does not include the Falckenburgk version among the possible sources. In the Introduction to the Arden edition of *Pericles*; Hoeniger mentions briefly this text as "Another Latin version of some interest [...]" (1963:xvii). In her Introduction to the New Arden edition Suzanne Gossett makes no mention of the Falckenburgk Latin verse narrative (2004:1-163). In the Introduction to the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* edition, the editors Delvecchio and Hammond do not find a place for the Falckenburgk narrative even among the lesser sources (1998:[3]). Neither does Muir mention the Falckenburgk text among the sources of *Pericles* (1977:254-266), nor Gesner (1970:84-90). The absence of the Latin version of the Apollonius tale from the list of sources for *Pericles* is the result of the fact that this is just one of many such tales proliferating in Europe. My approach from the direction of geography in the Latin story is intended to illuminate the distinctive perception of geographic space in the period rather than the consideration of a particular analogue among so many others.

<sup>8</sup> "Nascimur & morimur, siné spperáter adimus|Cuius certa hominú quéq; minuta latent.| Vivimus interea expositi ter mille periclis,|Hic foris ille domi, quo tribuletur, habet" (Falckenburgk 1578: sig. Aij) [We are born and we die, we approach the end in haste|Of which all the certain details of life lie hidden.|We live in the meantime exposed to three thousand perils|This one has afflictions abroad, that one has them at home (my translation)].

well as Bacon, Hunsdon,<sup>9</sup> Sidney, Cobham, Croft, and Walsingham. Marginal notes in this text, such as "*Concordia nutrit amorem*" [In harmony, love thrives] and "*Iustitia elevat gentem*" [Righteousness exalteth a nation] (sig. Aiiij<sup>r</sup>) add to the patriotic propaganda emanating from, paradoxically, a German count and adventurer.<sup>10</sup> The Queen's illustrious body is placed at the centre of a global world comprising Europe, Africa, Asia, Magellan's America, and even the Cathay described by Polo (sig. Aiiij<sup>v</sup>). Falckenburgk admits that he will never be able to encompass, in his description and in imagination, the vast geographical space covered by the Queen's influence.

The ancient and well-travelled Apollonius tale – as told in Falckenburgk's Latin verse narrative – is set against the background of English aspirations of imperial dominance, connecting past and present, geography and history, real life and fictional stories. Contextualising his eulogy of England and Elizabeth, Falckenburgk equates the suffering and peregrinations of Apollonius with the perils of the biblical prophet Jonah ("*pericla IONAS*"). In this way, the author connects the ambivalent geography of the Eastern Mediterranean – which is also the symbolic setting of the biblical story – with the dangers of sea-travel. A similar allusion to the story of Jonah, linked to the unpredictability of fortune during tempests at sea, echoes in the three fishermen's witty exchange in *Pericles*: the fishermen compare public misfortunes to the fictional tale of a huge whale that swallowed an entire parish (2.1.28-43).<sup>11</sup> The fishermen's comical exchange plays on the tale's impossibility – perpetuated by hearsay – and is heavy with social and political allusions. In the moralizing tone specific to early modern re-interpretations of

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<sup>9</sup> Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, as Lord Chamberlain, became the first patron of The Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594. See Bevington (2011:27).

<sup>10</sup> According to Jantz, "Jacob von Falckenburgk, from Brandenburg, wrote such paraphrastic poems and published a group of them in London, in the *Britannia*, 1578, and the *Ara et Focus*, 1579, at the time Johannes Casimirus of the Palatinate was there to consult with Queen Elizabeth on the defence of the Protestant cause. With their publication in England, they have escaped the attention of the German literary scholar. And indeed, no special attention has been given to this dualistic kind of composition, at its best held together by fascinatingly intricate filiations running back and forth between the two layers of action" (1966:434).

<sup>11</sup> My references to the controversial text of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* are keyed to the New Arden edition, ed. Suzanne Gossett (2004).

classical stories, Falckenburgk claims that he would bring into the present the message of ancient exemplary acts, declaring that his poetic argument is directed to a specific time and place ("*Temporis atque loci pro ratione canam*," Aiiij<sup>o</sup>), namely the Elizabethan London he seemed to admire so much. Considering that *Pericles* is the only one of the hundreds of versions<sup>12</sup> of the Apollonius narrative to change the protagonist's name, I might draw attention to this variant in relation to the possible influence of the Latin word for "perils" (*periclis*) in the configuration of the play. However, since I do not hypothesize that the Falckenburgk variant of the Apollonius story is a possible source for *Pericles*, I prefer to highlight the extensive geographic scope of the traditional Apollonius tale, which is superimposed on Falckenburgk's presentation of Elizabeth's figure at the centre of an increasingly better-known world, thus prefiguring England's imperialistic aspirations. Geopolitics, geography, and history are entwined to suggest new possibilities of expansion and domination by a beneficial rule, such as Elizabeth's is considered to be in Falckenburgk's encomium.

Romance stories in early modern England provided the kind of imaginative provocation also found in classical geography texts. The allure of both romance and ancient geography served as a powerful enticement to territorial and colonial involvement. I propose then that the dramatic romance represented by *Pericles* developed from its roots in medieval narrative into a stage genre that dramatized both the ancient geography of an old world and the new imperial aspirations of an Elizabethan and Jacobean globalized sphere. In this context, geographic locations described by ancient writers coexisted with a pragmatic dramatization of trade and travel, as suggested in the play's scenes in Mytilene. The text I have selected from the large number of classical geographic works published in the period 1572-1609 is Thomas Twyne's 47-page prose translation of *Orbis terrae descriptio* (*The Surveye of the world*) by Dionysius Periegetes (1572).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For further reference to the extension of the Apollonius narrative, see Smith (1972); Archibald gives only a brief survey of the versions of the Apollonius story produced up to 1609, the year of publication of the quarto of *Pericles*, admitting/acknowledging that there are too many to be described in detail (1991:182).

<sup>13</sup> The full title of Twyne's translation of Dionysius Periegetes is *The surueye of the vworld, or situation of the earth, so much as is inhabited Comprising briefly the generall partes thereof, with the names both new and olde, of the principal countries, kingdoms, peoples, cities, towns, portes, promontories, hils, woods, mountains, valleyes, riuers and fountaines*.

Thomas Twyne was the brother of Lawrence Twyne, the author of *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* (1576),<sup>14</sup> which tells the story of Apollonius, prince of Tyre.<sup>15</sup> The English translation from Dionysius Periegetes is dedicated to William Lovelace, Esq.<sup>16</sup> and dated London, 15 May 1572 (ij<sup>r</sup>). The title page bears the motto “*Armipotentia Angliae*” [England’s power in arms], suggesting images of military supremacy. Replaying the Elizabethans’ interest in the expansion of geographic knowledge for political and imperialistic reasons, as well as the early Jacobean encouragement of the new geography, the play dissolves the authority of ancient geography maintained via the well-travelled Apollonius tale and classical geographic texts.

In his introduction to the translation of Dionysius Periegetes, Twyne mentions that he has added the current names of the countries to the original Latin ones in order to make the classical text more accessible to the reader. Latin is the initial common vehicle for the propagation of knowledge in the narrative romance and the ancient description of the world, while the dramatic romance apparently shares similar interconnected roots emerging from discourses of Roman imperial dominance. Rome’s colonial power asserted its supremacy not only by military might but also by the geographic knowledge that the empire’s scholars could produce. Dionysius Periegetes, or “the Traveller, the Voyager,” probably lived

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*therin conteyned. Also of seas, with their clyffes, reaches, turnings, elbows, quicksands, rocks, flattes, shelues and shoares. A work very necessary and delectable for students of geographie, saylers, and others. First vritten in Greeke by Dionise Alexandrine, and now englished by Thomas Twine, Gentl. Imprinted at London: By Henrie Bynneman, Anno. 1572. STC 6901.* Emphasizing the practical and wide scope of the geographic text, the translator inscribes it among the works necessary for any person’s education, but never mentions the fact that it was already outdated at the time of its translation.

<sup>14</sup> *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* by Laurence Twine was entered in the Stationers’ Register in 1576 and is extant now in two editions, one undated but possibly c. 1594 and the other of 1607 (when it was attributed to Thomas Twine, Laurence’s brother). Discussing the geographic scope of this prose romance, Relihan observes that the significance of Twine’s world is “because of its emphasis on creating spaces not through didactic description of customs or natural history, but through an emphasis on the civic dimension of the locations in which it is set” (2004:79).

<sup>15</sup> *The Patterne* has been several times erroneously ascribed to Thomas Twyne, but this is irrelevant in the context of this study.

<sup>16</sup> Sir William Lovelace the Elder (1561-1629), sergeant-at-law, was a barrister and the grandfather of the Cavalier poet Richard Lovelace. See Elton (1986:101) for evidence concerning Sir William Lovelace, who was recorded as speaking as MP in 1571, a year before this translation from Dionysius Periegetes by Thomas Twyne was published.

in the time of Emperor Hadrian, in the second century AD. He wrote the description of the then known world in Greek hexameters, but the purpose was to prove ancient Rome's incontestable cultural supremacy. When describing the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, Dionysius mentions "the Latini, a glorious kinde of people, verie plentifull with goodnesse of soile and excellencie of wits" (sig. Bv<sup>r</sup>). Roman imperial governance is incontestably connected with the spreading of knowledge through Latin (and implicitly Greek) as the languages of culture, which were also instrumental in the dissemination of geographic knowledge. In most ancient geographic texts, therefore, the centrality of Rome at the heart of the empire was dutifully emphasized, while Latin was the universal language of scholarly communication, as it was in Renaissance Europe.

It was through Latin that Falckenburgk could convey his flattering eulogy to Elizabethan learned readers, and Latin was also the language that made possible the transmission of geographic information encoded in *Orbis terrae descriptio* by Dionysius Periegetes. The authority of Latin emerges in *Pericles* through the intercession of Gower's commendation of old things as better than new ones (1.0.10), as well as in the five mottos of the knights contending for Thaisa's hand at the mock-medieval tournament (2.2.21; 29; 33; 38; 43). The educated readers of geography texts would expect to find Latin quotations in the descriptions of ancient places, while the presence of Latin in the play highlights the antiquity of the story and the globalized perspective suggested by visions of empires, past and present. In the dedication "To the Friendly Reader" Twyne explains that the text of Dionysius of Alexandria was written initially in Greek and later translated into Latin. There are several conjectural references to "authority" in Twyne's address to the reader, which might illumine the kind of Renaissance intertextuality that made such composite stories possible: the "olde writer" (Dionysius) was commended in antiquity "for compendiousness and brevity"; although many of his descriptions can also be read in Pliny, the translator notes, "sufficēt it shal be in prayse or authority to have yealded to him his owne, and no more" (\*4<sup>r</sup>). This is, I believe, the approach we might adopt for all Renaissance texts – in Latin or vernacular, whether literary, geographical, historical or other – when the question of authorship and the confusion generated by multiple borrowings and interpolations threaten to give us pause. We could yield each author



his/her own and admit not only that repetition and conflation were common practices in the period, but that this intellectual exercise was no less honourable and praiseworthy for being so. Yet, we should attribute to these compilations no more praise than is due to them, in accordance with the genre of that particular work and the general rules of composition.

Dionysius's geographic text contains graphic images that require decoding with the help of imaginative and geometric abstraction – the same mental process as that involved in reading a map or needed to envisage distant locations described by ancient or contemporary geographers. Therefore, knowledge derived from geography is almost as much indebted to the visual as theatrical action is. For example, Dionysius explains the division of the Earth into continents and the fact that the known world is surrounded by the ocean like a large island; he mentions the seas and continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe, the three corners of the known world in ancient geography. In the chapter describing "The Situation of Europe," Dionysius gives a graphic presentation of the continent, shaped "lyke the pointe of a triangle, waxing alwayes narrower towards the West, and encreasing in widnesse much in the East" (sig. Bij<sup>v</sup>). This cartographic image is impressive, considering that we owe it to an ancient geographer who is known to have never travelled to the regions he describes, according to his own testimony. Dionysius's visual depiction of Europe implies that he must have had access to a bird's eye view of the continent, which is remarkable when we consider the ancients' supposedly limited knowledge of the world. Renaissance geographers liked to think that they added to the world's knowledge, whereas we see that classical texts could map the ancient world with the kind of visual accuracy that we can ascribe only to later early modern cartography devised according to the Mercator projection. In a non-fictional geographic text, therefore, the author offers a telescoping perspective through visual geometric projection, while the playwright(s) would use Gower's intercession to highlight *mise-en-abyme* and theatricality.

Despite the antiquated flavour suggested through Gower's choric interventions, these dramatic shortcuts compress time and space in a manner possible only in theatre. For example, in all the recurrent Apollonius tales, a storm strikes the despondent hero for the third time when he lands in Mytilene. In *Pericles*, Gower's

narrative gives profundity to this episode by informing the audience: "[...] we left him on the sea. We there him lost,|Whence, driven before the winds, he is arrived|Here where his daughter dwells" (5.0.13-15). The here and now of performance is the city of Mytilene, which is celebrating God Neptune's annual feast. The sea, tempestuous winds, and fortune are connected, in the same way as in the source variants of the story, with the particular addition of performativity. In a gesture of theatrical self-reflexivity similar to the Prologue in *Henry V* inviting the audience to visualize the "vast" fields of France, Gower encourages the audience to imagine how Pericles' party had anchored at Mytilene and to picture the setting of his ship, while announcing that further events will be discovered "in action" (5.0.23). Gower carefully delimits the performance space: after Pericles was shipwrecked on the shore of Pentapolis, Gower declares, "here he comes" (2.0.39), while later he invites the audience to "Imagine Pericles arrived at Tyre" (4.0.1). Even more so, during the storm in which Marina is born, Gower breaks up the narrative and proclaims that the action "Shall for itself itself perform" (3.0.54); he appeals to the audience's "imagination" to visualize "This stage the ship" (3.0.59). In this way, narrative and geographic space becomes theatrical space. Just as, in the source stories, the symbols of the sea and the tempest as agents of fortune emphasize the inherent flexibility of a romance tale that has gone through centuries practically unscathed (and yet forever rendered different), the dramatic version of the Pericles tales highlights the here and now of performance in action.

The tradition that conjoins the Apollonius narratives involves asynchronous collaboration and a multiplicity of texts. Moreover, in drama, audiences are confronted with multifaceted and volatile realities of performance. Gower invites the audience to imagine and visualize space, just as when reading a map or a geographic narrative. A similar telescoping image suggesting the mental picture of a ship approaching the cliffs of Mytilene surfaces from Dionysius's geography. Visualizing the description of the Greek islands to his readers, the ancient author offers a navigator's view of the Aegean islands, "Lesbos, now Metelina," and Tenedo; their cliffs rise high out of the water. Two rivers, Melas and Colphus, run into *Hellespontus*, and from there, to the north, lies the *Sea Propontis*, which enlarges then on every side and forms the entrance to the *Sea Euxinum* (sig. Ciii<sup>v</sup>). By imagining a ship that approaches the cliffs of

Mytilene as described by Periegetes, the reader can summon a similar image with the one formed in the minds of members of the audience of *Pericles*; they are able to visualize Gower's description of the Tyre ship approaching the shores of Mytilene, expecting to have the rest of the story revealed in action. Lisa Hopkins refers to the play's theatrical "blurring of person and place," and cogently argues that the geographic locations dramatized in *Pericles* reveal "a Greece of the mind" (2000:228); Indeed, imaginative capacity in drama works differently than do the visions of expanded spaces emerging from ancient geographic descriptions. Both need to abstract narrative and compress space. While the latter encompass huge spaces and rely on the locations' names and, sometimes, geographic coordinates of latitude and longitude for specification, drama relies on the present viewer's perspective.

Both early modern geography texts and drama, when they offer a perception of vast spaces, create shortcuts for the reader/audience and give them a condensed glimpse of the places described. Imaginative capacity for abstraction and representation is necessary in both cases. Like Elizabethan or Jacobean playwrights, classical geographers did not (and could not) necessarily travel to the locations they represented. Travel was mostly in the mind, and with the help of learning from other authors. For example, Dionysius describes the areas of the *Sea Caspium* (Caspian Sea) in his geography. Admitting that he did not travel to faraway regions such as these, Dionysius depicts the lands unknown to him "not as one that hath séene those places (by traueling [...]), but like him who from his tender yeares, hath ben brought vp in studie of good learning, whereby it commeth now to passe, that those things whiche are very farre distant, I doe beholde as present, and can conceyue euery place throughly in my mynde and cogitation without any errour" (sig. Dy<sup>r</sup>). Time and place can be thus transgressed with the help of learning and imagination. Discussing the creative referentiality of constructed spaces in ancient geography, Bertrand Westphal gives the example of the "macroscopic" descriptions by Periegetes. As Westphal observes, "Dionysius probably had not been a traveler, or even a cartographer: he traveled the world through the mind, through the text, through a text that he wrote in the form of inventory. The connection between text and space is close here; it passes through the power of speech, which creates spaces" (2011:81). Ancient and early modern

geographic texts were a blend of allusions to classical mythology, natural philosophy, wonder stories, and hearsay. Such was the way of writing geography in ancient times, as in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. As in ancient geographic narratives, Gower is testimony to the power of speech to create space, but audiences can also see that stage space speaks for itself.

*Pericles* is, thus, the result of combined influences of romance tradition, ancient and early modern geographic narratives, and compressed dramatic action. Through the force of repetition, ancient and early modern geographic descriptions created cultural clichés perpetuated throughout the concatenation of various discourses about a certain place. However, in *Pericles*, the stereotypical characteristics that proliferated in geographic and ethnographic texts about Eastern Mediterranean nations are blurred and inconsistent. Indeed, the hero is a descendant of the intrepid Phoenician seafarers but his purpose is not clear and he wanders aimlessly around the prescribed locations, apparently a victim of capricious fortune, as in the Apollonius story. When describing the third part of Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean cities, Dyonisius Periegetes praises the Phoenicians, based in the ancient city of Tyre: “the fayre and auncient citie *Tyrus*, nowe *Sur*, builded from the beginning” (sig. C<sup>r</sup>). The inhabitants are famed to have been the first navigators and traders and to have found the motions of the stars, “by the excellencie of their witte and industrie” (sig. C<sup>i</sup><sup>r</sup>). There is almost no trace of the famed Phoenician diligence and determination in the melancholy prince shipwrecked on the coast of Pentapolis, possibly in the North African province of Cyrenaica. Pericles experiences the events of his life as things that have happened to him, rather than things that he has had a hand in carrying out. This emphasizes the instability of fortune, as in the Apollonius narrative, and the character is reminiscent of Jonah, except he has no real faith, and therefore seems to have no real moral or psychological reason to believe the way he does. On the other hand, the renowned Phoenician intrepidity and business spirit surfaces in the play through the verbal interactions among the fishermen on the coast of Pentapolis, or among Bawd, Pander, and Boulton in Mytilene – an interesting economic banter suggestive of international trade.

The contingency of the space in which dramatic action develops derives from the unsituatedness of the romance genre, but the play

also suggests matter-of-fact localization targeted at a specific time and place – possibly Jacobean England. *Pericles*, for instance, is treated by Thomas Roebuck and Laurie Maguire as a play about British nationhood – a preoccupation signalled, above all, in the play’s language and the figure of Gower (2010:24). More specifically, David Morrow examines *Pericles* through the lens of the social changes brought about by capitalist circulation and commodity exchange in Jacobean England as a result of travel and global traffic (2013:356). Even more so, as I note, the ethnic blend and cosmopolitanism of the city on the island of Lesbos contrasts with the play’s indefinable geography of the Eastern Mediterranean, inherited from the Apollonius tale and ancient geographic narratives. In the brothel scene of *Pericles*, the Bawd’s allusions to the already dead Transylvanian (4.2.19-20), the lecherous Spaniard (4.2.91-92) and the diseased French knight, Monsieur Veroles (4.2.98-101) provide a local contrast to the vague Hellenistic atmosphere of the Apollonius stories. Only the dramatic romance displays these allusions to early modern European nations, non-existent at the time of the classical source stories. By integrating members of Eastern and Western European nations in the unruly sociality of the brothel, the play dislocates the fictionalized view inherited from romance story and classical geography, representing a world of consumer mobility and trade similar to that of Jacobean London. In this way, geography speaks on stage with the language of economics and commercial enterprise.

There may be a fresh and commercially enabling geographic language expressed through the interactive references to the three foreigners from the Mytilene brothel, but each individual reacts differently to the mixed social context in the city. By definition, the brothel space is a site of anonymous commercial interchange, where sex is a commodity, across race and ethnic boundaries. As the cynical Bawd tells Marina, she is expected to “taste gentlemen of all fashions” and “have the difference of all complexions” (4.2.72; 73). Not only does the Bawd wish to have “of every nation a traveller” (4.2.104) hooked to the description of Marina’s charms, but it is obvious that they already had three foreigners. It is inferred that all three men were the victims of the “poor three” (4.2.7) diseased prostitutes at the brothel. Exploring the medical and social contexts of syphilis on the Renaissance stage, Margaret Healy sees the representation of the disease in *Pericles* as “a powerful stage vehicle

for coded comment and dissent" (2001:153). Indeed, theatrical comment about the sociality of the pox is present, but foreigners react differently to its effects. According to Pander, the "poor Transylvanian" (4.2.19) is dead, he is already "roast meat for worms" (4.2.30-31), as Boulton says, so he has atoned for his sins. One can even detect a note of compassion in the remarks of the hardened procurers who intermediate sex for money. The representation of the lecherous Spaniard, with his ruff and affected manner, whose mouth watered at the description of Marina's charms, appears to correspond to the cliché propagated by ethnographic texts. This particular Spaniard, however, has a great imaginative capacity because, according to Boulton, "he went to bed to her very description" (4.2.92-93). Nor was the diseased Frenchman less enthusiastic to meet Marina after hearing Bolt's "proclamation" of her beauty; he wanted to cut a caper but was prevented by his genital ailment from doing so (4.2.99-100). The audiences can see how the apparently incongruous presence of members of three European nations in the cosmopolitan brothel of Mytilene configures a stage geography that destabilizes romanticized notions about love gleaned from popular romance stories, or vague views of Mediterranean spaces inspired by ancient narratives.

The brothel in Mytilene allegorizes a communal space of hard-hearted commercial enterprise, much like Elizabethan and Jacobean London, where international communities engage in productive commercial traffic. In a debate about economic practices mirrored through the flexible genre of tragicomedy, Valerie Forman observes: "*Pericles* explores the possibilities of expanding economically by expanding geographically" (2008:64). There is a constant dialectic in the play between insularity and expansion, opposing terms in the debate about commercial contact with distant countries and cultures. A topical allusion in the brothel scene in *Pericles* refers to the gold "chequins"<sup>17</sup> (4.2.32) and entitles us to acknowledge "the distinctly English feel of the scene" (Cohen 1997:2757n4). In the curiously commercial conversation between pimp and bawd, it is understood that Pander intends to make "three or four thousand chequins" (4.2.32) and then retire from the business, while Bawd does not seem

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<sup>17</sup>The sequin (Italian *zecchino*) is a gold coin minted by the Republic of Venice from the thirteenth century onwards, which remained unchanged for five hundred years. In 1478, the Ottoman Empire introduced a similar unit (Pamuk 2000:60-61).

to agree. Since the Eastern Mediterranean locations of *Pericles'* peregrinations were part of the Ottoman Empire in Shakespeare's time, including the island of Lesbos, the monetary reference has political connotations. According to Alfred C. Wood, the English ambassador at Constantinople, Henry Lello (a former factor in the Levant Company), who left Constantinople on May 24, 1607, was paid three thousand chequins per annum as a member of the merchant company, and so was his predecessor, Edward Barton (2006:80, 85). The incongruous location of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, which suggests antiquated echoes of classical Greek poetry (through the poetess Sappho) and appears to belong to an equivocal Hellenistic world, is also dramatized as a version of early modern Constantinople. The Ottoman capital suggests commercial enterprise and lucrative Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations. Moreover, the dead Transylvanian comes from one of the three principalities, north of the Danube, under Ottoman influence in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania; not to mention that the diplomatic ballet in Constantinople included tense or more relaxed associations with Spain and France; these countries had diverging interests in relation to the Ottoman Empire. While Spain competed with the Ottomans for supremacy in the Mediterranean, France and England competed with each other for influence with the Sultan.

In the social, political, and commercial vortex at play that mingles classical and early modern geographical knowledge, romance modes, and submerged Latin echoes, *Pericles* disrupts the authority of both classical language and geography through a process of defamiliarization, distancing itself from the sanction of ancient stories and geographic tradition. The play evokes alterity – implied through the presence of early modern European nations in the social milieu of the brothel – and incorporates recognition of difference and support of tolerance within the early modern transnational communities. The Transylvanian, the Spaniard, and the Frenchman in *Pericles* appear to be characterized by ethnic stereotypes ascribed to each nation in early modern geographic texts: the Transylvanian is the typical foreigner;<sup>18</sup> the Spaniard is lecherous

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<sup>18</sup> As Gossett marginally observes in a note referring to the Transylvanian in the brothel scene (4.2.19), "the evil of prostitution is associated with foreigners" (2004:324 n19).

and affected; while the Frenchman displays the lascivious inclinations epitomized through the notorious “French” disease. However, all of them are united by mutual suffering in the cosmopolitan sociality of the brothel. Not only is the Spaniard able to recreate Marina’s beauty in his imagination, and the Frenchman happy to dance in eager expectation of an encounter with her, but the Transylvanian’s absence adduces echoes of repentance and redemption in death. Objectionable physical and behavioural traits traditionally ascribed to “foreigners” are counterbalanced with hints of spirituality and vulnerability. In a play that conflates geographic locations and gods of an ambiguous Hellenistic world with a territory suggesting the contemporary conflict between Christendom and the Ottoman Empire, the three European nations are dramatized as contingent and historical constructions. Whereas the ancient geographic text by Dionysius Periegetes and Falkenburgk’s preface – dedicated to various English patrons (including Queen Elizabeth) – eulogize English intrepidity and place the monarch at the centre of world power, the play – though quintessentially English – allows for multifaceted diversity.

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## ***“Those rebellious *Hollanders*”: The Changeling’s Double Dutch***

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### ABSTRACT

*The Changeling* (1622) fits neatly into a familiar anti-Spanish narrative, one so well established in criticism as to obscure the wider international picture. Early in the play a reference to England’s erstwhile ally against Spain is mentioned in passing, and no more is made of the Dutch naval victory over the Spanish in 1607. But this may have resonated in ways that complicated the play’s anti-Spanish sentiment. The enduring resonance of the contemporaneous Amboyna Massacre of 1623 suggests a more complicated reception of *The Changeling* than critics have allowed for. Even in 1622, when the play was most likely first performed, tensions with the Dutch were on the rise, and the apparent nostalgia for the Protestant alliance which the Treaty of London of 1604 had brought to an end was complicated by the emergence of an empire that would outstrip Spain’s and gradually replace it as England’s chief rival.

KEYWORDS: Anglo-Spanish relations; Anglo-Dutch relations; *The Changeling*; Amboyna massacre; Thomas Middleton; William Rowley.

Modern editors of *The Changeling*,<sup>1</sup> and scholars drawn to a play whose strikingly modern exploration of human psychology guarantees regular revivals, rightly point to the wider context in which the play first operated, towards the end of the reign of the first Stuart monarch. Of the two dramatists behind the play, Thomas

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<sup>1</sup> All references to *The Changeling* are to the earliest quarto, printed for Humphrey Mosley in 1653; italics original, act 1. For a modern reprint, see Bawcutt (1973).

Middleton and William Rowley, the former especially has long been regarded as a “political writer,” in the sense that a number of his plays are considered to be sympathetic, implicitly or explicitly, to a broadly Protestant fear of and antagonism towards the Church of Rome, and most especially England’s main rival, Habsburg Spain (see Heinemann 1980, Limon 1986, and Bromham and Bruzzi 1990). Both playwrights’ careers coincided with and in various ways drew directly upon controversies that arose during James I and VI’s reign (1603-1625), which began with peace overtures towards Spain, culminating in the Treaty of London signed in 1604, and ended with the two countries on the brink of another war that would come in September 1625, some six months after James’s death. For the entire Jacobean era the quest for a lasting international peace on which James and his queen, Anna of Denmark, had embarked overshadowed politics and social relations in the domestic realm. In this environment dramatists found readymade and indeed incendiary material. Middleton, famously, would satirize Spain’s notorious ambassador, Conde de Gondomar, and the plan to match Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta in *A Game at Chess*, which ran for nine consecutive days at the Globe in 1624, until Gondomar’s successor ambassador’s complaint to the Privy Council led to its banning by a furious James (see Howard-Hill 1995:192-213, and Taylor and Lavagnino 2007:865-873). The performance of *The Changeling* at court, in January 1624, in the wake of the Prince of Wales’s return from his abortive mission to Madrid in 1623 to secure the hand of the Infanta, may well have offered both a cautionary tale and reassurance to Charles (in whose honour the play was staged) and to the elite audience that England had, after all, escaped Spain’s clutches (Hutchings 2012). Both plays exemplify how Jacobean drama addressed topical issues, each through the veil of rather different kinds of allegory.

Such is the overwhelming narrative of anti-Spanish sentiment – both at the time, in terms of the politics of Jacobean England briefly rehearsed here, and in the modern historicizing of the play in recent criticism – that it is all too easy to reduce the play to a cipher of and for Protestant opposition towards Spain and, less stridently for sure, as a covert attack on a monarch popularly believed to be naïve at best in his dealings with Catholic Europe; married as he was to a queen who openly professed her adherence to the “old religion,” he continued to reject requests for aid from the exiled Elector Palatine

and the Queen of Bohemia, his daughter Elizabeth. (That it was Elizabeth's own company of actors who staged *The Changeling*, not only at the Phoenix but at court too, was a delicious irony not perhaps lost on those present at Whitehall.) Yet as well as calling up a longstanding narrative, *The Changeling* operated in a "present" of shifting sands – sands which shifted as the "now" of performance changed, in the course of the play's staging and revival during the seventeenth century. As with all plays that lived on beyond their immediate, originating moment, Middleton and Rowley's collaboration was a hostage to historical fortune: the context to which the text first referred was not stable – or rather, that initial contextual frame was subject to the overlay of passing time and changing conditions of reception. One such moment in this play is indicative of how textual and performance transmission carries with it the potential for irony quite irrespective of notional "intentions," either those of the original playwrights or the agents behind later revivals and printings. Indeed, in this case it is an apparently minor detail in the principal source on which Middleton and Rowley relied that may have complicated, however obliquely, the political/religious binary on which the play relies, first in 1622, and then subsequently.

*The Changeling* is fairly faithful to its main source, John Reynolds' *The Triumphs of Gods Revnege, Against the crying, and execrable Sinne of Murther* (first published in 1621 and popular throughout the century), which does not allude directly to the war that had pitted England against Spain for the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign.<sup>2</sup> But a clear reference to England's erstwhile allies in the conflict served to remind playgoers in 1622 not only of the broader political canvas underpinning the tragedy to follow within the walls of Alicante but also the failure of England to continue that fight, especially now with Protestant Europe, as it appeared to many, under siege. Moreover, such a reminder underscored the fact that the 1604-1605 peace, under the terms of which England had left the Dutch to fight on alone, now threatened consequences that would realize many Protestants' worst fears: an Anglo-Spanish marital

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<sup>2</sup> *The Triumphs of Gods Revnege* was reprinted in 1622, 1623, 1624, 1635, 1639, 1640, 1656, 1657, 1661, 1663, 1669, 1670, and 1679. The main difference is the transposition of the roles of the main protagonists: in Reynolds, Alsemero is the villain, not De Flores.

alliance.<sup>3</sup> As the play's editors have pointed out, the play refers unambiguously to a subsequent truce negotiated between the Dutch and the Spanish that had elapsed just the previous year, 1621: for playgoers this may have suggested that hostilities might – and *should*, with England returning to the fray – be renewed. However, the politics of this brief sequence in the play are by no means as straightforward as they appear. Relations between England and the Low Countries had changed markedly since the years of the Protestant alliance against Habsburg Spain; indeed, later in the century the play's recollection of that war must have rung rather hollow, in the light of what had followed. In this moment, then, the play's meaning(s) rested on a textual palimpsest, present contextualization overlaying the historical past.

In terms of the text itself, the question of the play's "present" is of interest here, and it depends in fact on the very passage to be discussed. In the allusion to the Treaty of Antwerp of 1609 the post-truce period is evoked, placing the action in the immediate present, as both Alsemero's and Vermandero's use of the past tense when referring to "the *late* League" and in "I, I, 'twas time to breath" respectively, makes clear.<sup>4</sup> The play opens with Alsemero musing over his encounter with Beatrice-Joanna, with whom he is smitten; following a lengthy exchange between the two would-be lovers her father enters, and upon his daughter's urging him that Alsemero is "much desirous | To see your castle," a cautious Vermandero wary of "strangers" expresses a wish to "know | Your countrey." It transpires that Alsemero, from neighbouring Valencia, is the son of John de Alsemero, an old friend and comrade-in-arms of Vermandero's, whose death in battle he now recalls:

an unhappy day  
Swallowed him at last at *Gibraltar*

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<sup>3</sup> Securing dynastic marriages was part of James and Anna's plan from the very beginning of the peace process in late 1603: marrying the Stuart offspring into both Catholic and Protestant royal houses would, the new monarch believed, help prevent future conflict. The death of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612, threatened to derail this plan, but Elizabeth's proposed marriage to the Elector Palatine went ahead in early 1613, though overshadowed by her brother's death. This, in turn, made a Catholic match for the new, unmarried heir, Charles, essential, though as it turned out Charles would marry a French rather than Spanish Catholic.

<sup>4</sup> Modern editors emend the 1653 quarto text to "Aye, aye" and "breathe;" italics added in both quotations.



In fight with those rebellious *Hollanders*,  
Was it not so?

The allusion, as editors recognize, is to Spain's defeat off Gibraltar at the hands of the Dutch on 25 April 1607. Much rests on what is for modern readers the apparently innocuous phrase "those rebellious *Hollanders*," and the offstage political context it conveys. For an English Protestant audience in 1622 it may well have served to "distance" spectators from the play, alienating them from the tragedy unfolding of Spaniards now established as antagonists of the Dutch (and English) – alienating, that is, in the sense of disrupting a collectively empathetic audience environment for the characters in the tragedy. This past-evoked-in-the-present is underscored in Alsemero's response:

Whose death I had reveng'd,  
Or followed him in Fate, had not the late League  
Prevented me.

Gibraltar serves as a reminder to playgoers not only that the Dutch had continued the fight alone, but that, as in 1607, in 1622 the Protestant cause was being neglected by James, who had abandoned his own daughter and, moreover, sought to match his heir to the Habsburgs.

And yet this reference to the heroic Dutch might be considered to be rather less securely rooted in an evocative past so convenient for this Protestant narrative. For in drawing attention to one contrasting situation Middleton and Rowley's play cannot avoid calling up another, bringing the past into collision with the present. As much as it apparently suited the dramatists' purposes to remind spectators of a Protestant victory over the Spanish, they did not choose an *English* triumph – the defeat of the armada in 1588, for example, or the sack of Cadiz in 1596 (the latter, like Gibraltar, only just down the coast from Valencia, after all). Either (or others) might equally well have served the purpose of establishing a form of "alienated" engagement between spectators and play, distancing the audience's sympathy for or interest in the drama conjured in front of them. But instead they followed *The Triumph of Gods Revenege* almost to the letter, "Historie IV" setting out the protagonist's history as follows:

In *Valentia* (an ancient and famous Cittie of *Spaine*) there dwelt  
one *Don Pedro de Alsemero*, a young Cauallier, whose father, *Don*

*Iuan de Alsemero*) [sic] beeing slayne by the Hollanders in the Sea fight at *Gibralter*, he resolved to addict himselfe to Nauall & sea actions, thereby to make himselfe capeable to reuenge his fathers death: a braue resolution, worthy the affection of a sonne, and the generosite of a Gentleman! (Reynolds 1621:106)<sup>5</sup>

While Reynolds makes clear that Alsemero plans to travel from Alicante to Malta – the scene of the famous siege of 1565 – *The Changeling* does not elaborate on the reason for the Malta voyage, thus restricting the play's geopolitical terms of reference to the conflict within Christianity.<sup>6</sup> Don Pedro de Alsemero's resolution gestures towards the historical Christian struggle against the Ottoman Empire: his desire to "reuenge his fathers death" at the hands of the Dutch is redirected against the Turk. Reynolds' "Hollanders" may have distantly recalled the Protestant struggle against Catholic Spain, but as the century wore on it is likely that this was overridden by readers' knowledge of the growing strength of the Dutch Empire. In *The Changeling*, similarly, the Dutch presence – fleeting though it is – is uncannily suggestive of the shift in power that was well underway when Reynolds's tale of Alsemero *pere et fils* was given a different form by Middleton and Rowley. It is in the play, however, staged before English Protestant audiences, that the changing international landscape is most marked, particularly if we examine the shifting context in which it operated over the course of the century. Long before the play was written the Dutch were no longer junior partners in an anti-Habsburg coalition but a power in their own right. As the Habsburg Empire was on the wane, so the Dutch was on the rise.

It would be unwise to claim that *The Changeling* is a barometer of this shift in European power relations, but this exchange between Vermandero and Alsemero is tantalizing when read in terms of the wider cultural and political contexts in which the play operated. Some years before the first publication of the Reynolds compendium and the staging of the play the struggle between Catholic and

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<sup>5</sup> The long 's' has been silently modernized; Bawcutt provides an abridged version of the Reynolds text, 1958:113-127.

<sup>6</sup> Jasparrino's remark, on Beatrice-Joanna's first entrance and Alsemero's greeting in the first act (B2; I.i in modern editions), 'this will be stranger and better news at *Valentia*, then if he had ransom'd half *Greece* from the *Turk*', is perhaps a residual trace of the wider geopolitics implied in Reynolds.

Protestant powers had become complicated locally, as it were, by what A.A. Bromham and Zara Bruzzi call “the aggression of Dutch mercantile expansion,” the effects of which were being felt in London, both among merchants and at the highest political levels, and aired in print (1990:41). The East India Company (EIC) had been founded in London in 1602, and the Dutch East India Company (VOC) followed only two years later. The Dutch soon established themselves as the preeminent European power in the Far East, exploiting the lucrative trade in spices, for which there was now a considerable European demand and vast profits to be made. Needless to say, this involved the subjugation and brutalization of native populations that is the familiar hallmark of European imperialism. By securing outposts garrisoned by its soldiers and protected by a flotilla of ships, the Dutch hoped to prevent the EIC from sharing in this trade, and this led to skirmishes between the countries’ respective navies. Tensions had become such that, following a series of armed encounters – in December 1618, for example, England lost no fewer than seven ships (Bassett 1960:10) – an agreement was signed in 1619 that would allow English merchants limited access to the trade and the ports established under Dutch jurisdiction in return for contributing to the upkeep of the Dutch garrisons (Bassett 1960:4). Under the terms of the treaty the English were prohibited from establishing bases of their own, and in 1621, apparently as a result of the terms being broken, “several English trading stations in the East Indies were seized by the Dutch” (Chancey 1998:587). While the politics of this clash between erstwhile Protestant allies were further complicated by the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ war in 1618, which once again pitted Protestants against Catholics and placed James’s peacemaking (and his failure to support his daughter and the Elector Palatine, exiled in The Hague) under renewed scrutiny at home, the replaying of Anglo-Dutch tensions through the medium of print kept the crisis on the boil, particularly when, as will be related shortly, a diplomatic incident occurred that would resonate for decades.

The 1621 clash precipitated a pamphlet war. *The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies or True Relation of That Which Passed in the Ilands of Banda, in the East Indies: In the yeare of our Lord God, 1621. and before.* – “Faithfully Translated according to the Dutch copie,” proclaims the 1622 title-page – was answered by a series of EIC pamphlets, *A Courant of Newes from the East India. A True Relation*

*of the Taking of the Ilands of Lantore and Polarooone, A Second Courant of Neves From the East India in Two Letters, and An Answer to the Hollanders Declaration, Concerning the Occurents of the East India* all appearing in 1622.<sup>7</sup> In this way, as Karen Chancey shows, the EIC sought to publicise its grievances, and as the better-known Thomas Scott pamphlets (on which Middleton drew extensively for *A Game at Chess*) demonstrate, such attempts to influence foreign policy through an emerging public sphere established a pattern that alarmed James, leading to the issuing of two proclamations in December 1620 and July 1621 “against excesse of Lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State” (McRae 2004:97). Nevertheless, and for good reason, the EIC’s efforts would intensify in that crucial year 1624.

*The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies* sets out Dutch claims to hegemony in the Far East, which dates to a treaty negotiated in 1609:

All the Ilands of *Banda*, from the tenth of August 1609. were by a speciall treaty & agreement made with the *Orang-cayas*, or Magistrates of the fore-said Ilands, were put vnder the protection of the high and mighty, the States generall of the vnited Prouinces, on condition to defend them from the [*sic*] Portugall, and other their Enemies, provided that they of the said Ilands are bound to deliuer vnto the Fort called *Nassau*, or vnto the Committees of the said Company, all their fruits or spices at a certain price, and so forth, as by the said treaty of agreement more at large appeareth. (1)

But the key event in 1609, in fact, was a *European* agreement which made Dutch ambitions possible – the Treaty of Antwerp, or “the late League,” as Alsemero puts it, proposed by the Dutch and accepted by the Spanish, under the terms of which Spain allowed the Dutch to practice free trade, where previously the Dutch had been prevented from operating in Habsburg territories. It was this that created favourable conditions for the expansion of the Low Countries’ overseas trade, particularly through the VOC in the Far East. While on the surface, then, the reference in the play to the 1609 Treaty of

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<sup>7</sup> Despite the title-page claim of *The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies or True Relation of That Which Passed in the Ilands of Banda, in the East Indies: In the yeare of our Lord God, 1621*, such subterfuge was not uncommon: far from being printed in Amsterdam, as *Early English Books Online* indicates this text almost certainly came off the press of Edward Allde.

Antwerp serves as a reminder that England under James had failed and was continuing to fail to support Protestants in their battle with the forces of Rome, Alsemero's remark surely resonated in quite different ways for many in 1622, and subsequently. Ironically – in the form of (meta-)dramatic irony activated by the knowledge playgoers brought to the theatre – the long-term ramifications of the breach between England and the Low Countries in 1604 were that the latter would pose a commercial and ultimately *military* threat to the former.

Although, inevitably, the record of performances of *The Changeling* is (as it is for every other play of the period) far from complete, what evidence there is indicates that the play was a popular one during the years up to 1642, when Parliament closed the playhouses; it was printed (for the first time) in the Interregnum; and it was revived when the theatres reopened in the Restoration, and subsequently reprinted. While the first surviving record of performance is that at court on 4 January 1624, this was almost certainly not the first time it was staged, and there seems no reason to doubt that the Queen of Bohemia's Men presented it sometime after it received its licence from the Master of the Revels on 7 May 1622. N.W. Bawcutt cites a reference in the Middleton/Rowley/Ford/Dekker collaboration *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623) to indicate it had been staged by then (Bawcutt 1958:xxvi). How frequently it was on the stage between 1622 and 1624 is unknown, but according to G.E. Bentley it was Christopher Beeston, owner of the Phoenix playhouse, rather than the company itself, who held the rights to the play: while the Queen of Bohemia's Men ceased playing in 1625, the title-page of the earliest quarto (1653) associates it with both the Phoenix and the Salisbury Court playhouse, which dates from 1629, and a contemporary saw the play in 1634/5 (Bentley 1942-1968:I.186-187, II:654-657, I:254; cited in Bawcutt 1958:xxv); *The Changeling* was confirmed by the Lord Chamberlain as belonging to Beeston *films* in 1639 (Bawcutt 1958:xxvi), which suggests that its value was high, as was recognized later in the century. Bawcutt cites three references recalling the play during the Interregnum, and the first quarto brought out by Humphrey Moseley may have been the basis for a revival at the Phoenix in 1659; a year later Sir William Davenant staged the play at Salisbury Court, which according to one playgoer, Samuel Pepys (perhaps inaccurately), was “the first time it hath been acted these twenty years, and it takes exceedingly” (Bawcutt

1958:xxviii); when *The Changeling* was reprinted a second time, in 1668, the title-page indicates that it had been revived in 1661 at Davenant's new theatre, in Lincoln's Inn Fields (Bawcutt 1958:xxix).

How this stage/print history and the play's continuance in the cultural memory signified with regard to the moment under discussion is impossible to say. But three related factors point to its possibility. The first is a notorious incident from the early 1620s, the second is the frequency with which this event was recalled and represented in print, and the third is the continued and indeed growing tension between the English and Dutch in the seventeenth century, which saw no fewer than four outbreaks of war, during each of which the 1623 incident was conjured anew as anti-Dutch propaganda.

On 29 May 1624 news of what soon became known as the "Amboyna Massacre" reached England. On 9 March the previous year ten English merchants suspected of plotting against the Dutch garrison in Amboyna had been tortured and executed; as Karen Chancey observes, the episode "played an important role in English politics under the early Stuarts, and influenced English/Dutch relations for a century" (1998:583). The incident provoked outrage and spawned numerous pamphlets and graphic broadsides, such as *News out of East India: Of the cruell and bloody vsage of our English Merchants and others at Amboyna, by the Netherlandish Governour and Councell there.*, which features an illustration of a man about to be beheaded and, in the background, an early form of water torture. The EIC itself was behind *A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruel and Barbarous Proceedings Against the English at Amboyna in the East Indies, by the Neatherlandish Governour and Councel There* (1624); the print-run itself tells a story: some two thousand appeared, and "circulated in England – with the nobility who resided in and around London receiving free, specially bound copies" (Chancey 1998:588). In a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton of 5 June 1624 John Chamberlain records his reaction to

newes how barbarously the Hollanders have dealt with our men in the East Indies in cutting of ten of our principall factors heads after they had tortured them, upon colour of a plot they had to surprise their fort at Amboyna [...] the rest of the English there have sent a protest, against this manner of proceeding, which doth disharten their friends and those that otherwise wish them

well, that cannot speake nor heare of this their insolence without much indignation. (McClure 1939:II.562-563)

A month later, to the same correspondent, he writes that

the case is much commiserated by all sorts of people and hath so much alienated our affections that we crie out mainly [i.e. strongly] for revenge of such injustice and indignitie; and the King takes yt so to heart that he speakes somewhat exhuberantly, and I could wish he wold say lesse so he wold do more: for my part I shot my bolt at first, that if they were no wiser then I, we shold stay or arrest the first Indian [i.e. VOC] ship that comes in our way and hang up vpon Dover cliffes as many as we shold find faultie or actors in this busines, and then dispute the matter afterwards. (McClure 1939:II.569-570)

Strongly felt though such sentiment was, as Chancey points out there was no prospect that James would act against the Dutch when, in 1624 with the Spanish Match plans in ruins and relations with Spain deteriorating, a rapprochement with fellow Protestants was of the essence. Indeed, in the same month as Chamberlain was writing to Carleton England signed a treaty according to which English troops would serve under Dutch command in case of any attack from Spain (Limon 1986:143; Chancey 1998:592). For their part the Dutch were unwilling to bring the perpetrators of the Amboyna killings to justice, and in any case maintained that the Englishmen had indeed been plotting to capture the fort at Victoria; the case dragged on for years, and shortly England and Spain were once again at war.

However, if in the short term the Amboyna killings were subsumed by realpolitik, in the longer term the incident served culturally and politically as a rallying call against the Dutch. Amboyna came to stand for Dutch perfidy, being rolled out when tensions led to full-scale war, as they did in the First Anglo-Dutch War (1552-1554), the Second (1665-1667), the Third (1672-1674), and the Fourth (1680-1684). Pamphlets first printed in the 1620s, such as *A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruel and Barbarous Proceedings Against the English at Amboyna in the East Indies, by the Neatherlandish Governour and Councel There* (1624) were reprinted on the eve of these later conflicts in 1651, 1665, and 1672. Chamberlain refers in a letter to Carleton of 26 February 1625 to “a play or representation of all the busines of Amboyna redy to be acted,” only for “the play [to be] forbidden” (McClure 1939:II.602; Limon 1986:4), but in 1672 John

Dryden did compose a play, *Amboyna: A Tragedy*. Indeed, the 1623 incident would be invoked by Milton on a number of occasions, including in *Paradise Lost* (Markley 2006:82-83), it recurs in Defoe's writings, and Swift christened the ship in Book three on which Gulliver returns to England from Japan *The Amboyna of Amsterdam* (Markley 2006:18; Gardiner 1991:235). The "Amboyna Massacre" thus served as a touchstone for the troubled relations between England and the Low Countries throughout much of the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup>

How far the cultural and political resonance of *Amboyna* elicited from playgoers and readers of the play an ironic understanding of the exchange between Vermandero and Alsemero – to what extent, indeed, playgoers were alienated from the Dutch as well as the Spanish in this moment – is of course impossible to gauge. If the outbreaks of war later in the century made such a response more likely then, it is worth bearing in mind that relations had deteriorated much earlier, and to such an extent as to make an event like *Amboyna* possible. The 1604 peace with Spain had been unpopular with many Protestants, Dutch and English alike: even before the treaty was signed, the third of the eight pageants designed for James's coronation entry into the capital on 15 March, sponsored by the Dutch community, "implicitly argued against the Anglo-Spanish peace then being negotiated in nearby Westminster" (Smuts 2007:222). While many Protestants saw their co-religionists as natural allies against the perceived threat from Spain, however, the Dutch had made their own advantageous treaty with the Spanish in 1609. Brief though the reference to the "late league" is, the play offered playgoers a more complex perspective on the international picture than has been appreciated – perhaps as early as its first staging; indeed, the 1607 battle off Gibraltar could be seen (and perhaps was) less as a Protestant victory over Spain than a sign of increasing Dutch power. Outside the playhouse, the Dutch no longer could be considered automatically an ally of England, a state of affairs whose roots might be traced back to 1604 but which probably lie in the larger political and economic forces driving the empire building that would characterize their mutual struggle for the best part of the new century.

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<sup>8</sup> See especially Gardiner (1991) for an account of this narrative.



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# Intended for the stage: Performance criticism in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*\*

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## ABSTRACT

This note focuses on the troubled relation between Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (1638) and its theatrical realisations, as mentioned in the author's address to the reader in the Quarto of 1640 as well as has been the case in more recent revivals of the play. Criticism of early modern drama has tended to consider such plays as determined by their being written for performance, an emphasis which has sometimes entailed a dismissal of more textual approaches. However, in *The Antipodes* there seems to have existed (and continues to exist) some disconnectedness between the text of the play and its life in the theatre. I therefore propose looking at specific aspects of *The Antipodes* in relation to the challenges it poses in performance and to performance criticism, by continuously shifting between the Caroline theatrical context and the contemporary critical and theatrical context.

KEYWORDS: Richard Brome; Caroline drama; performance; reading; play-within-the-play; paratext; adaptation.

That early modern drama should be understood primarily in relation to its theatrical performance is nowadays a critical truth. We can find it, for instance, in the introductory texts in *The Norton*

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*Shakespeare*, qualified on the cover as an “International Student Edition.” These texts could be said to represent the consolidated positions that, at least as late as 2008, the year of the second edition, were understood to be worth transmitting to students as introductory information regarding Shakespeare, the theatre of his time and their historical context. In the first of these texts, Stephen Greenblatt discusses the relation between theatrical script, stage performance and printed play, and concludes that “These developments [...] highlight elements that Shakespeare shared with his contemporaries, and they insistently remind us that we are encountering scripts written primarily for the stage and not for the study” (2008:71). On the opening page of the second introductory text, the well-known essay “The Shakespearean Stage,” Andrew Gurr insists on the same point: “Shakespeare’s own primary concept of his plays was as stories ‘personated’ onstage, not as words on a page” (2008:79). As we know, the history of this position is already some decades old, having originated as a healthy and necessary corrective to the exclusively textual focus of approaches such as those stemming from New Criticism. Performance criticism is now an established part of early modern drama studies, be it on the side of a historical contextualisation of early modern drama or on the side of the afterlives of these plays. On the one hand, we now know considerably more about these plays’ original conditions of production; on the other hand, a history of the performance of these plays has become a solid part of the study of their afterlives, since performance is also an instance of production of meaning.

However, throughout the past decade, some have worried that this view may have become too prevalent or too dogmatic. Lukas Erne, probably the most outspoken critic of the aforementioned position, has argued that “For many adherents of the now omnipresent performance criticism, the basic premise underlying their approach to Shakespeare is the claim that his plays were written *in order to be performed*” (2003:14, my italics). In an attempt to propose a corrective to the corrective of performance criticism, Erne has maintained that, “from the very beginning, the English Renaissance plays we study had a double existence, one on stage and one on the printed page” (2003:23). In fact, Erne inverts the usual topos regarding the relation between theatre and print by making the case that “In a sense, what is particular about the time of Shakespeare’s active involvement with the theater in London is that

plays stopped having a public existence that was confined to the stage" (2003:14). Rui Carvalho Homem has also stressed the importance of a textual and bibliographical approach capable of *complementing* a theatrical one:

There is the need [...] to mitigate the argument which derives from the unquestioned realisation that Shakespeare's dramatic texts were written for performance, the precept that reading them as anything other than playscripts is a fundamental misunderstanding. Against this, the argument (re)emerges that a historically alert reading will have to include the ballast of meanings and the cultural consequence which accrued with the long tradition of reading Shakespeare's plays *as literature*, on the page (2004:9).

Furthermore, attention has been called to the analogy between theatrical and textual performance in editions of early modern texts, since, according to W. B. Worthen, both "materialize the work as a unique event in time and space," so that each "*Hamlet* on the stage uses Shakespeare's words, and much else, to fashion a new and distinctive performance; each *Hamlet* on your shelf uses Shakespeare's words, and much else, to fashion a new and distinctive performance" (2005:10).

Although the above remarks apply to Shakespeare, they have also been used in regard to many of his contemporaries, even if sometimes in a less emphatic manner. There are, of course, several known exceptions to the general attitude derived from the example of Shakespeare's apparent disinterest in published drama. There is the case of Ben Jonson and *his* 1616 Folio, which included heavily revised versions of Jonson's plays, namely of those written in collaboration. Jonson, as we know, was ridiculed for the presumption of publishing such a tome during his lifetime, and this reaction tells us much about current attitudes towards the literary value of drama. As far as authorial assertiveness goes, Shakespeare's example, or at least his example according to us, can be said to be slowly waning as we reach Jacobean and especially Caroline times. Nevertheless, despite this historical change, Greenblatt's and Gurr's comments can still be said to echo a general contemporary tendency to privilege the analysis of most drama, not just early modern drama, in connection with the theatre and only secondarily as a textual object.

It is in the context of this debate that I would like to discuss the implications of a very small text, only a few lines long, not by Shakespeare, but by Richard Brome. Initially known as Ben Jonson's manservant and later as a successful playwright in his own name, Brome absorbed some of Jonson's authorial consciousness and pride. One of the fascinating aspects of Brome's *The Antipodes* (first staged in 1638, published in quarto in 1640) has been its relation to the theatre, in terms of its meta-theatrical dimension but especially in terms of the play's theatrical realisation, as it is referred to in the author's address to the reader and as is implicit in the text. In fact, in *The Antipodes* there seems to have existed, and to continue to exist, some disconnectedness between the text of the play and its theatrical realisation. Even though the play was indeed written for the stage, it seems that the stage has had some difficulty in dealing with a text apparently tailored for it.

In a note addressed to the reader, printed in the 1640 quarto of the play, Brome explains his authorial resentment at certain playhouse practices:

Courteous Reader:

You shall find in this book more than was presented upon the stage, and left out of the presentation for superfluous length (as some of the players pretended). I thought good all should be inserted according to the allowed original, and as it was at first intended for the Cockpit stage, in the right of my most deserving friend, Mr. William Beeston, unto whom it properly appertained. And so I leave it to thy perusal as it was generally applauded, and well acted, at Salisbury Court.

Farewell, Richard Brome. (2000:120)

The troubled history of this play and of Brome's problems with Salisbury Court theatre is well documented and helps to explain this somewhat tense, though restrained address.<sup>1</sup> We know that Brome

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<sup>1</sup> Brome's statement regarding the restoration for publication of passages cut for performance is common enough in the period, as Andrew Gurr (1999:80), Lukas Erne (2003:144-145), and David Scott Kastan (2001:16-20) point out. In the 1623 Quarto of *The Duchess of Malfi*, for instance, one can read the following paratext: "The perfect and exact copy, with diverse things printed that the length of the play would not bear in the presentment" (Webster 2009:116). One of the distinguishing marks of Brome's text is the expression of irritation towards the players apparent in his note. As Richard Cave has pointed out, Brome's note "suggests he had a proprietorial interest in the publication as presenting his full composition, which he takes care to separate from

signed an exclusivity contract with Salisbury Court theatre in 1635. A later contract, from 1638, included a clause prohibiting any publication of the plays without the theatre's consent, and Matthew Steggle (2004:68) argues that the first contract may have included an identical clause.<sup>2</sup> In May 1636, when the theatres were closed because of the plague, Salisbury Court suspended its weekly payments to Brome, and, Brome later said in a deposition, threatened to cancel the contract altogether. Brome apparently felt he was free to seek work elsewhere. He then agreed with William Beeston to write a play for his Cockpit Theatre, a play which, it is generally agreed, was *The Antipodes*. Salisbury Court, probably fearing the loss of its investment, took possession of the play, paid Brome and promised to release him from his obligations to Beeston. When the theatres reopened, the play was staged with great success. But tensions at Salisbury Court and increasing friction with Brome, including a legal claim, produced further complications which ended with Brome finally leaving Salisbury Court for the Cockpit in August 1640. Before that, on 19 March, he entered *The Antipodes* as well as two other plays in the Stationer's Register and both *The Antipodes* and *The Sparagus Garden* were published later that year.<sup>3</sup>

Some of Brome's problems with Salisbury Court had to do with the degree of input allowed to the players, who allegedly made cuts because the play was superfluously long. Brome's observation, "(as some of the players pretended)," shows his disgruntlement, while the publication is meant to vindicate his position by presenting the play to the public in its original form, not the one tampered with by the players. The reference in Brome's note to "the allowed original" further reveals that the authorial version was the one that was

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the version played by the actors" (2010:n.p.). The following account of Brome's troubles with Salisbury Court closely follows and summarises the exposition in Steggle (2004:105-109; 118-120).

<sup>2</sup> For more on this contract, see Collins (2010).

<sup>3</sup> In August 1640, Brome entered a further six plays in the Stationers' Register. Matthew Steggle (2004:156-157) convincingly argues that Brome may have been trying to raise some money through print publication, after the performance at the Cockpit of an unnamed play, normally thought to be Brome's *The Court Beggar*, was prohibited by the Master of the Revels in early May, on account of certain passages on the Scottish Wars. This prohibition was aggravated by the arrest of Beeston and two players, as well as by the appointment of William Davenant as manager of the company, in late June.

approved by the Master of the Revels.<sup>4</sup> The reason for the players' dislike of parts of the play, Brome suggests, has to do with the characteristics of that specific troupe. According to Brome, the play had been written with the specificities of the Cockpit in mind; it had been intended and tailored for it. No wonder then that the players of Salisbury Court may have been little at ease with it. Of course, we do not know what the players of the Cockpit thought of this play written for them, whether they would have felt the play suited them impeccably. Would we perhaps be justified in seeing this as an excuse with which Brome could rationalise actual shortcomings of the play, and would the players from the Cockpit also have cut it if they had had the chance?

With these questions and the theatrical context in mind, I would now like to turn to the year 2000, the time of the first revival of *The Antipodes* since the mid-eighteenth century. In 2000, the New Globe Theatre staged the play in an adaptation by Gerald Freeman. According to Matthew Steggle (2004:195), the play was cut by about a third. The *uncut* play was then published in the Globe Quartos collection, with an interesting note by the adapter. Freeman argues that "There is no getting away from the fact that nowadays there are parts of *The Antipodes* which may work on the printed page, but do not on the stage" (2000:vii). Freeman explains that he cut those moments of the play which depended too much on the recognition of certain seventeenth-century types which had not really been theatricalised, such as the onstage audience's comments related to the satire in the play-within-the-play. Drawing on the original precedent, Freeman adds that "One gains some confidence and comfort in cutting and pruning from a printed apology (or disclaimer) of the author [...]. The players apparently discovered something in the playing that had escaped the author."

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<sup>4</sup> See Gurr (1999:70) and Kastan (2001:20). One may ask whether the play was "allowed" by the Master of the Revels while it was still meant for the Cockpit, as Brome seems to suggest when he brings together these two qualifiers: "according to the allowed original, and as it was at first intended for the Cockpit stage." One is thereby left to wonder whether the Master of the Revels might have facilitated Brome's turn to a different company. Nevertheless, Brome's contradictory remark at the end of the note, to the effect that he leaves the play to the readers' "perusal as it was generally applauded, and well acted, at Salisbury Court," only confuses matters again, implying that Brome is trying to have it both ways, by capitalising on the authorial value of the original text *as well as* on the success of its stage version.



It should perhaps be added that, in 1992, when the Royal Shakespeare Company revived another play by Brome, *A Jovial Crew*, it also adapted it. The adaptation by Stephen Jeffreys included about forty-five per cent of new text and Jeffreys argued that, as it stood, the play seemed unperformable, not only because of topical references that had lost their comic point, but also because of insuperable problems in terms of its structure.<sup>5</sup> According to his own note, Jeffreys' aim was "to make Brome's comic conception work on stage" (1992:n.p.), a well-known phrasing that Freeman also echoes. Julie Sanders, on the other hand, has seen this need to adapt Brome as proof of "the poor regard in which Caroline drama is held" (1999:8).<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, stage adaptations are an extremely common affair. Even Shakespeare's plays are usually cut for performance. In this context, one would do well to point to the prolific and often startlingly original field of textual, filmic, and operatic adaptations, among other types. Unlike what might appear to be the case so far, my position here is definitely not that of the textual purist berating others for taking theatrical or other liberties. What interests me here is how these two paratexts, Brome's apology and Freeman's note (as well as Jeffreys' note, although it refers to a different play), seem to complicate what it means to look at a play as a text written for the stage. Freeman not only begins by arguing that, as it stands, this play may work better on the page than on the stage, but adds a further twist to his use of Brome's apology. It is no longer an issue of the play being better suited for one company rather than another. It now appears that the play is simply found deficient in terms of its theatrical effectiveness. It just does not work on the stage, any stage.

A perspective such as this one, though not uncommon in the theatre world, really only becomes academically tenable today, in a time when, in the wake of performance criticism, we now

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<sup>5</sup> Jeffreys argues that "the central dramatic problem is resolved too quickly and so the second half falls apart [...]; the denouement is wildly implausible and contradicts much of the psychology of the central character" (1992:n.p.). Paradoxically, Jeffreys' concern for outdated comic references is contradicted by his insertion of "'fake' topical references" (Steggle 2004:194) and "'mock-antique' details" (Stern 2014:61). Rather than pruning early modern references, Jeffreys actually added more "historical" material.

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of Jeffreys' adaptation, see White (1998:217-232).

understand early modern playwrights to have been mere employees of a company, their input as important as that of the players, in what was essentially a collective enterprise. It also replaces a theatrical absolute for what, until recently, had been a literary absolute. A play is considered structurally deficient simply because, according to the banal phrase, *it does not work on the stage*. This is already a limited view of theatre practices, since what is meant here by this suspiciously universal expression, “the stage,” is the standard type of staging which is currently applied to early modern plays, especially when one considers such canonical venues as the New Globe Theatre or companies such as the Royal Shakespeare Company. Furthermore, the condemnation according to which a play is summarily said not to work on “the stage” erases, through its generalisation, what is arguably one of the most distinctive traits of the theatre: its capacity to produce unique events and specific readings of a text, in that the adoption of one performative solution always implies the rejection of several other possibilities, many of which may be equally valid or even perhaps more appropriate to the text at hand. Finally, the idea of rejecting a text because of its inadequacy according to a chosen set of theatrical conventions becomes extremely problematic once we begin using it to pronounce aesthetic judgments on a dramatic text.

Taking the play fully seriously – the printed play, not the players’ version of it, which is not extant and about which one can only speculate<sup>7</sup> – might mean to stage it with all its inadequacies; that is, with those parts of it which appear not to “work on the stage.” Indeed, as we know well from the history of the theatre, some plays make demands on the players which the current style of performance cannot fulfil, thereby demanding of the players that they change their performance habits, in what may nevertheless remain a commercially viable enterprise. On the other hand, the

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<sup>7</sup> This problem is clearly identified by Richard Cave, who points out that “What parts of the play were excised in 1638 it is impossible to gauge, but the known fact of that cutting has a direct bearing on how the play now in the twenty-first century might be viewed as a text for potential performance” (2010:n.p.). Nevertheless, Joshua J. McEvilla has recently found a cast list written on a copy of the 1640 quarto of *The Antipodes* which includes all the characters of the play, therefore showing that none of the major characters were cut for performance (2012:169). Whatever cuts took place may hence have been distributed throughout the text, instead of focussing on specific characters.

theatre has never had any qualms with cutting and adapting a “recalcitrant” play. As Brecht pointed out in his notes to *The Threepenny Opera*, “das Theater [...] ‘theater’ alles ‘ein’” [the theatre turns everything into theatre] (1991:58). This approach, one should add, is perfectly reasonable – a production need not follow the author’s wishes – but it can also signal the theatre’s tendency to be a conservative medium, relying on acquired techniques rather than being open to external, literary challenges. Regarding this aspect, Stephen Jeffreys’ wording becomes highly revealing, when referring to one of the reasons for rewriting the play: “the begging crew are an idealised *literary device* rather than a collection of *dramatic characters*” (1992:n.p.; my italics).<sup>8</sup>

Having reached this point, one might do well to dialectically turn the issue on its head. So far, I have suggested that *The Antipodes* may have been cut in contemporary performance due to possible shortcomings on the part of the theatre practitioners themselves. I would now like to argue that these cuts and changes may reflect a greater misunderstanding and that the theatre practitioners in question may have unwittingly drawn attention to this problem when they decided that parts of the play did not work on the stage. What I mean by this is that, on the academic front, one might benefit from looking again at the notion of a text written for the stage. Brome’s play is a text “intended for the [...] stage,” written with the stage in mind; but the stage could not, and still cannot, manage the play as it was and is, so that this “for the [...] stage,” this intention or intentionality, is partially passed over and parts of the play are cut. The players themselves reject a theatrically intended text. My point is that reading a play as “intended for the [...] stage,” in Brome’s useful phrasing, is to dwell on an intention with unpredictable effects rather than on a theatrically certifiable situation. And the recognition of this problem may have considerable consequences when one summarily characterises early modern plays, such as Shakespeare’s, as scripts written for the stage, as if that intentionality guaranteed the play’s adequacy for the stage. Instead of dwelling on this spectacular failure of communication, by insisting on a play’s status as only fully understandable in its relation to the stage, one

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<sup>8</sup> One might perhaps object here to Jeffreys’ opposition between literature and drama, where one would rather expect an opposition between literature and theatre or between poetry and drama as literary subcategories.

may, for instance, want to consider the ways in which certain parts of the play appear to display the idiom of the page, rather than that of the stage, without hastening to attribute any demerit to the play because of this, or even to declare it unperformable. This might mean that there would be a literary or, if we prefer, a textual excess in relation to that which, in the play, is more easily amenable to the theatre.

Although Gerald Freeman, the master of the play of the Globe production, does not indicate precisely which parts were cut, he suggests that there may be a problem in the way the onstage audience reacts to the play-within-the-play, in that these characters “are seldom drawn in or interact with the satiric characters being presented” (Freeman 2000:vii). The play-within-the-play mostly lasts from act 2, scene 2, to act 4. And, indeed, especially in act 2, scene 2, and act 3, there often seems to be a parallel arrangement between the onstage audience and the characters of the play-within-the-play. Audience commentary on the entertainment can sometimes take a considerable amount of time, occasionally about half a page. It thereby interrupts the flow of the action and brings the meta-theatrical dimension too much to the fore. Alternatively, it can appear as a constant interruption, sometimes, proportionately, of one comment for every two speeches. There is little interaction between the two fictional planes except by way of commentary, so that, when commentary intrudes, the players must be silent and wait for it to be completed, or, as is usually the case, they may need to fill the gap with a pantomimed conversation, in what may become a somewhat artificial situation in the theatre, due to the frequency and length of the interruptions (Parr 2007:43).<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Brome is only possibly taking to an extreme what already were the conventions of the play-within-the-play.<sup>10</sup> From act 3 onwards and

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<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, at least two directors claim to have made this arrangement work. Kim Durban, referring to her Australian production of *The Antipodes*, points out that “Most alien was the style of asides, requiring the actor to be in what one described as a ‘suspended state’” (2010:n.p.). Nevertheless, the production was considered a success. In a discussion of his workshop dedicated to *The Antipodes*, Brian Woolland also explains that his “concern was how the group of ‘comedians’ could stay active without upstaging the ‘audience’ discussions. A delicate balance is required. But (...) once the small groupings and the interactions are established, the scene, which is organisationally very complex on paper, shifts focus with great clarity” (2010:n.p.).

<sup>10</sup> Indeed, with reference only to the printed text, some critics have praised Brome’s management of a complex balance between the play-within-the-play and the

especially in act 4, Brome seems to experiment with more effective ways of doing this: he has two characters, Doctor Hughball and Peregrine, increasingly interact with the characters from the play-within-the-play, and has the onstage audience appear above, on the balcony, so that the action is not so easily disrupted.

But act 2, scene 2 and act 3 do seem to stand out as driven more by literary, or textual, rather than theatrical devices. Their parallel arrangement can remind us, by taking the geometrical metaphor earnestly, of marginalia or glosses, which tend to take their place either underneath or to the side of the main text. Their interaction with the main text is by way of reference, not actual interference. The reader can turn to the gloss and then back to the main text without any special awkwardness. To take another example, in a novel such as Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* the narrator often interpolates numerous stories within one another, each story left unfinished, and its characters left hanging in narrative suspension, until the newest tale is told to the end, a strategy that readers may simply accept as clever and amusing. Not so in the theatre, at least not according to the style of performance that has been expected and applied to a play from the Caroline period in a theatre such as the reconstructed Globe.

This unusual type of onstage commentary, which seems to have more in common with written texts than with theatrical performance, may account for the uncomfortable way with which Caroline and contemporary players have dealt with *The Antipodes*. There may, therefore, be something waiting for the reader that is not always available to the spectator of this play. But in order to access this dimension, one may need to look at *The Antipodes* as something more than a text intended *for* the stage, and consider that it may also be a piece of literature that, on occasion, can be read *without* the stage.

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commentary by the onstage audience. Martin Butler has acknowledged Brome's "sophisticated dramatic technique," adding that the play "is difficult and multi-layered, yet Brome is wholly in control at every point" (1984:219). Ian Donaldson also finds in Brome "a skill in what might be called lightweight structural engineering" (1970:80) and goes on to identify no fewer than five levels, or rings, of spectators in *The Antipodes* (90-92). These rings of spectators range from those among the onstage audience who most directly engage with the play-within-the-play to those least engaged in it, not forgetting the final level, comprised of the actual audience at Salisbury Court – and, one might add, the printed play's readers.

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# A bibliographical description of the British Library copy of *The Honour of Chivalrie* (1598)

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## ABSTRACT

This paper presents a detailed bibliographical description of the copy held at the British Library of the first edition of *The Honour of Chivalrie* (London, 1598; STC 1804). The aim of this paper is to provide useful bibliographical information for researchers interested in the first English translation of the Spanish romance *Don Belianís de Grecia* (Burgos, 1547; IB 8699). A concise description of the translations and editions of this romance is included.

KEYWORDS: Renaissance chivalric literature; Iberian romances of chivalry; *The Honour of Chivalrie*; Thomas Creede; Bernard Alsop; Francis Kirkman; *Don Belianís de Grecia*.

## 1. Introduction

The Spanish romance of chivalry *Hystoria del magnánimo, valiente e inuencible cauallero don Belianís de Grecia. Primera y Segunda Parte* by Jerónimo Fernández was first published in Seville in 1545.<sup>1</sup> It soon became a literary phenomenon, which prompted the publication of new editions throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> The first extant edition of Part I and II is from 1547. However, there seems to be evidence that supports the existence of a previous edition from 1545 – now lost – that would be the *princeps* edition of Fernández's work. For a discussion on this, see Lucía Megías (2002:49) and Eisenberg and Marín Pina (2000:264). Orduna, however, considers it a ghost edition (1997:XVI).



There are four extant editions: Burgos, Martín Muñoz, 1547 (IB 8699); Estella, Adriano de Anvers, 1564 (IB 8700); Zaragoza, Domingo de Portonaris y Ursino, 1580 (IB 8702); Burgos, Alonso y Esteban Rodríguez, 1587 (IB 8703).<sup>2</sup> In addition to its popularity with Spanish audiences, in the eighty years following its initial publication it was translated into Italian, English and French. The first translation of the first part of *Belianís de Grecia* was into Italian by Orazio Rinaldi, printed in Ferrara by Vittorio Baldini in 1586 (USTC 829027), on whose version the English translation is based. The second part was also translated by Orazio Rinaldi and printed in Verona by Sebastiano dalle Donne in 1587 (USTC 829028).<sup>3</sup> In the first quarter of the seventeenth century Fernández's romance was translated into French from the original Castilian by Claude De Bueil, and printed by Du Bray in Paris in 1625 (B 509). A second edition was published by Gilbert Saulnier, sieur Du Verdier between 1626 and 1629 (not in B) in Paris.

English translators and printers, in search of new titles to enlarge the catalogue of chivalric romance, turned to Spanish *libros de caballería*. Thus, the first part of *Belianís de Grecia* appeared as *The Honour of Chivalrie set down in the History of Prince Don Belianis. With his love towards the Princess Florisbella*, entered to the printer Thomas Creede in the Stationers' Register in 1598 (STC 1804).<sup>4</sup> The title page notes that it was "Englished out of Italian" by a translator signing himself as L.A. Regarding his identity, very little is known. In the copy held at The Folger Shakespeare Library – one of the three extant copies of the 1598 edition – the handwritten signature of one

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the genre of Iberian romances of chivalry, see Thomas (1920); for a detailed bibliography see Eisenberg and Marín Pina (2000); also consult the on-line database prepared by Cacho Blecua and Lacarra, "Amadís: base de datos de literatura caballeresca" (<http://clarisel.unizar.es/>). Fernández's romance *Hystoria del magnánimo, valiente e inuencible cauallero don Belianís de Grecia* is available in a scholarly edition (Orduna 1997). I am currently preparing a critical edition of *The Honour of Chivalrie* for my doctoral dissertation. Research for this article was carried out as part of the project "Del Manuscrito a la imprenta: Estudio de la evolución de las adivinanzas y el romance en Inglaterra desde la Edad Media al Renacimiento" (P09-HUM-5186), funded by the Andalusian Government.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of chivalric romances in Italy, see Bognolo (2010).

<sup>4</sup> For biographical information on Creede, see Gants (2004), Plomer (1907:3) and Yamada (1994:3-4).

Lawrence Ashwel appears in the dedicatory letter.<sup>5</sup> The same initials L. A. sign the seventh and eighth book of *The Myrrour of Knighthood*, published in 1598-1599 (STC 18869, 18870), based on the Spanish romance of chivalry *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* (1555), by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra.<sup>6</sup>

This first translation of *The Honour of Chivalrie* was reprinted in 1650 (Wing STC F781) by Bernard Alsop, “dwelling in Grub-street neer the upper Pump.” Alsop had been partner with Thomas Creede in 1616 at the sign of the Eagle and Child, and appears to have inherited his printing materials a year after (Plomer 1907:3-4). This edition shows a change in the dedicatee: instead of John Rotherham, “one of the sixe Clarkes of her Maiesties most Honourable Court of Chauncery,” the second edition is dedicated to Arthur Anslow, heir of Sir Richard Anslow, “a worthy member of the Parliament of England.” In 1663 (Wing STC F782) a third edition was probably printed by Elizabeth Alsop and Thomas Fawcet, Bernard Alsop’s partner. From 1653 Elizabeth Alsop, widow of Bernard Alsop, is found running the printing house (Plomer 1907:4, 72). In 1664 (Wing STC K633), the second part of *The Honour of Chivalrie* was “newly written in English” by Francis Kirkman and printed by his partner Thomas Johnson in Southwark, London. Kirkman was a bookseller, printer, and collector of chivalric romances since his early years (Bald 1943; Newcomb 2004; Plomer 1907:110-111). The second edition of the second part of *The Honour of Chivalrie* was printed in 1671 (Wing STC K633A, K633B). In 1673 Kirkman wrote a third part and issued a volume containing the three parts of *The Honour of Chivalry* (Wing STC K634). In his preface to the reader Kirkman claims that this collection is “Compleat in three parts.” However, it is interesting to note that, while the second and third parts are Kirkman’s original works, the first part has been rewritten and the result is a systematic paraphrase throughout of the 1598 translation signed by L. A. The original fifty chapters conforming the 1598 edition are reduced to seventeen, in which numerous incidents,

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<sup>5</sup> Extant copies of the first edition include: B. L. Huth.60; Huntington Library 34016; Folger Library STC 1804.

<sup>6</sup> A scholarly edition by Joyce Boro of the first English translation of Margaret Tyler’s *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (1578) has been recently published by the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA). For a critical edition of *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* [*El cavallero del Febo*], see Eisenberg (1975).

descriptions, and details are left unmentioned, while others have been rewritten. An example will show Kirkman's version of the original rendering. In the 1598 translation, Chapter 1 begins:

When the Grecian Monarchie flourished with most glorie, triumphing over the greatest part of Christendome, as is recorded in the large annuall Registers of Fristone (surnamed the Wise) preservers of the never dying fame, and ever memorable acts of the worthies of this time: There then soly swaied the awful imperious Crowne and Septer, an Emperour named Don Bellaneo, who through his rare vertues, gentle affabilitie, gallant conditions, royall and heroycke deedes, his admirable regard, and most great care in the administration of equall justice to his subjects, not taking the ones right to make the other rich, was of them so highly admired, loved, and revered, that the superfluitie of words in revealing it, would impoverish rather then enrich the pertuitie of his never dying glorie. (sig. B1<sup>r</sup>)

By contrast, the beginning of Chapter 1 of Kirkman's 1673 edition reads:

The great City of Constantinople, whose Foundation was laid, and stately buildings erected by the Emperor Constamine, who made it the Metropolis of the Grecian Empire, had not enjoyed many Emperors before that Imperial Crown and Septer was swayed by one named Don Bellaneo, and such an emperor he was, both for strength of body, and all other Princely Endowments as was hardly equaled by any of his Predecessors, and was excelled by none. (sig. B1<sup>r</sup>)

This textual evidence shows Kirkman's departure from the original translation. The first part in the 1673 edition is a summary of the 1598 rendering, in which large sections of the narrative are omitted. Kirkman's rewriting of this first part can be understood as a necessary step towards producing a new collection of the adventures of Don Bellianis.

In 1678 (Wing STC F783) a reprint of the first part was issued for Thomas Passinger. And in 1683 (Wing STC F784) there appeared another edition containing three parts: the second and third written by John Shurley and printed for Thomas Passinger at the Three Bibles on London-Bridge (Burns 2004 ). A reprint of the edition was issued in two volumes for Ebenezer Tracy in 1703. From this point on, and throughout the eighteenth century, only chap-book abridgments of Shurley's edition were issued, with the only

exception being the 1792 edition, printed in three parts in Dublin by R. Cross.

## 2. Bibliographical Description

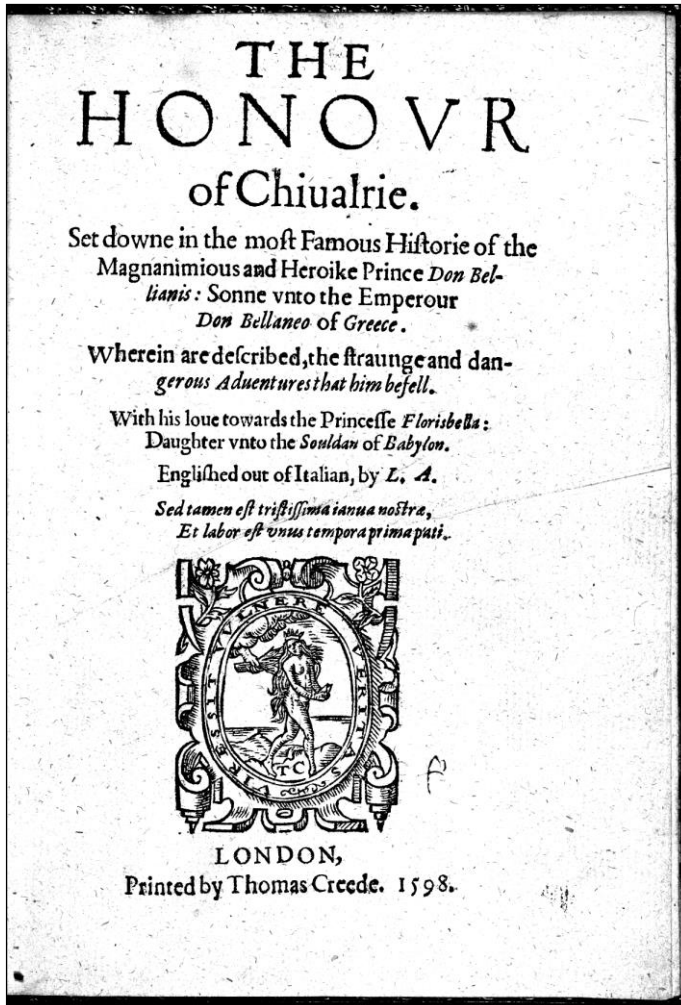


Figure 1. Title page of *The Honour of Chivalrie* (1598). © British Library Board, Huth.60

*Title-page:* THE HONOVVR | of Chiualrie. | Set downe in the most Famous Hiftorie of the | Magnanimious and Heroike Prince *Don Bellianis*: Sonne vnto the Emperour | *Don Bellaneo of Greece*. | Wherein are defcribed, the ftraunge and dan- | gerous *Aduentures that him befell*. | With his loue towards the Princeffe *Florisbella*: | Daughter vnto the *Souldan of Babylon*. | Englifhed out of Italian, by L. A. | *Sed tamen est triftiffima ianua noſtrae, | Et labor eſt unus tempora prima pati.* | [orn. Yamada 1] | LONDON, | Printed by Thomas Creede. 1598.

*Head-title:* [orn. Yamada 23] The Honor of Chiualrie, □ ſet downe in the moſt famous Hiftorie of the □ Inuincible Prince *Don Bellianis*, ſonne vnto the Em- □ perour *Don Bellaneo of Greece*, wherein are deſcri- □ bed his aduentures, and loue towards the Princeſſe □ *Florisbella*, Daughter to the Soldane □ of Babilon.

*Running-title:* The Honour □ of Chiualrie. [honour K2<sup>v</sup>, K3<sup>v</sup>, Aa2<sup>v</sup>; Honour. Mm3<sup>v</sup>, Mm4<sup>v</sup>]

*Collation:* 4<sup>o</sup>: A-2O<sup>4</sup> [\$4 (-A2, 2O4) signed; misprinting Ee3 as E3]; 143 leaves, pp. [8] 1-286.

*Contents:* A1 (blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: title-page (verso blank). A3<sup>r</sup>: [orn. Yamada 12] □ ‘To the right Worſhip- □ full his ſpeciall Patron, Maiſter *Iohn Rotherham*, □ Eſquire, one of the fixe Clarkes of her □ *Maieſties moſt Honourable Court □ of Chauncery.*’ ital. with 7-line initial. A3<sup>v</sup>: dedication ending ‘Your Vvorſhips humblie deuoted. □ L. A.’ A4<sup>r</sup>: [orn. Yamada 23] ‘To all gentle Readers.’ rom. with 6-line initial. B1<sup>r</sup>-Oo3<sup>v</sup>: HT and text [b.1.], chap. 1-50. chap. hd. in rom. except for proper names. Oo3<sup>v</sup>: ‘FINIS.’

*Catchwords:* D1<sup>r</sup> quake: [quake,] E4<sup>r</sup> knight [Knight] E4<sup>v</sup> Theſſalie, [the] H3<sup>r</sup> fight, [hir] H4<sup>v</sup> imaginations, [imaginations] I1<sup>v</sup> actions. [actions:] K3<sup>v</sup> bee- [beeing] L1<sup>v</sup> Gy [gyant] L2<sup>r</sup> layd [laid] L4<sup>v</sup> wife [wife,] M4<sup>r</sup> Where- [whereupon] O4<sup>v</sup> 20 [twenty] Q4<sup>r</sup> (procrea-) ted a thing [a] R2<sup>r</sup> battel [battell] S4<sup>v</sup> Trulie [Truly] T1<sup>v</sup> Tr (damaged) at [at] T4<sup>r</sup> After [At] U3<sup>r</sup> ſee [to] U4<sup>r</sup> Whereupon [Whereupon,] X2<sup>v</sup> notwith- [notwithſtanding] X3<sup>r</sup> knight, [knight] X3<sup>v</sup> Do. [Don] Y4<sup>v</sup> contrarie, [contrarie] Aa3<sup>v</sup> com-[commaund] Ee2<sup>r</sup> at- [attended,] Hh2<sup>v</sup> Knight [a] Hh4<sup>r</sup> wgerain [wherein] Ii4<sup>v</sup> ſmoake [ſmoake,] Kk3<sup>v</sup> vnto [the] Ll4<sup>r</sup> with- [withdrew] Mm3<sup>r</sup> kingdome [Kingdome,] Mm4<sup>r</sup> D [Doo] Nn1<sup>r</sup> would [Don] Nn3<sup>r</sup> There- [Hereuppon] Oo3<sup>r</sup> County [Count]

*Typography:* The title page, the dedicatory epistle, and the preface are set in roman-letter types. This type is also used for chapter titles, the initial capital letters at the beginnings of chapter, proper names, and letters and inscriptions found in chapters 5, 40, and 41. The bulk of the text is written in black letter (and some roman and italic). Chapter 29 misp. 6, chap. 30 misp. 4. Capitals used from Thomas Creede's stock (following Yamada 1994: 84-86): A1 (ch. 3, 6, 7, 17, 23, 29), D1 (ch. 10, 12, 22, 24, 26, 27, 34, 36), E1 (sig. A4<sup>r</sup>), I1 (ch. 5, 11, 35), M1 (ch. 15), N1 (ch. 2, 16), S1 (sig. A3<sup>r</sup>, ch. 9, 25), T1 (ch. 4, 8, 13, 14, 18, 28, 37), W1 (ch. 1, 30, 33).

*Size:* The covers measure 140 x 187 mm. The leaves measure 132 x 179 mm. Each page contains an average of 35 lines of type. Catchwords and signature markings, when they appear, are positioned on the 36<sup>th</sup> line. Maximum printed space, with catchwords and signature marks is 86 x 158 mm; without catchwords is 86 x 153 mm.

*Binding:* The binding is of dark blue Morocco with gilt decorated border to upper and lower covers. Spine raised with ornamental gilt design. The title, HONOUR | OF | CHIUALRIE, appears in gilt lettering on the spine. On the bottom of the spine appears the date 1598 in gilt lettering. The fore-edges are gilt. Four blank leaves are added by the binder at the front and the back of the volume, plus one original leaf at the front and the back, forming a book of 296 pages. The first and the last leaves are also used for the front and rear pastedowns. This printing is on laid paper, with horizontal chain lines.

*Watermarks:* Odd number leaves added by binder are watermarked with letters "LV G", and even number leaves are watermarked with a fleur-de-lis on a crowned oval form.

*Provenance:* The front pastedown bears a blue and gilt oval stamp with the inscription "EX MVSÆO HVTH II". The stamp of the British Museum, on (Oo3<sup>v</sup>), bears the date of acquisition 12 Dec 1911.

*Condition of copy:* In good condition. There are some small holes on several pages, probably caused by humidity or worms. There are also some stains on (Ccr<sup>r</sup>), but the text is legible.

## References and abbreviations

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- STC > Pollard and Redgrave (1976-1991)
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- Wing STC > Wing (1982-1998)
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**Belén Álvarez-Faedo. 2013**  
***Edward II, Dr. Faustus y The Jew of Malta.***  
***Análisis de sus traducciones al español.***  
**Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter:**  
**The Edwin Mellen Press.**

Jesús López-Peláez Casellas  
*Universidad de Jaén*

In 1964 Irving Ribner emphasized what he perceived as Marlowe's contemporariness when he stated that "Christopher Marlowe in a real sense belongs to the twentieth century" (1964: 211). This was the opening line of Ribner's article "Marlowe and the Critics," which appeared in a -now seminal- special issue (on the occasion of Marlowe's four-hundredth anniversary) of *The Tulane Drama Review* that included works by, among others, such keynote Marlovian scholars as C.L. Barber, Eugene Waith, Clifford Leech, Harry Levin and J.R. Brown, apart from Ribner himself. In a critical move that – following years of cultural materialist reading practices- many may find misguided, Ribner went on to argue that Marlowe is one of those authors who reflects "the doubts and uncertainties of his own time in a manner which we today find particularly meaningful" (1964: 211). Regardless of what we may think of the attempts, so typical of the 1960s, to make Elizabethan authors "our contemporaries," these kinds of statements showed to what extent the analysis of Marlowe's poetry and, especially, his drama needed some kind of justification, as it had been neglected on account of their ideologically subversive nature and had remained understudied by audiences and critics for more than three centuries.

Sadly enough, and as Lisa Hopkins has aptly argued, approaches to Marlowe's work have too often focused upon the following four issues: his (obscure) life and death, his relation with Shakespeare (regularly described as one of inferiority), his

“reputation as overreacher,” and his inability to create female characters of any interest, or male ones who are not “himself in disguise” (2008:142). However, since the 1960s, and especially the late 1980s, there has been a renewed interest in Marlowe’s drama, and this has become apparent in the proliferation of deep and interesting critical analyses of his plays and poetry, performance studies, and even biographies delving into the mystery surrounding his life and – especially – his death.

Granting that there is little that we know for sure about Marlowe’s life and how it influenced his work (J.A. Downie has convincingly argued that, to begin with, prior to 1593 there is no evidence attributing any given play to him), we do have the texts, and, whatever we make of their relation with his mysterious biography, it is clear that, from a strictly literary and/or theatrical point of view, they constitute one of the most significant corpora by any early modern author. In past decades it has been interestingly argued, for instance, that there are significant links and intertextual relations among these plays and poems and other texts by other Elizabethan dramatists and poets; indeed, Alan Dessen and Meredith Skura have recently examined Marlovian plays in connection with Greene, Kyd, and, of course, Shakespeare,<sup>1</sup> and it is well known to what extent a connection with the latter boosts the reputation of any author. Furthermore, Spanish scholar José Manuel Fernández de Sevilla has gone beyond the immediate Tudor context in order to suggest a comparative approach with some Spanish Golden Age plays (i.e., *comedias*): *Doctor Faustus* and Tirso’s *El condenado por desconfiado*; *Edward II* and Calderón’s *La vida es sueño*; and the *Tamburlaine* plays and Lope’s *Contra valor no hay desdicha* (1998: 129-135). In a more ideologically orientated analysis, some critics have focused on how Marlowe’s drama did not simply question and subvert established beliefs as a politically inane form of provocation (significant as this is in the context of Tudor England), but did so as part of a more complex and deeper examination of “the delineation of the alien” as “crucial to the fashioning of the self,” creating “a world where transgression is not merely the source of crisis but also the motivating force behind identity, ideology, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Emily Bartels has written that “Barabas predicts and produces Shylock, Tamburlaine Othello, and even Faustus Hamlet, Marlowe’s socially embedded aliens giving way almost inevitably to Shakespeare’s socially alienated selves” (2004: 461).

institution of meaning" (Bartels 2004: 461, 446). Finally, recent work by several scholars has emphasized the significance of Marlowe's drama for theory itself (from a more strictly theatrical perspective) and also for discussions of ideology, sexuality, power, and ethnicity and alterity in the early modern period.<sup>2</sup>

If we focus on Marlowe and/in Spain, it has to be said that there is neither a long list of translations of Marlowe's plays into Spanish, nor a rich history of these plays' reception in Spain, although this has slightly changed in the past few decades. Fernández de Sevilla provided a brief overview of these in his excellent *El teatro de Christopher Marlowe* (1998:135-141), and Miguel Martínez – in a still more concise manner – also provided the references to some translations of *Doctor Faustus* in his similarly noteworthy *Y seréis como dioses* (1995:187-189). However, no thorough study of the Spanish translations of Marlowe's drama, or of the reception of his plays, has to my knowledge been published. In this sense, Belén Álvarez-Faedo's book-length study of a number of Spanish translations of Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Edward II* is a felicitous event, and, in its own way, a groundbreaking publication, for which both the author and the publisher should be praised.

Álvarez-Faedo's *Edward II, Dr. Faustus y The Jew of Malta. Análisis de sus traducciones al español* is, as the title suggests, a contrastive study of a number of Spanish translations of these three Marlovian plays (2013:v). Furthermore, it also claims to attempt to explore mechanisms of cultural transference, the dynamics of literary production, and the functioning of linguistic, cultural and aesthetic codes. In order to do this, it focuses upon the processes of production, transmission and interpretation, paying attention to

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<sup>2</sup> Focusing on the last thirty years see, for example, on Marlowe's life and work: Lisa Hopkins' *A Literary Life* (2000), and also her *Christopher Marlowe, Renaissance Dramatist* (2008); Roy Kendall's *Christopher Marlowe and Richard Baines* (2003); and Sarah Scott and Michael Stapleton's *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman: Lives, Stage and Page* (2010). On performance studies see: Simon Shepherd's *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theater* (1988). For a literary analysis of the plays and poetry: Emily Bartels's *Critical Essays* (1997); Clara Harraway's *Re-Citing Marlowe* (2000); and the recent collection of essays *Placing the Plays* (2008), edited by Sara Deats and Robert Logan. Finally, the most relevant recent edition of the plays and poetry is, arguably, the *Complete Works* published in five volumes and edited by Roma Gill *et alii* for Oxford University Press (1986-1998).

such complex phenomena as those specifically involved in literary translation, namely those of re-historicization, re-interpretation and relocation of the translated text as relatively 'new' material within another geographically and chronologically different cultural and literary community (2013:1-8).

Considering the (recently acknowledged) centrality, as noted above, of Marlowe's drama, and the more than relative absence of Marlovian translations and critical editions in Spain, this study seems to fulfil an important, and neglected, function in Spanish studies of English early modern drama. More specifically, the book offers the specialized reader many additional achievements. Namely, it certainly is a thorough and academically sound study in the field of translation theory and theatrical translation studies, which examines in great detail a significant number of translations into Spanish of three of the most significant plays by Christopher Marlowe. Also, the author evidences knowledge of the field of study, plus a sound knowledge of translation theory and of the practice of literary translation. Besides, all texts (source and target) appear to have been deeply analysed, and complex linguistic and traductological issues are clearly explained to the reader. Finally, the book provides the reader with a rich account of all major Spanish (meaning Peninsular) translations of these three important Marlovian plays.

The book is divided into two major sections, each analyzing a corpus of Spanish translations of these three plays: from the oldest, dating back to 1904 (José Aladern's *La trágica historia del Doctor Fausto*), to the most recent, Julián Jiménez's 2006 translation of the same play. The first section, "Análisis del estilo en las traducciones de las tragedias de Christopher Marlowe" (2013:13-240), deals with what the author considers stylistic issues, including here, for the most part, questions of lexical choice and grammatical problems (such as syntactic functions, the use of *laísmo* and *leísmo* etc...). The second section, "Consideraciones culturales en las traducciones de las tragedias de Christopher Marlowe" (2013:241-418), introduces a number of recurrent topics such as the translation of monetary terminology (coins in England and Spain), idiomatic expressions, the use of foreign languages in the plays or the translation of the second person singular (you-thou/vos-tú). In both of these sections the author includes a great number of excerpts from both source and

target texts, which she discusses, analyses, and explains in depth. This is undoubtedly the major achievement of this book, and the one that makes it a valuable contribution to the field of study; through all these examples and analyses, the reader obtains a very informed and detailed knowledge of the differences and similarities, and of the achievements and shortcomings, of all these Spanish translations of Marlowe's drama.

After these two sections, which constitute the core of the volume, there also are two appendices: a very brief one on Marlowe's life ("Apéndice 1," 2013:481-484), and a textual and typological analysis of the three plays and their translations ("Apéndice 2," 2013:485-572); this second appendix offers a very useful list of editions of the plays and their translations, a scene-by-scene summary of the plots, and a brief textual comment on the edition of the plays. Lastly, a thematic index closes this almost 600 page-long volume.

Some of the major accomplishments of Álvarez-Faedo's book have already been mentioned: the deep scholarship, as well as the interest and comprehensiveness of the text must necessarily be praised. The lack of book-length studies of this kind, and the additional scarcity of critical analyses of Marlowe's work among Spanish (and European, for that matter) scholars, adds more value to this endeavour. However, I have found a few relatively serious shortcomings which, basically, have to do with the overall structure of the work and with the author's approach to a corpus of translations from three early modern plays. In terms of structure, it has to be said that -as the "Índice" clearly reveals- there is a disorderly, almost chaotic, distribution of the contents. To illustrate this a couple of examples may suffice. Firstly, the book opens with an endless sequence of very short (one or two pages long) texts that include: Dedications and introductory quotes, Table of Contents, Abbreviations and Acronyms (in English and Spanish), Prologue, Preface (again in English and Spanish), Acknowledgements, and, finally, a brief (barely 11-page long) Introduction. Also, there is an objectionable distribution of the topics to be covered: thus, the "Introduction" does not provide any "introductory" information on major features of Marlowe's drama (like the Marlovian blank verse, the use of cultural references in his plays, the socio-historical and ideological context of production of the plays etc...), and -oddly

enough- the first (and only) reference of some depth to Marlowe's style appears in the third Section of the second Appendix, that is, on page 539, together with some of the few explicit references to the translations and editions employed (2013:540-72). This sense of disorder is increased by the fact that there are various and different bibliographical lists in different parts of the book, that the editions of Marlowe's plays strangely appear as "Fuentes secundarias" (secondary sources, 2013:451-460), that some of the most revealing comments on the textual and content features of the plays are only included in an appendix, and that the Preface announces (in English and Spanish) that both sections 1 and 2 of the book are each one "divided into four chapters which correspond to the *four tragedies* and a general conclusion [...]" (v; my emphasis), while the book only examines three, and not four, tragedies.

I have also perceived, in Álvarez-Faedo's approach to Marlowe's plays as instances of early modern drama, a certain degree of imprecision and vagueness. It is certainly true that this work is primarily interested in the translations of the plays rather than on the plays themselves, but it may be argued that in order to examine the former, a rigorous approach to the sources may be expected. As noted above, the approach to Marlowe's drama lacks rigour, in terms both of structure and of content. Again some examples should suffice: the dates of some sources for the original plays are not provided (2013:3); the term "manuscript" is loosely employed, sometimes apparently meaning "first editions" or simply "quartos" (2013:4); while several canonical Spanish dictionaries are employed and their use is appropriately justified (2013:10), no reference is made to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an evidently inevitable primary source if we intend to discuss the meaning and translation of early modern vocabulary, etc... In terms of content, and as I briefly mentioned above, there is little or no discussion of the basic formal features (semiotic or otherwise) of Marlowe's drama, or of its ideological and cultural function or significance; in this sense, it is never clarified why the author decided to analyse the translation of, for instance, different "monedas" in two of the plays (2013:289-301; 367-373), but not other clearly more significant terms, considering the plays chosen, such as words denoting ethnic origin (in *The Jew of Malta*), sodomy and "unnatural" behaviour (in *Edward II*), or (potentially subversive) moral and religious concerns (in *Dr Faustus*).

All things considered, it has to be said that, as noted above, this is a valuable work, with far more to commend than to criticize; to be sure, this book provides Marlovian scholars, Spanish literary translators, and theatrical directors and producers, with a reliable and useful account of the translation history of three major plays from the English early modern theatrical tradition. For all these reasons, and notwithstanding the shortcomings mentioned, Álvarez-Faedo's book is a valuable piece of scholarship and a worthy addition to the (still reduced) corpus of Spanish translations of early modern drama and of Marlowe studies in Spain.

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David Nicol. 2012.  
*Middleton and Rowley:  
Forms of Collaboration in the Jacobean Playhouse*  
Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press.

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Although he collaborated with Thomas Middleton on what is acknowledged to be one of the finest Jacobean tragedies, *The Changeling* (1622), and despite the widely-accepted view that he contributed over half the total number of scenes in the play, William Rowley is one of the least known dramatists of the Jacobean era. In his own time he was well-known as a leading actor with Prince Charles's Men, who specialised in Fat Clown parts. When the theatres were reopened at the Restoration, it was the comic subplot of *The Changeling*, for which Rowley was largely responsible, which was more popular than the tragic main plot, written mostly by Thomas Middleton. In more recent times that situation was reversed and Rowley virtually disappeared: indeed, some modern productions cut the subplot entirely. In his 1927 essay on Thomas Middleton, T.S. Eliot failed to mention Rowley at all in connection with *The Changeling*, and about other plays he commented "And Middleton in the end – after criticism has subtracted all that Rowley, all that Dekker, all that others contributed – is a great example of great English drama" (Eliot 1963:169). For Eliot, applying literary critical criteria to dramatic texts, Middleton's work was disfigured by the inferior "ribaldry and clowning" of his collaborators. The growth of university departments of drama and theatre studies later in the twentieth century contributed to a recognition that the dramatic text, as a text for performance, required the application of different criteria and approaches, involving consideration of a range

of forms of collaboration, not simply between writers but between, for instance, actors, companies, theatres, patrons, the censor. David Nicol shows in this book that it is illuminating and legitimate to look at these different forms of collaboration; for example, at how the involvement of a particular actor, such as Rowley, might have contributed not simply by writing scripts, but because he specialised in playing the Fat Clown parts, and in particular a specific type of Clown, which would have affected the tone of the scenes in which he appeared, or indeed of the whole play.

It might have been expected that Rowley's association as collaborator with the successful Middleton would have helped to raise his stock, but paradoxically it may have contributed to a further ignoring of him. In recent years Middleton's reputation has risen more and more and the publication of the Oxford Middleton marked the culmination of that process. So strong has been the spotlight on Middleton that Rowley might seem even more confined to the shadows surrounding him than before, but David Nicol's book puts the record straight, bringing Rowley into sharper focus, and, through detailed and precise examination of varied material, revealing him as a skilled and successful theatre practitioner. Nicol does this with a balanced appraisal that is the more convincing by virtue of its shunning of the extremes of critical evangelism.

Nicol's second chapter, on *The Changeling*, demonstrates most clearly the quality of his work in bringing Rowley into sharper focus and distinguishing between him and Middleton particularly in the matter of theological views. Adopting an approach that accommodates and builds upon attribution studies, Nicol argues that the extent to which changes of writer can affect the way events and characters are represented is an important focus for study of collaboration. Nevertheless he is not solely interested in collaborations between writers – who wrote what – but also aligns himself with scholars who propose alternatives to grouping early modern plays by authors, regarding, for instance, companies, actors, and publishers as having an influence on both the creation and reception of plays. Nicol draws attention to previously unnoticed voices within texts. He also notes that many critics look for consistency and unity in the text, and challenges the implied assumption that Rowley's stance was identical to Middleton's. He looks particularly at disunities in the collaborative text and how

differences between the sections of the text ascribed to the individual writers contribute to the effects of the main plot. Concentrating on decision points for characters in the action, and using Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (1618-20) as a comparative text, Nicol distinguishes the theological perspective of Rowley as being that of an adherent to the traditional belief in the efficacy of reason and of good works in the process of salvation, while identifying Middleton's perspective as that of a Calvinist, insisting that human beings are fundamentally evil and that the grace of God alone, not their own actions, can bring salvation.

Nicol considers that the difference between the writers' points of view in *The Changeling* is inadvertent and concludes that "the play is a patchwork, not a perfectly interwoven text" (64), but that the dis coherence nevertheless contributes towards powerful effects in the play. He acknowledges that the discrepancies might be part of the collaborative design but quickly and briefly dismisses this possibility by referring to the close correspondence of the different methods of characterisation with the scenes believed to be by each author. Nicol's desire to get away from an approach that looks for unity in a play and which presents Middleton and Rowley as if they were a single author, sharing the same views, leads him to give less than substantial support to his dismissal of dis coherence as part of a collaborative design. After all there has been considerable agreement among scholars that the structure of consecutive alternation of paired sets of scenes, stressing the interrelationship of the plots through parallel and contrast, suggests a high level of close and conscious collaboration. This is also true of other Middleton, and also Middleton and Rowley plays. However, Nicol is here specifically identifying not the conscious dramatic construction, but the discrepancy at a deeper level between the mindsets of the two dramatists, which he assumes to be inadvertent.

Nicol extends and broadens his examination of forms of collaboration from the treatment of leading themes by collaborative writers to the effect of the playing companies on plays, in particular with regard to dramatic genres. He notes Middleton's tendency towards satire and Rowley's contrasting interest in romance, and suggests that these characteristics were partly due to the preferences of the playing companies for which they were writing. He draws the conclusion that Middleton and Rowley began collaborating when

their respective companies were experimenting with changes to their repertory. The drawing of theatres and companies into the examination of the collaborative process also leads to a consideration of audiences and social issues, clashes between values associated with the gentry and those of citizens, that is particularly insightful as it moves the subject into a new context, that of changes in theatrical conditions and taste.

The chapters in the book lead the reader through a network of collaborative contexts, the most fascinating and speculative of which is left until last: the political use of the stage, with a particular focus on Prince Charles's relationship with his father, James I, and his use of his position as patron of Prince Charles's Men. Nicol speculates that the players were used by the prince as part of a campaign to anger his father or to vent his frustration at James's failure to take military action in support of the Elector and Princess Elizabeth. This may be especially the case with *The Old Law*, which focuses on the frustration of sons toward their fathers. Despite the speculative nature of this section, Nicol make a convincing and subtle consideration of how audiences might have recognised in *The Old Law* the personality and identity of Prince Charles, making him an authorial figure with whom Middleton and Rowley had to collaborate. One of the valuable reassessments that David Nicol's book makes, in addition to providing a fuller and more sharply-focused picture of Rowley, is its detailed and insightful treatment of *The Old Law*, a play that is often neglected, partly because of the poor state of the text, but which has been justly described by George E. Rowe, Jr., (Rowe 1979:175) as "one of the most extraordinary dramas in the Middleton canon" (Rowley is not acknowledged as is so often the case). It is an exceptionally engaging work, and it is to be hoped that Nicol's book will encourage fuller recognition of its quality and significance.

It should perhaps be noted that in two places in the book the date of Middleton's death is recorded as 1625 rather than 1627 (5; 151). It may also be noted that no fundamental argument or exposition of factual context is undermined by this error in dating, important though it is. *Middleton and Rowley: Forms of Collaboration in the Jacobean Playhouse* makes a notable and substantial contribution to our understanding of the theatre of the period. It focuses on a current topic of central interest in the field, collaboration, ranging

widely across a number of contexts: actors, theatre companies, religious belief, social issues and politics. It extends our knowledge and understanding through detailed examination of the varied material and does so in a lucid and admirably readable style.

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**William Shakespeare. 2013.**  
***Sonetos y Querellas de una amante.***  
**English edition, introduction, translation and notes by**  
**Luciano García García**  
**Valencia: JPM Ediciones**

José Ruiz Mas  
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“El que quiera ser juez inexorable de las traducciones poéticas, pruebe primero qué cosa es traducir de una lengua extraña en la suya sin añadir o quitar sentencia, y guardar cuanto es posible las figuras del original y su donaire, y hacer que hable en castellano, y no como extranjero y advenedizo, sino como nacidas en él y naturales”.

(Fray Luis de León, “Dedicatoria a Don Pedro Portocarrero”, 1631)

Shakespeare’s poetry, especially his “sugared sonnets”, has attracted the attention of several excellent Spanish translators in the last forty years of fruitful Anglo-Spanish literary relations. The list includes a number of Spanish-speaking literati of unquestionable prestige who have attempted the perilous task of rendering the Bard’s genius into the language of Cervantes, in most cases with meritable quality. Proof of this interest in Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* among Hispanophone translators, readers and scholars<sup>1</sup> cannot only be attributed to the pioneering editions of the venerable Luis Astrana Marín (1932). Fortunately there are many more: Fátima Auad and Pablo Mañé

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed Ian R. MacCandless (1987) and J. Á. Marín Calvarro (1999) are two examples of authors of doctoral theses on Spanish translations of a good number of Shakespeare’s sonnets.

Garzón (1975, Ediciones 29), Agustín García Calvo (1983, Anagrama), Atilio Pentimalli (1990, Ediciones 29), Carlos Pujol (1990, Comares), Gustavo Falaquera (1993, Hiperión), Manuel Mújica Láinez (1997, Orbis), José María Álvarez (1998, Pre-Textos), Ramón García González (2003, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes), Antonio Rivero Taravillo (2004, Renacimiento; 2010, Biblioteca de Literatura Universal, Almuzara), Carmen Pérez Romero (2006, Universidad de Extremadura), Pedro Pérez Prieto (2008, Editorial Nívola), Christian Law Palacín (2009, Bartleby Editores), Andrés Ehrenhaus (2009, Galaxia Gutenberg/Círculo de Lectores), Ramón Gutiérrez Izquierdo (2011, Visor) and Miguel Ángel Montezanti (2011, Eudem, translated into the dialect spoken in the Argentinian area of Río de la Plata). Some of the aforementioned translator-poets have also published their Spanish versions of *all* Shakespeare's (known) poetic production, not only of the *Sonnets*. Furthermore, approaches have been varied, ranging from those who have translated their English iambic pentameters into Spanish prose, as in the cases of Astrana Marín and Auad and Mañé Garzón, to those who have translated only the metre, not the rhyme, such as Mújica Láinez and Law Palacín, or those who have applied both metre and rhyme in their translations, such as García Calvo, Pérez Prieto or Ehrenhaus.

Only a meagre few have been capable of translating Shakespeare's poetry and surviving the attempt with flying colours. In literary translation, as in most artistic endeavours and indeed in many aspects of life, the dividing line between the sublime and the ridiculous is extremely fine, and translating Shakespeare's poetry (indeed his whole literary production) puts any brave translator to the test. One of the latest scholars to join this elite club of competent translators who have dared challenge Shakespeare face to face and prove his philological, literary and astute strength is Dr Luciano García García, a Senior Lecturer at the University of Jaén who has devoted many years of undergraduate and postgraduate teaching to the English Renaissance and early modern literature as well as to the study of the Anglo-Spanish literary relations of the period. His main interests are Elizabethan and Jacobean poetry and drama (especially Shakespeare as a poet and playwright) and literary – especially poetic – translation. Indeed, his specialization in the two aforementioned lines of research could not combine more successfully, as

proved in his recent Spanish edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint*.

García's edition of *Sonetos y Querellas de una amante* (2013) includes not only the solving of the abundant textual peculiarities, punctuation problems and incongruities of the conventions of the period, of Shakespeare's own literary idiolect and of the succeeding editors who modified the texts since they were finally printed in 1609, but also an informative Introduction, followed by his excellent Spanish renderings of the 154 sonnets and of the 47 stanzas of *A Lover's Complaint*, all of which are accompanied by illuminating and scholarly footnotes on textual, biographical, cultural, philological and linguistically relevant data. With intellectual honesty, García acknowledges his debt to Rollins (1944), Wilson (1966), Duncan-Jones (1997), Kerrigan (1999), Burrow (2002) and Atkins (2007). His textual edition has naturally been based on the 1609 *Quarto*.

The Introduction that precedes the bilingual edition of the *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint* allows this versatile editor-translator to explain his methodology and plan of action in detail. He reminds the fairly-specialised Spanish reader of the latest advancements in Shakespearean studies in connection with his poetry, but he also endeavours to familiarise his cultivated readership with the different interpretations of the mysterious biographical halo that envelops the circumstances in which Shakespeare wrote his *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint*. García feels compelled to grant that little can be affirmed about Shakespeare, as so little is indeed known for certain about his personal life. He nevertheless addresses unsolved questions such as who the implicit narrator of the poems or the addressee(s) could have been, and even speculates on the identities of the rival poet and of the dark lady. He also wonders, just like many other specialists on the Bard, whether this poetic collection should be taken at face value. Should both scholar and reader consider the poems' hidden (auto)biographical hints seriously? Were the *Sonnets* merely the product of an exercise in dramatic poetic fiction?

García rejects the numerous hypotheses of late which reject the attribution of such dramatic and poetic works of universally-renowned geniality to the Stratford-born actor and impresario. After this open declaration of faith in the 1564-1616 Shakespeare and his refusal to accept any form of what we could call "Shakes-fiction," the editor uses his scholarly knowledge of the Bard's life and age to



elucidate key issues of his poetry, namely the T.T. initials of the (probably pirate) 1609 edition of the *Sonnets*, allegedly corresponding to Thomas Thorpe; or the mysterious W. H. initials of the dedication, presumably referring to the implicit addressee (the “lovely boy” and the “onlie begetter” of the sonnets), either Henry Wriothesley (Earl of Southampton) or William Herbert (Count of Pembroke). García explains the reasons employed by the supporters of the respective hypotheses which favour one candidate or the other, but brings to the fore an extra piece of information that should not be ignored: that the use of “Mr” in the dedication would not be an appropriate way of addressing a nobleman, but a gentleman, thus expanding the number of candidates to three in order to include William Harvey, and thus adding more fuel to the fire of uncertainty concerning all things Shakespearean. García nevertheless indicates his inclination towards the candidacy of Southampton.

The editor also devotes a few pages to the mysterious identity of the dark lady. He supports the idea that she was the Anglo-Italian Emilia Lanier (née Bassano), but does not ignore the weaker hypotheses that favour other female candidates, including a coloured girl (in support of which he reminds us that the English court had black musicians brought from Spain in the royal train of Catherine of Aragon). In his preference for Emilia Lanier, García admits to having based his choice on the feebleness of the hypotheses of the other candidates and on the number of characters with the names of Bassanio/Bassianus and Emilia/Emilius in Shakespeare’s “Venetian” plays. The reader might nonetheless have liked to read more of this poetess and musician of Italian (and probable) Jewish origin of dark hair and eyes about whom so much is now known thanks to the diaries of the Elizabethan astrologer Simon Forman, of whom Mrs Lanier was herself a customer and confider. These diaries were discovered and studied by the controversial and temperamental Shakespeare scholar A. L. Rowse (1973), who introduced the idea of Emilia Bassano/Lanier as the dark lady of the *Sonnets*. The young Emilia Bassano was the mistress of the elderly Henry Carey (Lord Hunsdon, the probable natural son of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn’s sister Mary, and the patron of The Lord Chamberlain’s Men, Shakespeare’s company). When Emilia became pregnant with Hunsdon’s child she was hurriedly married to the court musician Alphonso Lanier. Mrs Lanier’s mothering of a bastard son – named Henry, just like his father and his royal

grandfather – is of paramount relevance for the understanding of sonnet 127. If we accept these biographical data on Emilia Lanier to be true (taking for granted that she is indeed the dark lady of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*), it is surprising that García's translation of the aforementioned sonnet seems to deviate from this hypothesis, despite the fact that he himself admits to believing that Mrs Lanier could well have been the dark lady. The key allusion to the dark lady's "bastard shame" is ignored in García's translation. Lines 3-4 of the sonnet, "But now is black beauty's successive heir, | And beauty slandered with a bastard shame", are translated as "Mas ahora es de lo bello heredero aunque dudoso | Y belleza tachada de infame bastardía". Apart from the fact that the phrase "aunque dudoso" is a superfluous addition for the sake of the rhyme with "hermoso" (line 1), García's translation of line 4, "Belleza tachada de infame bastardía," seems to imply that the dark lady's beauty is marred by her bastard origin, when its correct translation should have made it clear that Emilia Lanier's beauty was marred by having had a bastard child. In my opinion, García could also have devoted more pages to explaining in more detail the life and deeds of this extraordinary lady, the author of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), one of the first professional poetesses in England, who many believe was so closely connected to Shakespeare, although the Bard, let us face it, could probably have been merely one more of her repertoire of lovers.

García also discusses the identity of the rival poet. According to him, the mysterious poet was either Christopher Marlowe (following Rowse, who believed in the latter's homosexuality and was, therefore, more likely to be favoured by the bisexual Southampton) or, as most critics now seem to accept, George Chapman. García does not opt clearly for either Marlowe or Chapman, although he makes the point of referring to documents that insist on Southampton's heterosexual behaviour after his marriage. The readers are presented with the facts and left to decide.

As regards *A Lover's Complaint* [*Querellas de una amante*], García laments in his explanatory Introduction both its consideration as a minor poetical work to accompany the publication of the *Sonnets* and the fact that it has been the recipient of little scholarly attention or interest of translators. García insists on the value of the "complaints," not only for their literary worth *per se*, but also as a

logical poetical conclusion of the *Sonnets*, as they add a more impersonal but no less perceptive analysis of love.

García pays special attention to explaining two key issues of his translations. Firstly, that he has endeavoured to give his versions a touch of Golden Age literary Spanish so as to approximate the 21<sup>st</sup> century reader to the feeling of reading the literary English of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. The translator's skill in this is of the highest standard, as he succeeds in transporting the Spanish readership to the illusion of reading a Spanish alter-ego of the English poet. He also conveys his preoccupation in having made the right choice of verse for his Spanish renderings of Shakespeare's poetic production.

As any translator of poetry knows, in the case of translating English poems into Spanish, we have to take into account a few discrepancies existing between both languages as far as the counting of syllables is concerned. A Spanish line of verse requires a higher number of syllables than an English one. Any English-Spanish poet-translator is therefore forced to simplify and concentrate different meanings into a reduced number of syllables/words. The Spanish-English poet-translator would have to do the opposite, that is, to amplify the content of the verse by adding more syllables to his/her version. Besides, the English rhythmical system is orderly and regular (due to the abundance of lexical monosyllables and the great number of stressed syllables organized in metrical feet, where stressed and unstressed syllables alternate), whereas the Spanish system tends to be more variable.

Let us take the example of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. The most widely employed practice among Spanish translators who have attempted to translate the iambic pentameter of the *Sonnets* is to use the "alejandrino," as proposed by García himself (35-36), or the "endecasílabo rítmicamente pleno," as proposed by Pérez Prieto (2010:41-42), consisting in placing the stress on every two syllables, thus coinciding with the structure of iambic pentameter; and even to use the "endecasílabo blanco" or other longer verse structures, as proposed by others. García is right when he states that the main difficulty that we find when translating English poetry into Spanish metres, or at least into lines of the same length as the original, is that the "endecasílabo" is too short a line for the usual ten syllables of the iambic pentameter of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. Even though he has

opted for the use of the Spanish “alejandrino,” he is perfectly aware of its possible disadvantages: firstly, that it is too long-winded and rigid in Spanish; and secondly, that its use runs the risk of surpassing the limit that the human brain interprets as a unit of perception and therefore tends to disintegrate into two halves or hemistiches. Because he is aware of its drawbacks, his choice of the “alejandrino” is governed by his own instinct rather than by an obsession with keeping strictly to the placing of its accents. He accepts the fact that his “alejandrinos” may occasionally result in fifteen-syllable “alejandrinos de gaita gallega.” As for the enigmatic *Complaints*, first printed at the end of *Shake-speares Sonnets*, published by Thomas Thorpe in 1609 and preceded by a separate heading and a further ascription to Shakespeare (but whose authorship several critics nowadays doubt), García has been a pioneer in, once again, turning their seven-line stanzas of iambic pentameters, known as “royal rhyme” or “Chaucerian stanza,” into “alejandrinos” which match perfectly the original English rhyme ABABBCC. The best that a poet can do, the translator and philologist García insists, is at least adhere as faithfully as possible to the ideas expressed in the poem and at the same time aspire to producing a natural poetic diction in Spanish, even if this means breaking the orthodox prosodic rules a little, be they “endecasílabos” or “alejandrinos,” as long as the Spanish verse reads smoothly and as naturally as it would read in English. And this is exactly what he does with extremely commendable skill and poetic intuition.

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**Romana Zacchi and Massimiliano Morini, eds. 2012.**  
***Richard Rowlands Verstegan:***  
***A Versatile Man in an Age of Turmoil***  
**Turnhout: Brepols**  
**Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 14**

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This useful collection of essays is the product of a collaborative research project sponsored by the Alma Mater Studiorum at the University of Bologna. It is presented as a companion piece to Paul Arblaster's seminal work, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (2004). Most of the contributors are Italian, and although it is not immediately apparent why this extraordinary Anglo-Dutch figure should attract such sustained interest from Italy, it is a testament to the international turn in English Catholic studies.

Richard Rowlands Verstegan (1550–1640) was an English Catholic exile who settled in Antwerp in the late 1580s, operated as a propaganda agent of the Jesuit leader Robert Persons and then, after the disappointment of James's accession, turned to more literary and philological pursuits. In 1610 he married Catherina de Sauchy and began writing in Dutch. So disparate were the different parts of his career that at one time scholars thought he might be two people, perhaps father and son. If there is one distinctive contribution that this collection makes, it is to demonstrate that his Catholic allegiance is crucial to an understanding of all his works.

In line with the subtitle "A Versatile Man," the essays are divided into three groups: dealing with Verstegan as philologist, socio-political observer and poet and story-teller. The first concentrates on *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605), a work

that, as Massimiliano Morini shows, now holds a secure place in historical linguistics. Alessandro Zironi explains how Verstegan's apologia for the Teutonic origins of the English nation and language feeds into the Reformation-era debate over British and Saxon identity: where the English Reformers wished to exploit Anglo-Saxon resources to assert the independence of the Church in England, Verstegan reinforced Persons's affirmation, in *A Treatise of Three Conversions* (1603-1604), of the Germanic Catholic character of the Anglo-Saxon past. Zironi's essay could usefully be read in conjunction with Felicity Heal's important article, "What can King Lucius do for you? The Reformation and the Early British Church," which is unfortunately not cited here. Giulio Garuti Simoni then deals with Verstegan's Dutch adaptation, *Nederlantsche Antiquiteyten* (1613), which promised a lot more than it delivered.

In the second section, but still drawing mainly on *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, Paul Arblaster enquires into Verstegan's version of womanhood and offers an intriguing insight into recusant culture. The curious explanation of "woman" as "that kynde of Man that is Wombed" counters the contemporaneous commonplace that a woman was a defective man, and resonates with multiple depictions, in *A Restitution* and other works, of victorious suffering and martial valour.

The earlier polemical works get surprisingly little attention; this reviewer would have liked to see more discussion of Verstegan's involvement with Persons's *Philopater* (1592), but his English abbreviation of that influential Latin work, *An Advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of Inghland [...] Concerninge an other booke newly written in Latin* (1592), does not even appear in the list of Verstegan's published works, although it is dealt with in Arblaster's *Antwerp and the World* (58). There is, however, a very illuminating analysis by Romana Zacchi of the *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (1587; French version 1588). Zacchi contrasts Verstegan's book with Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563, 1570, 1576, 1581, 1596), which is notable for its memorable woodcut illustrations, but subordinates them to the text. In Verstegan, the written narrative is reduced to captions, and the sequentiality of episodes is suppressed. The result, she argues, is "a fragmentary 'atlas de géographie sacré' constructed with the purpose of horrifying and outraging readers rather than informing them" (72). Here she quotes

a phrase from Frank Lestringant (2004:146), and her essay is an important contribution to the expanding scholarship on Reformation-era iconography. In particular, it complements the important account of Verstegan's *Theatrum* given by Anne Dillon (2002:243-76).

Verstegan's attachment to the Catholic cause found its most effective satirical voice in Dutch in his entertaining polemic against the Protestant North, *De Spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden* (1621), of which Herman van der Heide gives a penetrating account. An English version, *Observations concerning the present affayres of Holland and the united Provinces*, appeared in the same year; this was published by the English College Press in St Omer, showing Verstegan's continued solidarity with the English Jesuits and their educational and polemical programme. Van der Heide quotes mainly from the *Observations* to demonstrate Verstegan's satirical wit. His essay appropriately precedes the third section, which presents a more sustained literary-critical approach to some of Verstegan's lesser-known works: his contribution to *The Primer or office of the blessed Virgin Marie* (1599), the *Odes in imitation of the seaven penitential psalmes* (1601) and the English quatrains found in Otto van Veen's *Amorum emblemata* (1608). All of these poems have a curious Herbert connection: Vaenius's love emblems, analysed here by Tina Montone, were dedicated to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the "onlie begetter" of Shakespeare's sonnets published the following year, and Valentina Poggi interestingly compares Verstegan's translations of the Psalms with those by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister Mary Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke.

All in all, the collection could appropriate to itself the title *A Restitution*, and it fittingly concludes with Sylvia Notini's discussion of the "Pied Piper of Hamelin," a story told by Verstegan in *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*. His version seems to have been the most influential, and was apparently known to Ben Jonson, Sir Walter Scott and Robert Browning. Notini argues that the story as Verstegan tells it reflects his Catholic concerns, bringing the familiar story back to the context of his age of turmoil.



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## PERFORMANCE REVIEWS<sup>\*</sup>

**Shakespeare à *La Brasileira* Coulours Portugal:  
A Review of  
*Sua Incelença, Ricardo III*  
Produced by Clowns be Shakespeare  
Porto, Praça D. João I, 09 June 2013**

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The Brazilian theatre company *Clowns de Shakespeare* participated in the closing ceremonies of the FITEI<sup>1</sup> 2013 in Porto, last June, with their acclaimed version of William Shakespeare's *King Richard III*. The play debuted in 2010, winning prizes at national and international festivals, and was directed by Gabriel Villela, who travelled to Portugal for the occasion.

The troupe impress with a multitalented performance that includes dancing, singing, and playing various musical instruments

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<sup>\*</sup> *Sederi Yearbook* collaborates with [www.ReviewingShakespeare.com](http://www.ReviewingShakespeare.com), the first website devoted to scholarly reviews of and writing about worldwide Shakespearean performance (theatre, film, TV) for a general audience. Reviews about Shakespearean performances worldwide submitted for publication to the *Sederi Yearbook* are sent to the team of specialists managing *ReviewingShakespeare*, and they will decide whether the review might also be suitable for publication on their webpage. Inversely, a selection of reviews of Spanish and Portuguese productions of Shakespeare's plays submitted to *ReviewingShakespeare* are also considered for publication in the *Sederi Yearbook*.

<sup>1</sup> Festival Internacional de Teatro de Expressões Ibéricas.

on stage. Marcos França, as Richard, is a remarkable actor and musician, while Titina Medeiros (Queen Elizabeth) and Dudu Galvão (playing several characters) charm us with their impressive voices. The cast as a whole masters the “circussy” language of the production, denouncing the cynicism of the powerful through fine irony and laughter.

Despite the tragic content of *Richard III*, the Brazilian company emphasises a farcical take on events, using physical humour, without radically changing the plot. The title, *Sua Incelença, Ricardo III*, presents from the very beginning a national identity statement that permeates the whole production. The word *incelença* here contains a double pun. On the one hand, it is a corruption of the word for the honorific style “His/Her Excellency”: *Sua Excelência*. This corruption immediately brings to Lusophone ears an image of regional or rural speech, as a variety that deviates from the standard form, denoting the backlands, and lower levels of formal education. On the other hand, it refers to the *incelenças* or *incelências*, a variety of musical expression typical of north-eastern Brazil in the form of a broad collection of short songs performed almost exclusively in funeral contexts; but such meaning is neither obvious to a Portuguese audience nor familiar to many native Brazilians, who are similarly unaware of this tradition.

Even though the comedy of this production seduces the audience to a great extent, some of the strongest regional references pass unacknowledged by the Lusitanian public, perhaps producing a lesser impact than that expected by the company. All in all, throughout the play, more specific regional references tend to lose their impact, as in the case of the *preto velho* in Act II. Literally meaning “old black men,” *pretos velhos* are powerful entities in the *Umbanda* religion, an example of Brazilian



Fig. 1 - King Richard III (Marco França)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> All photos taken by the author, reproduced with the permission of the company.

religious syncretism<sup>3</sup>. In Brazil, they prove to be popular cultural figures, regardless of religious beliefs. But in Porto, the ailing King Edward IV, speaking in their typical parlance and using their body gestures (Act II, sc. I), does not seem to make much sense to the general audience – *pretos velhos* being barely known in this country.

However, the characterisation of Richard (fig.1) as a vicious man is more successfully done. This is initially conveyed through his dark, heavy clothes, and when he appears on stage for the first time he is seen wearing a pig mask made of leather. The symbol of the pig as a reference to greed and gluttony pervades the production as a whole. Richard's first lines, for instance, are in fact pig grunts and squeals. By correlation, this image also suggests dirtiness, impurity and unholiness.<sup>4</sup>

Richard is not exactly portrayed with a clear hunchback, as is the case in many productions, but there are several hints of his deformity: he has a lame left arm, hand and foot, and he limps and walks in a slouched manner. To complete such a suspicious appearance, the actor wears tattoo sleeves, suggestive of a "badass," hardcore, or rock'n' roll stereotype close to caricature. His sexual appetite is also hinted at right from his first appearance, as he mimes masturbatory movements when caressing a red plastic watering can between his legs (which is in fact his "horse"), oinking and snorting all the while. The scene (Act I, sc.I) can be regarded as an example of the director's choice to turn the verbal puns and sexual innuendos (easily lost in translation and, as such, often unperceived by the spectators) into physical humour, conveying them visually rather than orally, in an effective adaptation of the original text to the stage context.

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<sup>3</sup> Umbanda blends African creeds, Catholicism, Spiritism and some indigenous faith elements. Pretos velhos are spirits that present themselves in the form of old African male slaves, full of wisdom, humility, patience and faith. They are easily recognised, sitting on their stools, slowly smoking a pipe, blessing people with branches of rue and puffs of the pipe. Some scholars argue they are an Afro-Brazilian metaphor for Jesus Christ (see Pellegrini: 2011).

<sup>4</sup> The pig mask is also a reference to the white boar that figures on Richard's coat of arms, as a creature that can be considered both fierce and hideous.



Fig. 2. *The Duchess of York*  
(César Ferrario)

From costumes to props and setting, Villela's production does not try to create a realistic illusion. Spectators can clearly see the actors changing costumes right behind an open stage designed for the streets, thereby breaking the "fourth wall." The audience does not seem bothered by the appearance of the great Duchess of York (César Ferrario, also doubling as Sir James Tyrrel and the Duke of Clarence) in a long fringed red dress, blond wig and golden crown, in sharp contrast with the actor's natural thick black moustache *à la* Fred Mercury (fig.2). On the contrary, it revels in laughter and applause, particularly when Ferrario shakes his wig off, dramatically singing the ballad section of Queen's "Bohemian Rhapsody."

Also part of the fantasy of the production is the mix of fine fabric (silk and velvet, for instance) and rustic, simple materials (working boots, canvas), in line with the director's intention to blend international with regional environments, and the erudite with the popular. The idea is to create a mixture of styles and debunk a supposed cultural hierarchy, in a production that celebrates national identity but tries to communicate with a wider audience. The result overall is an image of a colourful patchwork of styles that confers on the production a unique, magical atmosphere. The same principle applies to the choice of music, another important element in this production.

Indeed, most background sound and songs are performed live. The whole troupe sings and plays a range of instruments (from a xylophone to clarinets), and Richard is always busy playing either the piano or the accordion. The play even opens with the whole group on stage singing and dancing choreographically to "Daydream."<sup>5</sup> As a consequence, the audience is often taken by

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<sup>5</sup> A very famous symphonic pop/rock song by Belgian band Wallace Collection, originally recorded in 1968.

surprise, especially when it recognises a familiar tune and hears the lyrics in English, perhaps not expecting a Brazilian adaptation with songs in a foreign language. International songs are mostly sung live over pre-recorded music, while the typically Brazilian and folkloric music is always live. This alternation between Anglophone and Brazilian songs reinforces the collage effect that characterizes the production. The Brazilian songs are well-known nursery rhymes or famous pieces of folk music from the north east, the lyrics altered to include character names or details of the story. Unsurprisingly, the public tends to react with more indifference to them than towards the international hits, to which the vast majority of the audience sang and clapped along.

This “indifference” is especially true in Acts I and II, for in Act III, the comic figure of the *cangaceiro* (Sir James Tyrrel) breaks down any resistance, greatly benefiting the flow of the remaining part of the performance (fig. 3). *Cangaceiros* have been emblematic figures of the north east since the nineteenth century<sup>6</sup>. Their typical attire contributes to their stereotype: coarse brown leather



Fig. 3. Sir James Tyrrel (César Ferrario)

clothing (trousers, jacket and hat) lavishly decorated, shotguns, and a long narrow knife called the *peixeira*, are their basic items. That is the exact image chosen to represent Tyrrel, called by Richard to kill those representing any danger to his ascending the throne: Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, the young princes and the Duke of Buckingham. Incidentally, all the murders Tyrrel performs have an amusingly clownish manner and most lines are delivered in song. As a result, a mix of fear and fascination is reproduced on stage, for the audience laughs, sings and dances along to engaging folk music – even if it is not familiar with the reference to the *cangaceiros*.

<sup>6</sup> Nomadic bandits that fight against all types of authority, from powerful and rich landowners to government representatives. Just like hit men, *cangaceiros* can also be hired for revenge.



Fig. 4. Props and stage

decorated wooden carts at the base of the semi-circle marked on the ground are covered in the back and on top by tapestries; they serve as privileged positions on stage, but also as a wardrobe and backstage dressing room. Other unexpected objects adorn the stage: in Act V, some of the ghosts of Richard's victims are represented by four "air-dancers"<sup>8</sup> distributed at the back of the carts (fig.5). Such objects are hugely popular in Brazil, where they are called *bonecos de posto* (i.e. "petrol station dolls"), for they tend to be associated with petrol station advertising. Another example is the green coconuts on which faces had been carved and drawn (fig.3) to represent the princes locked in the tower and then killed by Tyrell– not a casual choice, since the green types (instead of the brown ones) are at a younger stage of maturation, just like King Edward IV's young sons. More importantly, the green

Also carefully chosen, the props are creative, colourful and in line with Gabriel Villela's aesthetics of mixing genres, statuses and national/international references. The pattern of plastic flowers and parasols (some white, others black or red) already seen in *Romeu e Julieta*<sup>7</sup>, is part and parcel of Villela's Rococo and poetic style (fig.4). Three richly



Fig. 5. The Ghosts (airdancers)

<sup>7</sup> The first Shakespeare production by the director Gabriel Villela, it debuted in 1992 and became an iconic production in contemporary Brazilian theatre.

<sup>8</sup> Large inflatable apparatuses made of a light fabric similar to that of a windsock, consisting of a long tube attached to a fan which causes the tube to move in a dancing or waving motion.

coconuts can be immediately associated with such tropical countries as Brazil.

It is impressive that we can still call *Sua Incelença, Ricardo III* tragic, for the only grave moments are focused on Queen Margaret's ominous speeches and curses, and on Act V, as well the aftermath of Richard's death. Yet, such moments manage to counterbalance the over-whelming comic tone of the performance. All other scenes of gore and violence are here turned into folk dance with a long knife (the murder of Rivers and Hastings), strangling of coconut straws (the young princes), or suffocation of a hairless rubber puppet in a plastic bag (Clarence). Laughter and tears being both powerful expressions of strong feelings, the director's privileged choice for catharsis is certainly the former. But regardless of all its comic elements and its light-hearted denouement (the actors sing, play and dance around the stage at the end), the spectators are nonetheless presented with the play as a tragedy of greed and self-indulgence—and this can be felt throughout the brief moment of absolute silence which generally follows Richard's death. The spectators only start moving once the lights are turned back on, and their initial timidity is suddenly turned into standing ovation.

With this innovative production of *Richard III*, Villela's idea is to paint a Shakespearean scene with vivid Brazilian colours. Does he go too far in his cultural re-appropriation, to the point of failing to establish a dialogue with his Portuguese audience? Not really. Some elements or symbols may be unfortunately lost, but in various degrees most spectators seem to leave the show with the feeling of having spent a magical night somewhere in folkloric Brazil, while never leaving the flexible boundaries of the Shakespearean realm.

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***Macbeth***  
**Suspense, London Puppetry Festival**  
**Little Angel Theatre**  
**18 Octobre 2013, London**

Isabel Guerrero  
Universidad de Murcia

Cast and Creative Team

*Puppeteers:* Claire Harvey, Lori Hopkins, and Lowri James.

*Director:* Peter Glanville

*Puppet Designer:* Lyndie Wright

*Lighting Designer:* David Duffy

*Costume designer:* Keith Frederick

*Composer:* James Hesford

*Set and Prop makers:* Peter O'Rourke and Nele de Craecker

*Set Construction:* Simon Plumridge

*Puppet makers:* Lyndie Wright, Rebekah Wild, Jan Zalud, and Chloe Purcell

*Stage Manager:* Sarah Cowan

The Suspense London Puppetry Festival is a biennial puppetry event for adult audiences produced by Little Angel Theatre, a small venue in the heart of Islington exclusively devoted to puppets. There, Peter Glanville has presented his particular vision of *Macbeth*, featuring the characters not with human-like puppets, but with a variety of birds with some human characteristics (from cockerels to pigeons). Glanville, director of the festival and of the venue where this production was held, has worked on Shakespeare before, his most recent Shakespearean production being *The Tempest* (2010), a co-production between Little Angel Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company. Using puppets means that the emphasis of the play is necessarily on the visual world that puppets create. As Peter Glanville suggests, the purpose of this work is not to replicate the actions of real actors, but to “explor[e] a visual language, a choreography, that could bring the story to life.” This revision of Shakespeare’s classic poses a challenge: how to tell *Macbeth*’s bloody story through a medium that belongs to the realm of children’s story-telling.

The selection of birds is not incidental: the different types of birds help to enhance some aspects of the characters' personalities as they create associations between bird and character. The main characters are human-like cockerels – Banquo, Macbeth and Macduff – and their wives hens – Lady Macduff is a “housewife” hen taking care of her chickens and Lady Macbeth is a slender one with no chickens to look after; Duncan and his children are all swans to emphasise their royal condition; the murderers are ravens that can easily assassinate Banquo with their beaks; the English army is composed of falcons; and the servant informing Lady Macbeth of the return of her husband and the king in the first act is a homing pigeon. Imagination is set free when it comes to the three witches: they are phantom-like crows with evil eyes; Hecate is similar to them, the main difference being her head: a raven skull which differentiates her from the other witches. The play starts with the three witches symbolizing the Fates, as they take strings from a mountain of wool with their beaks. This beginning, with one puppeteer manipulating each of the witches, gives rise to the association between puppeteers and witches: the puppeteers are similar to the weird sisters because they also manipulate the action of the play. Far from being a show for children, this production portrays the violence of the play through images such as the corpses being caught from their legs by the puppeteers before taking them off stage.

Apart from the connotations that the use of different birds may have, the choice has, to some extent, a textual basis: references to birds in the text are used to define some of the characters. Such is the case, for instance, of Macduff and his family, as his comparison to a dam and chickens when he learns about the assassination of his family in IV.iii turns from metaphor into reality because his wife and children are indeed a dam and chickens respectively. The assimilation of the characters to members of the animal kingdom confers a new meaning on the references to birds in the play: it is now easier for Lady Macbeth to confound Macbeth's voice with the owl screaming (“I heard the owl scream and the crickets cry,” 976) after the murder of the king in II.ii.

The variety of birds is also translated into a diversity of puppets. The main characters belong to the type known as “bunraku

puppets,”<sup>9</sup> the pigeon and raven are stick puppets and the swans are object puppets (they are plush toys manipulated to bring them to life). All this variety, together with the constant presence of the puppeteers dressed in black (so as to go unnoticed), gives the presentation its quality, combined with the expertise in puppetry-making and their manipulation, which creates a unique atmosphere for a *Macbeth* in the animal or, rather, bird kingdom. Instead of the puppeteers providing the voices for the characters, they are recorded and perfectly synchronized with the action. The only drawback of this technique is that it makes it difficult to discern soliloquies from the rest of the dialogue on certain occasions.

Regarding the adaptation, it follows a common pattern within *Macbeth*’s production history. The first act is performed almost completely, while the acts following are heavily cut, though the main points of the action together with the most famous monologues are retained. The porter scene and the conversation between Lady Macduff and her son disappear, as does the effect of Ross’s words when he tells Macduff that his wife and children are well, only to reveal to him a bit later that his whole family has been murdered. The production relies perhaps too much on monologues, slowing down the action until the Birnam Wood arrives at Dunsinane. This attention to monologues shows a *Macbeth* that is heavily psychological: as much as the action is still important, the thoughts of the characters become central.

One of the wonders of puppet theatre undoubtedly is the set, and this is one of the strong points of this production: a set of multifunctional platforms that serves as Macbeth’s castle as well as the magic cauldron from where the three apparitions emerge. This structure has special relevance in the last act, after the messenger tells Macbeth that the Birnam Wood is moving. From this moment, the production reaches epic dimensions. To stage the ending, the puppeteers divide the set into two halves and move it to the sides, thus revealing the rear part of the stage to the audience, all this to the rhythm of beating drums. Hidden behind the set are stick puppets of falcons attached to wooden trees that the puppeteers move to the

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<sup>9</sup>They are inspired by ancient Japanese puppetry known as “bunraku.” These puppets allow the movement of head and limbs, giving a feeling of reality because they can imitate human motion. They need to be managed by one to three puppeteers depending on the kind of movement required.

front of the stage, leaving Macbeth surrounded by the bird-like English army. The bird features of the characters have special importance in the last moments of the production: instead of fighting with their swords, the final duel between Macbeth and Macduff is transformed into a cockfight. To do so, the bunraku puppets are replaced by stick puppets of cockerels which no longer have human features. While the cockerels fight, feathers fly and the birds cluck until Macbeth's death. The relentless pace of the last ten minutes leaves the audience astonished while the young swan, Malcolm, recites the final speech.

This *Macbeth*, full of feathers and clucking, adds a double dimension of fantasy to the Shakespearean play: first, the audience is invited to believe, as children do with cartoons, that animals can behave like humans; second, the public can learn that "toys" can tell stories not only for children, but also for an adult audience fully aware of the cruelty portrayed in the Shakespearean text. At the end of the production, the audience is left with the feeling that the challenge to match Shakespeare's lines with the strong visual language of puppet theatre has been fulfilled.

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**William Shakespeare, *Tempestad*  
Teatro Circo  
Murcia, 25 October 2013**

Isabel Guerrero  
*Universidad de Murcia*

CAST AND CREATIVE TEAM

*Actors:* Victor Duplá, Quique Fernández, Antonio Galeano, Xabier Murúa, Agustín Sasián, Eduardo Ruíz, Javier Tolosa

*Director:* Sergio Peris-Mencheta

*Translation:* Fundación Shakespeare

*Assistant director:* Pepe Lorente

*Art Director:* Antonio Vicente

*Costume design:* Raúl Amor

*Video:* Joe Alonso

*Steady:* Victor M. Ramírez

*Steady Assistant:* Mikel Saukillo

*Set Construction:* Quique Fernández

*Lighting Design:* Manuel Fuster

*Musical direction:* Dudu Ruiz and Antonio Galeano

*Sound Design:* Dudu Rui y Joe Alonso

*Physical training:* Diana Bernedo

*Graphic design:* Antonio Vicente and Victor Monigote

*Production managers:* Nuria-Cruz Moreno and Rebeca Ledesma

A year after its creation in 2012, the Spanish company El Barco Pirata presented its production *Tempestad* in the Teatro Circo in Murcia, a venue that seems especially suitable for this imaginative work because of its wide and open stage, which invites audience's participation. The director, Sergio Peris-Mencheta, is currently involved in two Shakespearean productions: he appears as an actor in *Julius Caesar*, directed by Paco Azorín, and has also ventured to direct *The Tempest*.<sup>10</sup> Instead of preserving the original title, the production is called simply *Tempestad*, extending the storm that takes place at the beginning to the whole play. *The Tempest* is recast as a

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<sup>10</sup> Sergio Peris-Mencheta has been awarded the Ceres Award to the Best Director for *Tempestad* [*Tempest*] and *Un trozo invisible de este mundo* [*An invisible piece of this world*], two of his latest productions.

play-within-a-play, creating a meta-theatrical frame where the spectators are asked to decide which parts belong to Shakespeare's text and which do not. To that end the play kicks off with a group of male actors who are about to begin their rehearsal of *The Tempest*. They complain, ramble and warm-up until they start the rehearsal, reading their roles directly from the text. Little by little, the actors abandon their scripts and the play turns from rehearsal to the "real" story, introducing the audience into Shakespeare's universe.

The version stresses the contest for power between different characters: Prospero is the master of the island; Antonio and Sebastian try to kill the king to get power, etc. This stress on power enhances the colonialist vision of the play as Ariel and Caliban – the "locals" on the island – appear completely subordinated to Prospero, the foreigner who has come to conquer them. Feelings are suppressed as far as Prospero's relationship with his subordinates is concerned; Ariel and Caliban appear as mere instruments that serve Prospero's purposes. This emphasis on power results in the loss of Ferdinand and Miranda's love story which, together with Miranda's astonishment at the presence of other human beings, is omitted.



Fig. 1. Photograph from the performance. Published by permission of Barco Pirata Producciones Teatrales.

Even though the production uses techniques typical of contemporary theatre (e.g. intermediality, physical theatre, etc), the fact that it is an all-male production echoes Renaissance practice. Instead of reducing the cast, the seven actors give life to over twenty different characters, doubling or even tripling the roles that each of them performs, which was of course another characteristic feature of early Modern English playmaking. In order to differentiate the characters, garments are changed from role to role. However, the actors do not change their outfit completely, they simply retouch what they are wearing, turning, for instance, the King's crown into Caliban's handcuffs. Most of the transformations from one character to another are made on stage, giving the audience the opportunity of seeing how some simple changes help to create a completely different character. In contrast to the doubling of characters that each actor performs, the role of Ariel is brought to life by three actors who perform it simultaneously. Even more innovative is the performance of Caliban: the actor interprets a character who seems mentally handicapped, which may not suit the taste of all the members of the audience. It is also notable that the actor playing Prospero and his brother Antonio is the same that performs the director of the play-within-a-play. The decision to use a director who is also an actor recalls the role that Shakespeare himself may have had in the King's Men, that of author-director-actor.

At the beginning of the production, the actor playing the director states that this play cannot be staged in a theatre, that it needs a real beach where the moonlight will replace the artificial lightning. In an attempt to bring the seaside closer, the set imitates a beach, a small island where the action takes place. The set is composed of a circle of sand, a ladder that allows for different staging options (e.g. it serves as a vessel in the opening tempest and adds a third dimension, with characters climbing the ladder on occasion), two buckets, and a screen at the back where a variety of projected images helps to convey both the ambience and magic of the play. The production is designed to catch the attention of the audience by stimulating their senses, as exotic scents invade the venue before the play starts. Water plays an important role too; one of the buckets is filled with water and is used to recreate the shipwreck of the king's vessel with a small toy ship, and the actor-director throws water at the men in the vessel to increase the veracity of the shipwreck during the tempest. Apart from water and

sand, the other two classical elements – air and fire – also appear on stage: the second bucket is used to make a bonfire to warm up Alonso and his men and, as could not been otherwise, air appears in connection to Ariel, as the three Ariel actors carry a balloon tied to their trousers. Despite its apparent simplicity, the set is characterised by chaos because the initial storm – conveyed through the movement of the actors and by a fan that helps to recreate the wind – leaves the stage covered by the paper sheets that the actors were reading at the beginning of the rehearsal.

Magic is conveyed through various means. For instance, Prospero uses the different cameras situated on stage to control everything that happens in his island. Thanks to the cameras Prospero is not only ubiquitous, but he is also able to exert his control over the visitors on the island, which helps to enhance the production's emphasis on power. Regarding Ariel, he is performed by three actors simultaneously. Two are the effects of tripling Ariel: firstly, his magic features are heightened, since he can act simultaneously in different places; and secondly it functions as an instrument of power as well, as Prospero's omnipresence is extended through the constant presence of this "triple" character. The three Ariels are dressed as schoolboys and the silver balloons tied to their trousers symbolise the fact that they are bound to Prospero. When they are not performing, they sit at the back of the stage and play music that the other characters hear, portraying Ariel's invisible presence in several scenes.

All this results in an ambitious production in which the tempest at sea is transformed into a tempest of theatrical techniques. However, the use of so many different theatrical resources is sometimes excessive, and the loss of certain parts of the story makes the production difficult to follow for someone not familiar with Shakespeare's text. Although most of the audience was fascinated with the *mise-en-scène*, the fact that several spectators left the venue halfway through gives rise to a series of reflections on the expectations that a Spanish audience may have when attending a Shakespearean production. Did they decide to leave because the play did not meet their conception of "classical" Shakespeare? Was there any other problem with the production? Both aspects may coincide. Perhaps the play did not meet the expectations occasional theatregoers may have about Shakespeare. Moreover, although the



production was well performed, the venue itself played against it at some points, because some parts of the action were slowed down as a result of the considerable width of the stage. Nevertheless, this *Tempestad* is a good example of how to recreate *The Tempest*'s fantasy world on the stage using 21<sup>st</sup> century theatrical resources.

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## Abstracts and keywords in Spanish and Portuguese\*

### Articles

Sandra Clark, Women, class, and the language of madness in early modern English drama

#### RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza la representación de las mujeres dementes en varias obras de teatro de principios de la edad moderna, incluyendo algunas de Shakespeare, con el fin de mostrar cómo su locura opera en la intersección del género –tanto sexual como literario–, y la clase social. El artículo se centra en el lenguaje, y sostiene que los estilos discursivos de las mujeres dementes son similares en esencia, independientemente de su clase social. Para las mujeres, la locura es una condición liberadora lingüísticamente hablando, que une el discurso cultural elevado y el bajo. Mientras que el lenguaje de las mujeres dementes en las obras de teatro se asemeja al de los hombres dementes, es más licencioso y transgresor porque la violación de las normas sociales y de comportamiento es más extrema.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** locura; lenguaje; disparates; transgresión; tabú; impertinencia; tradición popular; baladas; género; liberación; imaginación; sexualidad.

#### RESUMO

Este artigo debate a representação de mulheres em estado de loucura em várias peças do Renascimento inglês (incluindo algumas de Shakespeare) para demonstrar que a sua loucura se situa no ponto de intersecção da identidade de género, do género literário e da classe social. A sua ênfase dominante é a linguagem, argumentando que os estilos discursivos de mulheres loucas são semelhantes, não reflectindo diferenças de classe. Para as mulheres, a loucura surge como uma condição linguisticamente libertadora, fazendo convergir discursos culturalmente baixos e elevados. Embora a linguagem de mulheres loucas em textos dramáticos tenha

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\* Translations into Spanish by Tamara Pérez Fernández. Translations into Portuguese by Rui Carvalho Homem.

afinidades com a de homens em estado idêntico, revela-se mais licenciosa e transgressiva, uma vez que a violação de normas sociais e comportamentais é mais extrema.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: loucura; linguagem; *nonsense*; transgressão; tabu; impertinência; tradição popular; baladas; gênero; libertação; imaginação; sexualidade.



Richard Halpern, Bassanio's Bailout: A brief history of risk, Shakespeare to Wall Street

#### RESUMEN

*The Merchant of Venice*, la anatomía del riesgo más penetrante escrita por Shakespeare, describe apuestas no sólo de dinero, sino también de amor y de la propia vida. Este artículo sitúa la obra dentro de una larga historia que rastrea el concepto de riesgo desde el teatro clásico a la sociología moderna, pasando por la escolástica medieval. Durante el trascurso de esta historia, las dimensiones moral y económica del riesgo se vuelven cada vez más fugitivas y difíciles de encontrar. La obra de Shakespeare ilustra este proceso en miniatura, y al hacerlo arroja luz sobre nuestra "sociedad del riesgo" contemporánea, incluyendo el colapso financiero de 2008.

PALABRAS CLAVE: William Shakespeare; riesgo; finanzas; Alesxandre Kojève; G.F.W. Hegel; Ulrich Beck.

#### RESUMO

*O Mercador de Veneza* é a mais penetrante anatomia do risco que encontramos em Shakespeare, pondo em cena casos em que se aposta não apenas dinheiro mas também o amor e a própria vida. Este artigo situa *O Mercador* numa longa história que permite detectar a evolução do conceito de risco do teatro clássico à escolástica medieval e à sociologia moderna. Neste percurso histórico, as dimensões moral e económica do risco tornam-se crescentemente fugidias e esquivas. A peça de Shakespeare ilustra este processo em miniatura e, ao fazê-lo, traz luz à "sociedade de risco" do nosso tempo, incluindo o descalabro financeiro de 2008.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: William Shakespeare; risco; finança; Alexandre Kojève; G.F.W.Hegel; Ulrich Beck.



Colm MacCrossan, Framing “Nova Albion”: Marking possession in Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*

RESUMEN

Este artículo investiga el marco textual de un conjunto de elementos de la obra *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600), de Richard Hakluyt, relacionados con el área de la costa pacífica norteamericana, denominada por Francis Drake “Nova Albion”. Puesto en contexto con los programas coloniales de Sir Humphrey Gilbert y Sir Walter Raleigh, este artículo explora el modo en que una variedad de técnicas editoriales se combinan para favorecer un determinado entendimiento de la historia de la exploración en esta región que favorece las reclamaciones territoriales inglesas por encima de las españolas. Lo que se revela es una delicada negociación de las tensiones suscitadas por el uso que hace Hakluyt de los materiales preexistentes, en su mayoría de origen no inglés, para intentar legitimar las acciones de Drake al alinearlas con la tradición conquistadora española, rebajando a su vez el alcance y la significación de la actividad española previa en esa región.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Drake; Hakluyt; Nova Albion; paratextos; España; literatura de viaje; conquista; California.

RESUMO

Este artigo investiga o quadro textual de um conjunto de elementos, relacionados com a área da costa norte-americana do Pacífico a que Francis Drake chamou “Nova Albion”, constantes de *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600), de Richard Hakluyt. Reportando-se aos programas coloniais de Sir Humphrey Gilbert e Sir Walter Raleigh, o artigo explora a gama de técnicas editoriais que se combinam para encorajar um dado entendimento da história de exploração dessa região que privilegia as pretensões territoriais inglesas em detrimento das de Espanha. Revela-se desse modo uma negociação delicada das tensões criadas pelo uso por Hakluyt de materiais pré-existentes, e maioritariamente não ingleses, para tentar legitimar os actos de Drake através do respectivo alinhamento com a tradição de conquista dos espanhóis – ao mesmo tempo que desvaloriza a medida e o significado da actividade espanhola que previamente tivera lugar naquela região.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Drake; Hakluyt; Nova Albion; paratextos; Espanha; literatura de viagens; conquista; Califórnia.



## Willy Maley, *Peninsula Lost: Mapping Milton's Celtiberian cartographies*

### RESUMEN

En *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634), John Milton describe a Comus como "maduro y retozón de su plena madurez, errando por los campos celtas e ibéricos." Mientras que la compleja relación de Milton con Portugal y España ha sido objeto de discusión por parte de los críticos, pocos han sido los que han intentado colocar sus escritos sobre la Península Ibérica dentro del contexto más amplio de sus teorías de influencia climática y colonialismo, más allá del "diseño occidental" contra las posesiones coloniales españolas. El anticatolicismo y el antiimperialismo pueden ser la clave de la correspondencia en favor de la república inglesa que Milton mantuvo con España y Portugal durante la década de 1650, pero sus intereses ibéricos se pueden ver a su vez como parte de un sondeo más profundo en historias británicas e irlandesas. El propósito de este artículo – su "encargo errante" – es explorar la presencia de la Península en los trabajos de Milton, desde "Lycidas" (1637) hasta *The History of Britain* (1670), en relación con lecturas recientes de Milton centradas en las islas británicas, examinando las maneras en las que las preocupaciones célticas e ibéricas se entrelazan en la obra de Milton (como lo estuvieron en la obra de su predecesor, Edmund Spenser).

PALABRAS CLAVE: Gran Bretaña; catolicismo; céltico; colonialismo; Cromwell; Imperio; Inglaterra; Europa; Iberia; Irlanda; John Milton; monarquía; Nápoles; "Nuevo Mundo"; Portugal; revolución; España; traducción.

### RESUMO

Em *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634), John Milton representa Comus nos seguintes termos: "ripe and frolic of his full grown age, Roving the Celtic and Iberian fields". A relação complexa de Milton com Portugal e Espanha foi objecto de algum processamento crítico, mas pouco se fez no sentido de situar os seus escritos sobre a Península Ibérica no contexto mais amplo das suas teorias de influência climática e colonialismo, para além do "desígnio ocidental" contra as possessões coloniais espanholas. O anti-catolicismo e anti-imperialismo poderão ser a chave para a correspondência cromwelliana de Milton com Espanha e Portugal em nome da república inglesa na década de 1650, mas os seus interesses ibéricos podem também ser vistos como parte de uma escavação mais profunda da história britânica e irlandesa. O propósito deste artigo é explorar a presença da Península na obra de Milton desde "Lycidas" (1637) a *The History of Britain* (1670), examinando o modo como implicações célticas e ibéricas nela se entrelaçam – tal como sucede com o seu predecessor Edmund Spenser.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Grã-Bretanha; catolicismo; celta; colonialismo; Cromwell; império; Inglaterra; Europa; Península Ibérica; Irlanda; John Milton; monarquia; Nápoles; “Novo Mundo”; Portugal; revolução; Espanha; tradução.



Jonathan P. A. Sell, “Warts and all”: John Lyly’s atheist aesthetic

#### RESUMEN

Este artículo encuentra algunos indicios de estética atomista en ciertos pasajes de *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*, de John Lyly. Después pasa a abordar el tema de cómo Lyly pudo haber conocido la filosofía atomista y, en particular, el pensamiento de Empédocles, bien a través de sus lecturas o por ser miembro del círculo de Oxford. Finalmente, mostrando cómo *Campaspe*, una obra temprana de Lyly, combina su visión estética y la controversia atomista, el artículo confirma lo razonable de su proposición inicial y abre el camino no sólo a un replanteamiento de Lyly y de sus obras sino también a una nueva evaluación del barroco en la literatura inglesa de principios de la edad moderna y a una revisión de la historia de los orígenes del atomismo inglés.

PALABRAS CLAVE: John Lyly; atomismo; estética; Empédocles; *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*; *Campaspe*.

#### RESUMO

Este artigo revela os fundamentos para uma estética atomista em certos passos de *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*, de John Lyly. Aborda em seguida a questão de como Lyly poderia ter-se familiarizado com a filosofia atomista e, em particular, o pensamento de Empédocles – se através das suas leituras, ou como membro do círculo de Oxford. Por fim, mostrando que em *Campaspe*, uma peça da fase inicial da sua obra, Lyly combina as suas perspectivas estéticas com aspectos de controvérsia atomista, o artigo confirma a razoabilidade da proposição inicial e abre caminho não apenas a uma reavaliação de Lyly e da sua obra, como também a uma reapreciação do barroco na literatura inglesa de inícios da Idade Moderna e a uma revisão das opiniões mais comuns sobre as origens do atomismo inglês.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: John Lyly; atomismo; estética; Empédocles; *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*; *Campaspe*.



Monica Matei-Chesnoiu, The authority of geography in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*: Jacob Falckenburgk and Dionysius Periegetes

#### RESUMEN

Partiendo de la compleja cuestión de la autoría de *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, este artículo estudia las influencias intertextuales de la narración en verso latino de la historia de Apolonio escrita por Jacob Falckenburgk (Londres, 1578) y la traducción de Thomas Twayne de *Orbis terrae descriptio* (*The Surveye of the world*) del geógrafo Dionysius Periegetes (Londres, 1572), sobre la geografía errática de *Pericles*. La obra de Shakespeare, basándose en las historias de Pericles/Apolonio (tanto la obra de teatro como sus variantes intertextuales en verso latino y prosa inglesa) y en descripciones geográficas antiguas de los lugares del Mediterráneo oriental donde se sitúa la acción, descentra la autoridad de los textos geográficos antiguos, que se había mantenido gracias a la ubicuidad de la historia de Apolonio o el peso de los textos clásicos. *Pericles* desestabiliza la autoridad tanto del lenguaje como de la geografía clásicos por medio de un proceso de desfamiliarización y distanciamiento de la legitimización de los textos antiguos y de la tradición geográfica. Al sugerir la alteridad durante la interacción dramática, la obra incorpora el reconocimiento de la diferencia y el apoyo de la tolerancia dentro de las comunidades transnacionales del Renacimiento.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Shakespeare; romances; geografía; latín; Falckenburgk; Periegetes; drama del Renacimiento.

#### RESUMO

Este artigo confronta-se com a questão controversa da autoria de *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, mas, acima de tudo, examina a influência intertextual que a narrativa em verso latino da saga de Apolônio por Jacob Falckenburgk (Londres, 1578) e a tradução por Thomas Twayne de *Orbis terrae descriptio* (*The Surveye of the world*) de Dionysius Periegetes (Londres, 1572) exerceram sobre a geografia errática de *Pericles*. Reportando-se às narrativas de Péricles /Apolônio, bem como às descrições pela geografia antiga dos espaços do Mediterrâneo oriental em que a sua ação se situa, a peça descentra a autoridade da geografia antiga que se exercera através da muito divulgada história de Apolônio ou do peso de textos clássicos. Com efeito, *Péricles* desestabiliza a autoridade das línguas e geografias clássicas através de um processo de desfamiliarização e distanciamento. Ao oferecer uma sugestão de alteridade através da interação dramática, a peça incorpora o reconhecimento da diferença e o apoio à tolerância no quadro das comunidades transnacionais de inícios da Idade Moderna.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Shakespeare; peças românticas; geografia; Latim; Falckenburgk; Periegetes; drama do Renascimento.

## Notes

Mark Hutchings, "Those rebellious Hollanders": *The Changeling's* Double Dutch

### RESUMEN

*The Changeling* (1622) encaja perfectamente en la típica narrativa antiespañola, tan bien establecida en la crítica que podría oscurecer un panorama internacional más amplio. En los primeros compases de la obra se menciona de pasada una referencia a la antigua alianza entre Inglaterra y España y no se da importancia a la victoria naval conseguida por los holandeses sobre los españoles en 1607. Sin embargo, esto puede haber repercutido en el sentimiento antiespañol de la obra. La resonancia en la memoria de la Masacre de Ambon de 1623 sugiere que *The Changeling* tuvo una recepción más complicada de lo que los críticos han considerado hasta ahora. En 1622, momento en el que probablemente se estrenó la obra, las tensiones con los holandeses iban en aumento, y la aparente nostalgia por la alianza protestante, que terminó con el Tratado de Londres de 1604, se complicó por el surgimiento de un imperio que superaría al de España y que gradualmente lo reemplazaría como rival principal de Inglaterra.

PALABRAS CLAVE: relaciones anglo-hispanas; relaciones anglo-holandesas; *The Changeling*; Masacre de Ambon; Thomas Middleton; William Rowley

### RESUMO

*The Changeling* (1622) adequa-se prontamente a uma narrativa anti-espanhola bem conhecida, cujo lugar consolidado no território da crítica pode obscurecer o panorama internacional mais amplo. Pouco após o início da peça há uma breve referência ao aliado, até então, da Inglaterra contra a Espanha, mas não há outros ecos do triunfo naval holandês sobre os espanhóis em 1607. Contudo, este acontecimento pode ter encontrado uma ressonância capaz de complicar o sentimento anti-espanhol na peça. A memória continuada de que viria a gozar o massacre de Amboína, de 1623, sugere que *The Changeling* poderá ter tido uma recepção mais complicada do que os críticos têm contemplado. Mesmo em 1622, data da provável estreia da peça, as tensões com os holandeses estavam em crescendo, e a aparente nostalgia pela aliança protestante que o Tratado de Londres de 1604 tinha cancelado complicava-se com a ascensão de um império que superaria o de Espanha e gradualmente se tornaria o novo grande rival da Inglaterra.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: relações anglo-espanholas; relações anglo-holandesas; *The Changeling*; massacre de Amboína; Thomas Middleton; William Rowley.





Miguel Ramalhete Gomes, *Intended for the stage: Performance criticism in Richard Brome's The Antipodes*

RESUMEN

Esta nota se centra en la relación problemática entre *The Antipodes* (1638), de Richard Brome, y sus representaciones teatrales, tal y como aparecen mencionadas en el discurso al lector escrito por el propio autor en el Quarto de 1640, así como en repeticiones más modernas de la obra. La crítica del teatro de principios de la edad moderna ha tendido a considerar tales obras como si estuviesen marcadas por el hecho de haber sido escritas para su representación, un énfasis que a veces ha traído como consecuencia descartar enfoques más textuales. Sin embargo, en *The Antipodes* parece existir una cierta desconexión entre el texto de la obra y su vida en el teatro. Por lo tanto, propongo examinar aspectos específicos de *The Antipodes* en relación con los retos que plantea a la representación y a la crítica de la representación, al desplazarse continuamente entre el contexto teatral carolino y el contexto crítico y teatral contemporáneo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Richard Brome; teatro carolino; representación; lectura; teatro dentro del teatro; paratexto; adaptación.

RESUMO

Esta nota centra-se na relação problemática que é possível detetar entre a peça *The Antipodes* (1638), de Richard Brome, e a sua fortuna no palco, tal como esta aparece mencionada na nota que o autor dirige ao leitor no in-quarto de 1640, assim como em produções mais recentes da peça. A crítica sobre drama do Renascimento inglês tem tendido a considerar que estas peças são determinadas pela circunstância de terem sido escritas para a cena, um ênfase que tem por vezes levado a que se menospreze abordagens mais centradas na textualidade. No entanto, no caso de *The Antipodes*, parece ter existido e continuar a existir uma desconexão entre o texto da peça e a sua representação no teatro. Proponho-me assim abordar aspetos específicos de *The Antipodes* em termos dos desafios que esta peça coloca não só ao teatro mas também à crítica de teatro, alternando, para isso, entre o contexto teatral do tempo de Charles I e o contexto crítico e teatral contemporâneo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Richard Brome; drama Carolino; representação teatral; leitura; peça dentro da peça; paratexto; adaptação.



María J. Sánchez-de-Nieva, A bibliographical description of the British Library copy of *The Honour of Chivalrie* (1598)

#### RESUMEN

Este artículo ofrece una descripción bibliográfica completa de la copia ubicada en The British Library de la primera edición de *The Honour of Chivalrie* (London, 1598; STC 1804). El objetivo es ofrecer a la comunidad académica datos bibliográficos detallados de la primera traducción al inglés del libro de caballería español *Don Belianís de Grecia* (Burgos, 1547; IB 8699). La descripción bibliográfica está acompañada por una breve descripción de las diferentes traducciones y ediciones de dicho libro de caballería.

PALABRAS CLAVE: literatura cavalleresca renacentista; novelas de caballerías ibéricas; *The Honour of Chivalrie*; Thomas Creede; Bernard Alsop; Francis Kirkman; *Don Belianís de Grecia*.

#### RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta uma descrição bibliográfica pormenorizada do exemplar existente na British Library da primeira edição de *The Honour of Chivalrie* (Londres, 1598; STC 1804). O objectivo é oferecer informação bibliográfica que se revele útil para investigadores interessados na primeira tradução inglesa da narrativa espanhola *Don Belianís de Grecia* (Burgos, 1547; IB 8699). O artigo inclui uma descrição concisa das tradições e edições deste texto.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Literatura de cavalaria do Renascimento; novelística de cavalaria Ibérica; *The Honour of Chivalrie*; Thomas Creede; Bernard Alsop; Francis Kirkman; *Don Belianís de Grecia*.

## Errata

In the note "The University of Alicante Library copy of Palmerin d'Oliva (London, 1637): A Bibliographical Description" by Jordi Sánchez-Martí, published in *SEDERI* 23, an erratum has been found on page 124.

The published text says: "Palmerín de Olivia was first translated into Italian by Michele Tramezino in 1544."

It should say: "Palmerín de Olivia was first translated into Italian by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano and printed by Michele Tramezino in 1544."

