Sederi 31

2021

Sederi 31 (2021)

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Articles

From *Lives* to *Discurso* in the biographies of Thomas More: Roper, Harpsfield and Herrera[*]

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ABSTRACT

This article compares the books about the *Lifes* of Thomas More written by Roper and Harpsfield and the work *Tomás Moro* by Fernando de Herrera. The comparison is taken as a case in point of the divergent early development of the biographical genre in England and in Spain. The three texts were written by Catholic humanists, but under different contexts, which produced different kinds of text. Roper's and Harpsfield's Catholicism, marked by a close contact with the Morean tradition, the English form of Counter-Reformation under Mary, and the Elizabethan reversion to Protestantism, makes them drift towards an early form of modern biography. Fernando de Herrera, however, sets out to write his text from the background of the Spanish Counter-Reformation and a different discursive and textual conception of life writing.

KEYWORDS: biography; life writing; William Roper; Nicholas Harpsfield; Thomas More; Fernando de Herrera.

**De las *Vidas* al *Discurso*
en las biografías de Thomas More:
Roper, Harpsfield and Herrera**

RESUMEN: Este artículo se ocupa de la comparación de las *Vidas* de Tomás Moro escritas por Roper y Harpsfield y el *Tomás Moro* de Fernando de Herrera. La comparación se toma como un caso pertinente en relación al temprano desarrollo divergente del género biográfico en España e Inglaterra. Los tres textos fueron escritos por católicos, pero bajo contextos diferentes, que dieron lugar a dife-

**De *Vidas* ao *Discurso*
nas biografias de Thomas More:
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RESUMO: Este artigo compara as *Vidas* de Thomas More escritas por Roper e Harpsfield e *Tomás Moro* de Fernando de Herrera. A comparação é entendida como um exemplo do desenvolvimento inicial divergente do género biográfico em Inglaterra e em Espanha. Os três textos foram escritos por humanistas católicos, mas em contextos diferentes, o que produziu tipos diferentes de texto. O ca-

rentes tipos de texto. El catolicismo de Roper y Harpsfield, marcado por un contacto más estrecho con la tradición moreana, la forma inglesa de la Contrarreforma mariana y la reversión isabelina al protestantismo, aboca a estos autores a una temprana forma de biografía moderna. Fernando de Herrera, sin embargo, emprende su ensayo desde el trasfondo de la Contrarreforma tridentina en España y una diferente concepción discursiva y textual de la escritura de vidas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: biografía; escritos de vidas; William Roper; Nicholas Harpsfield; Tomás Moro; Fernando de Herrera.

tolicismo de Roper e Harpsfield, marcado por um contacto próximo com a tradição moreana, a forma inglesa da Contrarreforma mariana e a reversão isabelina ao protestantismo, impele-os para uma forma inicial da biografia moderna. Fernando de Herrera, contudo, propõe-se escrever o seu texto a partir do pano de fundo da Contrarreforma espanhola e de uma conceção discursiva e textual diferente da escrita de vidas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: biografia; escrita de vidas; William Roper; Nicholas Harpsfield; Thomas More; Fernando de Herrera.

In Spain the practice and theory of the genre of biography has only recently trodden the path opened by English biographical criticism and thus developed comparatively late (Soria Ortega 1983, 534; Romera Castillo 1997, 16–17).[1] The publishing of theoretical reflections on biography of the sort practiced in England and France (*new biography*, *biographie moderne*, or *biografía literaria moderna*, according to Soria Ortega or, simply, *biografismo*, according to Manuel Pulido Mendoza) had to wait until the decade of the 1920s in Spain. It was in part boosted by the modernist popularity in the last two aforementioned countries. Indeed, the scarcity of Spanish biographies and critical studies prior to that decade contrasts with the early emergence of the genre in England. This is a fact confirmed by the meagre bibliography on biographical studies of the early modern period in the Spanish domain, generally bemoaned by Spanish scholars when discussing the production of biographical texts in the twentieth century (Pulido Mendoza 2007, chs. 1–3). It is, indeed, only during the first third of the twentieth century that we find biographies and critical reflections on the genre similar to those occurring in England and the rest of Europe. For Olmo Ibáñez (2015, 21), biography

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[1] A significant clue to the different consideration afforded the biographical genre in England and in Spain is the fact that the term "biography" appeared in English as early as 1662 (Cremonesi 2013, 25), whereas the corresponding term in Spain had to wait until the nineteenth century to be documented by the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español*. See Pulido Mendoza (2007, 58–65) for a wider treatment of the topic.

experienced the most relevant theoretical re-formulation and practice of the genre at the hands of Eugenio d'Ors, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, and Gregorio Marañón. Before these authors, we do not really find many examples.[2] So we can reasonably ask whether the lack of *new biography* and the belated emergence of a theory of biography in Spain before the twentieth century point to a different textual and ideological tradition—one that, I contend, dates back to the early modern period.

The two most important influences on the development of early modern biographical writing, in England and in Spain respectively, are the two English *Lives* of Thomas More: William Roper's *The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight* (1626) and Nicholas Harpsfield's *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, Knight* (1553–1558?), on the one hand, and the Spanish *Tomás Moro* (1592) by Fernando de Herrera, on the other. I will probe here into the ideological, discursive and textual factors which limited the biographical scope of Herrera as part of a divergent Spanish tradition already operating in the early modern period.

A common feature unites the personalities of More, Harpsfield, Herrera and Roper: they were Catholic humanists.[3] As Francisco López Estrada (2001b, 17–18) explains, the humanist subject conciliated the *studia humanitatis*, i.e., the humanist vision in which being "Man" was emphatically treated as an end in itself, along with *divinitas*, i.e., Man viewing himself within his personal and collective Christian spirituality. This conciliation was not always easy. The inner conflict between *humanitas* and *divinitas* wavered between radical

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[2] This situation moved Ortega y Gasset (1966, 588–592) to wonder about the reasons that prevented Spanish writers from dedicating their time to writing memoirs.

[3] Harpsfield, together with Rastell, Sander, Herrera, and Arias Montano could be considered Catholic humanists inasmuch as they were versed in Latin, Greek and, sometimes, Hebrew, to serve a philological and ideological concern for the classics of antiquity, for biblical studies, and for the history of the Church Fathers. This, however, does not imply any kind of commitment to a secular worldview. Their orthodox humanism was linked to Erasmianism inasmuch as they entertained Erasmian ideas, some of which were questioned by the Council of Trent or persecuted by the Inquisition. However, neither humanism nor Erasmianism meant for them an open attitude towards religious freedom as evinced by the involvement of Roper and Harpsfield, as right-hand men of Cardinal Pole (an Erasmian and hammer of heretics himself), in the campaign of burning of Protestants during Mary's reign. For this aspect of their personalities and its relation with the two *Lives* of More, see Duffy (2009, 179–183 and *passim*). For More's position in this respect see the following note.

secularism, religious dogmatism, either of a Protestant or a Catholic kind, and a variable balance between both. Although More, Roper, Harpsfield, and Herrera shared this common profile of orthodox Catholic humanists, their personal integration of both aspects was differently nuanced, reflecting the contemporary development of events and the different scenarios that those events imposed on them. Thus, each man, even the same man in the case of More, represents an intrapersonal degree of maturation in the history of the difficult coexistence of humanism and religion. More in his youth (the More of *Utopia*, Plato, Cicero, and Lucian) represents a first attitude: the youthful Erasmian confidence in the possibility of consilience between *humanitas* and *divinitas* within a universal Catholic faith. The late 1520s and early 1530s, however, coinciding with More's official responsibilities and his demise (as the anti-Protestant polemicist of *Dialogue concerning heresies* or the ascetic author of *De Tristitia Christi*), represent a nuanced period in the deepening of More's Catholic faith. This second period saw his personal response to the disintegration of the socio-political status that had sustained his worldview.[4]

Roper and Harpsfield could be included in this second period. They still shared a certain Erasmian humanism (Trevor-Roper 1996, 20–21), although a major concern of theirs at this point was the martyrological dimension of the figure of More and how it might contribute to the restoration of the Catholic faith in their country. We know little of Roper's Erasmianism, as he shows no intellectual concern, for he was a practical man too busy with keeping his administrative and political posts as a committed Catholic under Mary and a discreet recusant under Elizabeth I. Nicholas Harpsfield, however, was an accomplished intellectual. He was perpetual fellow of New College and principal of White Hall in Oxford (Freeman 2004, vii-viii), canonist, theologian and historian. After becoming a priest, he exiled himself under the reign of Edward VI and came back to England under Mary Tudor. He became Archdeacon of Canterbury and a prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral, being instrumental to

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[4] See Guy (2000, 14–15) for an account of the biographers' view of the More of *Utopia* as a Protestant reformer *avant la lettre* and More the Lord Chancellor as a Counterreformer and persecutor of Protestants. It is difficult to ascertain how More felt regarding Erasmianism at the end of his life. He never disavowed his friendship with Erasmus, some of whose works had not yet been included in the Index of Forbidden Books by the Catholic authorities.

Cardinal Pole in his attempt to restore Catholicism and in the persecution of Protestants. On the accession of Elizabeth I, he refused to accept the new order and suffered incarceration in Fleet Prison for seven years, being released a year and a half before his death. During this time, he was generously supported by William Roper. It is noticeable that in their biographies Roper mentions Erasmus only once and Harpsfield mentions him repeatedly. Besides, the latter expressed his admiration for the Dutch humanist in the manuscript of his *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, written during his incarceration (Trevor-Roper 1996, 20 note). *Utopia*, similarly, goes unmentioned by Roper but discussed positively by Harpsfield.

The biographies by Nicholas Sander, Thomas Stapleton, "Ro. Ba.," and Cresacre More,[5] between 1579 and 1626, represent a new stylistic period, effected by the coming to the Continent of a new generation of ardent young exiles schooled in Pole's and Mary's church. As they moved into the wider world of Tridentine Counter-Reformation, they contributed their own Marian Counter-Reformation (Duffy 2009, 202), at a time of increasingly bitter religious conflict in Europe and a post-Tridentine attempt to reinstate Catholicism in England from abroad with the intervention of the Spanish superpower. In the group of descendants and devotees who kept the flame of More's saintly life alive, "the simple personal narrative of William Roper became more and more a hagiography" as biographers "took over and re-worked each other's material" (Trevor-Roper 1996, 17). Recollection of More's humanism, so apparent in his Platonism, his Erasmianism and his *Utopia*, was effaced (Trevor-Roper 1996, 20–21) and his saintly orthodox side, highlighted. Thus, Stapleton's pro-Spanish *Tres Thomae* devoted a whole section to Thomas More in the company of two long-accredited saints (Thomas the Apostle and Thomas Becket). He does not hide the humanist side of More and his friendship with Erasmus, though he does hold the latter responsible for having "so widely sown the accursed seed [of heresy]" (Stapleton 1966, 36). Neither does he deny the literary and moral value of *Utopia*. Sander, however, in *De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, devotes several chapters of his

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[5] Cresacre More's *The life and death of Sir Thomas Moore Lord high Chancellour of England* was printed around 1631, though it was probably written at least a decade earlier. *The Lyfe of Syr Thomas More, sometimes Lord Chancellor of England / by Ro. Ba.* remained in manuscript until its contemporary edition (1950).

martyrological sections to Thomas More.[6] The texts by Sander and Stapleton soon became sources for the transference from an international Latin domain to a national Spanish one in Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiástica del scisma del reino de Inglaterra* (1588–1595), which profited extensively from the two English exiles.[7] On the other hand Alonso de Villegas' *Tercera parte del Flos Sanctorum* (1588) offers a more biographical and humanistic portrait of More than the one by Ribadeneyra, in part because Villegas took as two of his sources Erasmus' 1519 letter to von Hutten and the *Expositio fidelis* of 1535, though cautiously concealing them (Lillo Castañ 2021).[8]

In Spain, by 1592, these effacing biographies were the only likely sources to be allowed, given the political and social context after the uprooting of the Protestant foci in Valladolid and Seville[9] and the general repression of Erasmianism. But in fact the construction of the myth of Thomas More within Spanish orthodoxy had started even earlier with shorter texts, some of which were closer to Herrera's Sevillian setting. Indeed, the events concerning More's life and, above all, his martyrdom, were very popular in the Iberian Peninsula (Herrero Quirós 1993, 118–119; López Estrada 1992; 1980; Vázquez de Prada 1989, 303–310, 317–322; Olivares Merino 2013a, 2013b, 2015;

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[6] Thomas Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* was published in 1588. As aptly stated by Trevor-Roper, he was "untouched by the Erasmianism of the previous generation" (1996, 12). Sander wrote his work sometime during the 1550s. It was continued and finished by Edward Rishton in 1558 and would be finally printed at Cologne in 1585. Obviously, as Guy (2000, 11) has shown, the full succession of the lives of More, taking as their point of departure Roper's biography, formed part of a campaign to construct the post-Tridentine image of More as a Catholic martyr and saint.

[7] Much of the first two books of the *Historia* relies heavily on Stapleton, and on Sander for the chapter on Thomas More (López Estrada 2001b, 75; Weinreich 2017, XXVI).

[8] Lillo Castañ provides an illuminating description and comparison of Villegas's, Ribadeneyra's and Herrera's treatments of More's life.

[9] For the repression of Erasmianism see Bataillon (1998, ch. XIII, XIV) and Abellán (1982). Márquez Villanueva takes for granted the surviving Erasmianism of Herrera, "thorough, but not dogmatic" (2005, 188 and 190). However, López Estrada (2001b, 131, note 25) has pointed out, and Randel (1971, 125) has acknowledged, that Herrera seems to be critical of Erasmus, writing "and so much guilt deserved the wise men who idly looked aside from the danger with which that beast threatened the Roman Church" (my translation here and elsewhere). This passage was underlined by a contemporary anonymous reader (Herrera 2001, 131), which shows the special concern with the issue for Herrera's readership. As for Herrera's Sevillian coterie, see Coster 1908, Rodríguez Marín 1927, and López Bueno 1987.

Lillo Castañ 2018). Herrera, as a Latin scholar, might have had access to the Erasmian *Expositio Fidelis de Morte Thomae Mori*, which was also extensively disseminated throughout Europe (Marc'Hadour 2009, 30–31). But there was no lack of texts in Spanish for those who were not conversant in Latin. In the very year of More's execution, a letter in Spanish "sent from England by a Spanish merchant on the glorious death of Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom"[10] appeared in London. It must have reached Spain very soon, for there are copies of it in the Archivo de Simancas and in the Real Academia de la Historia (García Hernán 2017, 276).

The aforementioned works were immensely popular[11] and no doubt familiar to Fernando de Herrera. Furthermore, there were other probable Sevillian hypertexts from which he profited: a poetical composition in six cantos by Cristóbal Tamariz of 1584 about the martyrs of the London Charterhouse (with no mention of More), and also an *Historia de los Mártires de la Cartuja de Inglaterra*, a hagiography in manuscript by Fray Alfonso de la Torre from the Carthusian monastery of *Nuestra Señora de la Cueva*, in which Thomas More figures in chapters XX and XXI (López Estrada 2001a, 165–168, and 2001b, 52).

All the texts mentioned above indicate that the myth of More that Herrera could possibly receive and elaborate on was the one pertaining to the nuanced maturity of More's life. This was a fully orthodox image for post-Tridentine Spain; nevertheless, although this image was orthodox enough the socio-political conditions of Spain demanded an intensification of the orthodox and anti-Protestant myth. To speak only of Herrera's immediate milieu, the traces of humanism and heterodoxy remaining in Seville in the 1590s could only appear as insinuations under a thick cloak of Catholic orthodoxy.

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[10] "Carta enviada de Inglaterra por un mercader español, de la muerte gloriosa del maestro Thomás Moro, Chanceller mayor del dicho reyno" (Burguillo López 2013, 74). Allegedly printed in London in 1535 (García Hernán 2017, 276), the "carta" is part of the dissemination of European documents in Latin and vernacular languages issued during that year and the following one. For a clarifying study of the "Carta" in its context and a reproduction of the same, see Herrero Quirós (1993). For the analysis and reproduction of two Chancellery accounts, or *relaciones* in Spanish, see Vázquez de Prada (1989, 317–324).

[11] There is a manuscript translation of Stapleton's work in the Biblioteca Nacional, MS 2773 (López Estrada 2001b, 74; Lillo Castañ 2021).

Fernando de Herrera himself was a man of the establishment. He had taken minor orders and was a beneficiary of the Church of San Andrés, although he also formed part of a small circle of intellectuals which included orthodox Catholic humanists such as Juan de Mal Lara, Juan de Arguijo, Francisco Medrano, Francisco de Medina, Francisco Pacheco, and Benito Arias Montano. All of them demonstrated as much secular humanism as could be allowed in Tridentine Spain at the end of the sixteenth century.[12]

These constraints considered, it is hardly surprising to discover that there is no mention whatsoever of *Utopia* in Herrera's *Tomás Moro*, though Mary Gaylord Randel (1971, 184–187), seconded by Francisco Márquez Villanueva (2005, 180), does find echoes of the work. It is impossible that Herrera and his fellow humanists in Seville had not had access to, or at least had heard of, this humanist fiction. Herrera himself must have known of its existence, for, as we have seen, it is discussed by Stapleton, one of his acknowledged sources. He must also have known of the 1518 Basel edition of *Utopia* and *Epigrammata* that Hernando Colón (1488–1539) possessed in his large library in Seville. In addition, in the Library of the University of Seville there is an edition of Thomas More's *Omnia Latina Opera* dating from 1566 which also might have influenced Herrera and which contains a copy of *Utopia*. And, finally, we must consider the fact that the Morean work had been translated into Spanish by the time of Herrera's writing.[13] This absence of *Utopia* may well suggest the ideological limits met by Spanish intellectuals when approaching not just Protestant, but mere Erasmian, ideas. These limits are amply evinced by the vicissitudes of *Utopia*'s first translation, that of Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop or Michoacán in Mexico. He had read, translated and used More's work in his missional endeavor about 1530–1535 (Zavala 1937 and 1955, and 1977; Gómez Rivas 2018, 165–169; Lillo Castañ

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[12] Today some critics claim Arias Montano to be an example, successfully concealing heterodoxy concerning his esoteric affiliation with the *Familia Charitatis*, but this idea is utterly rejected by the majority. See Cantera Burgos (1970), Reker (1973), Alcalá (1973, 1975, and 1998), and Morocho (1999, 255–256). Morocho (1999, 294) confirms that Herrera and Pacheco formed part of the Sevillian circle of friends of Arias Montano.

[13] The first printed translation of *Utopia* into Spanish was by Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla (1637), who was prompted by Quevedo (owner of a Latin copy). Recently, Lillo Castañ (2018, 2020a, and 2020b) has thoroughly studied an earlier manuscript translation, by Vasco de Quiroga, probably in the 1520's.

2018, 2020a, and 2020b), but about fifty years later the name of More was included in the Index of Forbidden Books by Vasco's nephew Gaspar de Quiroga, then General Inquisitor of Spain (López Estrada 1965, 291–292; Marques Villanueva 2005, 180).[14] Herrera's treatment of More may well have been influenced, too, by the printed version of *De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani* (1585), where the image of More is in line with post-Tridentine propaganda and the erasing of *Utopia* from the martyr's curriculum; this edition of Sander's manuscript was probably masterminded by Robert Persons. The relation of Persons with Spain and Seville is well-known. In 1592 he founded the English College of St Gregory as a Roman Catholic seminary in Seville, forging at that time a close relationship with its Cardinal-Archbishop Rodrigo de Castro (Burguillo 2013, 81–82). De Castro, in turn, was the dedicatee of the 1592 edition of *Tomás Moro*, which makes him a suitable intermediary between Herrera and Persons.

Herrera's *Tomás Moro* appeared, first in Seville in 1592 and later in Madrid in 1617. It is not a proper biography, the first indication of the change undergone in the genre being the dropping the word "life" from the title. In the *licencia* or approval for publication of 1592 by Juan Vázquez it is referred to as *El discurso de la vida de Tomás Moro*. Also in 1592, the Jesuit Pedro Fernández described it in the same way in the *censura*. Only in the *licencia* of 1617 by Hernando Vallejo is it called *Vida de Tomás Moro*.[15] Furthermore, metatextual proof of the non-

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[14] The marginal comments of a copy of the 1548 Louvain edition of *Utopia* owned by Quevedo (Jones 1950b, 480–482) "indicate that he recognized the Erasmian leanings of the document, and found it necessary to excuse the shortcomings of the book with respect to orthodox Catholicism by supposing that the oppressive situation in England had forced More to 'fingir' in order to be heard. There is no question that Herrera would have experienced similar misgivings particularly over More's controversial notions of religion" (Randel 1971, 174).

[15] López Estrada calls it "a moral biography" (1996, 80) and later states rather daringly that "the book has been considered as one of the *modern* biographies" (2001b, 66–67) according to the taxonomy established by Soria Ortega (1978, 177), while Javier Burguillo López (2013, 82) characterizes it as "the embryo of the modern essay." I join a number of critics in disagreeing with both, as it is not an example of biography (as will be revealed from the Roper- Harpsfield's comparison); and it is not an essay either, at least according to the model for the genre established by Montaigne and Bacon. There is a general consensus that, although containing biographical matter, the work by Herrera cannot be considered a biography. Thus, Márquez Villanueva (2005, 179–180), acknowledging the problem of literary classification, includes it within the oratorial-

biographical nature of the text is provided by Herrera himself. He openly declared that he would not deal with aspects of Thomas More's life and works already treated by learned men (Herrera 2001, 136), nor did he provide his sources. Randel (1971, 117) has remarked that "what Herrera promises is no simple biographical narrative." Instead, what Herrera offers are details perfunctorily taken without citation from Sander and Stapleton (Herrera 2001, 154–157, 159–161).

The work could be classified indeed as a very brief "discourse" in the sense understood by the Spaniards of the time or, more specifically, by Fernando de Herrera himself. A *"Discurso"* meant for Herrera a written prose dissertation of moderate length, which informs the reader about a given subject, in which the author can share his own opinion (López Estrada 2001b, 62). Typically, as explained by López Estrada (2001b, 64–65), this type of genre follows the classical Aristotelian structure in four parts much in line with Jesuitical religious preaching (Coello 2007, 116–123): exordium, containing the demonstration or *propositio* (124–127); narration, of More's exemplary deeds (127–162); argumentation, with the ensuing *confutatio* or *refutation* (162–168), and conclusion or *peroration* (168). It follows then that it was the *licencia* of 1592 that provided the most suitable genre description.

Three reasons can be identified to explain Herrera's approach. The first derives from the discursive conventions of the Spanish medieval biographical tradition, which contributed to hampering the emergence of the Roper and Harpsfield type of nascent biographies. As José Luis Romero (1944) has pointed out, already in the fifteenth century a distinctive peculiarity of Spanish biographical texts was the adherence to ideal archetypes almost exclusively represented by either the knight or the clergyman. This feature goes hand in hand with "the presence of a systematic doctrine looming in the historical background" and "the tendency to summarize in a categorical formula the value of the personage, quite characteristic of the didactic nature of the biography and history of this period" and with "the

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moral genre, and calls it an *oratio*. Lillo Castañ (2021) calls it "a kind of biographical narrative with a moralizing aim," and insists later on this idea, citing in addition the descriptions given by Jones (1950a), Randel (1971), or Neumeister (2009): "meditation," "semihumanist sermon," "exemplary life," "heterogeneous biography […], which lies somewhere between history and hagiography," "memorably," etc. My own position will be apparent from this essay.

tendency to intercalate a moralizing excursus on the value of each episode" (Romero 1944, 121–122). As a result, the typical biographical Spanish (or rather Castilian) form is a characteristic type of portrait called *semblanza* or *retrato de claros varones* (sketch or portrait of illustrious men) in their two canonical forms, either as noblemen or clerics. The reason for this peculiarity of the Spanish biographical texts, Romero tells us, is to be found in the yielding of the narrative structures of the Renaissance biography originating in Italy to the spiritual and historical contents of Spanish social life of the late Middle Ages. The Spanish biographers of the time were not interested in exploring the individual life of the characters; rather, their work served to reflect the strict regulation of the estates.

A second reason is religion, more and more important as the sixteenth century advanced. Eugenio Gallego (qtd. in Palomo 1987, 277) has suggested that perhaps the paucity of authors of importance devoted to biography in Spain is due to the intolerantly theological organization of the country at that time. The early opening of minds towards *humanitas* brought about by Erasmianism was, in the later sixteenth century, effectively replaced by a general suspicion of any kind of humanist inquiry that might minimally clash with Catholic dogma. This ran parallel to an impassioned defense of preconceptions judged unquestionable, boosted by the emotional approach of the dominant religious preaching (*oratoria sacra*).[16] This is a phenomenon which did not catch on in England, where early Erasmianism survived among pre-Tridentine Catholic humanists, and later absorbed into Anglicanism's "middle road." As a consequence, without the handicap of Spanish tradition and national implementation of the Counter-Reformation, in England the new treatment of biography coming from Renaissance Italy could be received, evolve, and be

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[16] Spaniards at the time saw themselves as chosen by God to defend the true faith. This could hardly be reconciled with the defeat of the Armada in 1588 (Weinreich 2017, 39–42; Márquez Villanueva, 187) and the reaction was a resort to, and an insistence on, the exhortative mode at the expense of the expository one. The discursive and textual consequences of this providentialism filter out into the historiographical conception of Ribadeneyra (Weinreich 2017, 27–31, 43–47, 80) and in Herrera's historical corpus (Randel 1971, 80–92), including *Tomás Moro* (Randel 159–170; Márquez Villanueva 2005, 185–187). It is indicative of Ribadeneyra's and Herrera's exhortative style that both end their respective works with a peroration (unpublished in the case of the former, see Weinreich 2017, 38) much in the sense listed by the *OED*: "a rhetorical conclusion, esp. one intended to rouse the audience" (*s.v.*).

propelled further into the future in a line of continuance where Roper and Harpsfield were not dissonant notes.

A third factor is textual convention. In the Spanish tradition reaching Herrera, texts were still organized in accord with Aristotelian scholastic models. Elsewhere in Europe, the humanist innovations introduced by Rodolphus Agricola (1444–1485) and, above all, by Peter Ramus (1515–1572), decisively changed the approach to education, in general, and to textual organization, in particular. In the long run Ramus' ideas would be conducive to the Puritan theology, and to the new learning promoted by such second-generation English humanists as Roger Ascham and by forerunners of the modern scientific method heralded by Roger Bacon, Gabriel Harvey, or René Descartes. In Spain, however, Ramism, despite a rich presence during the first half of the sixteenth century, was rooted out after 1550 (to a great extent due to suspicion of heresy) and displaced by the new sacred rhetoric promoted by the Jesuits. In England, however, Ramism penetrated the university curriculum during the Protestant Reformation,[17] while in Spain it never really became a part of the university curriculum and was finally suppressed by the Inquisition (Olmos Gómez 2007 and Ramis Barceló 2015). The extinction of Ramism in Spain curtailed the appearance of the essay of the type cultivated by Bacon or Montaigne and the English tradition of biography which subsequently flourished with Walton, Johnson, or Boswell.

As consequence, the style of *Tomás Moro* is argumentative rather than expository. Herrera makes liberal use of evaluative terms, value judgements, suasive reasoning and unwarranted suppositions. Hence, *Tomás Moro* should be placed in the discursive tradition of the *claros varones* and the post-Tridentine aftermath of epic oratory which produced a mode of emplotment completely different from that of Roper and Harpsfield.[18]

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[17] "The Royal Injunctions given to Cambridge by Henry VIII in 1535 prescribed that students in arts should read him [Agricola] together with Aristotles, Trapezuntius, and Melanchthon, instead of the 'frivolous questions and obscure glosses of Scotus, Burleigh, Anthony Trombet, Bricot, Bruliferious, etc.'" (Ong 1983, 94, citing C. W. Spitz). We may also remember the early attitude of More, Colet, Linacre, and Erasmus against the scholasticism of Oxford and Cambridge (Ackroyd 1999, 70–77, 387).

[18] As is typical of Herrera's persuasive manner, he does not go straight from the narration to the argumentation. Instead, he displays six transitional paragraphs (162–

The emplotment of Roper and Harpsfield, shows a predominantly narrative quality and focuses on events. This was what moved Lord Acton to praise the latter "for the candor and moderation of his numerous historical works" and to present Harpsfield as "one of the earliest ecclesiastical writers whose mind fell naturally into an historical attitude, and with whom religious controversy resolves itself into the discussion of fact" (Lord Acton as quoted in Chambers 1935, 33). The accounts of both Roper and Harpsfield deal much more straightforwardly with events, using broad thematic units dealing with biographical vicissitudes. Reynolds' cross-headings list 25 in Roper and 52 in Harpsfield. Thus, as has been pointed out by Harold Nicolson (1933, 137), the books of Roper "though marred by vestiges of their commemorative and didactic heredity, are indications that psychological curiosity—the desire, that is, to learn a man's character rather than his exploits—still existed." Although there are hagiographic and subjective judgements interwoven, all in all the predominant modes of discourse in both English authors is the narrative one. This is possibly one of the features which made Raymond Wilson Chambers (1935, 24) feature Roper's account as "what is probably the most perfect little biography in the English language," while affirming of Harpsfield's that "it is the first formal biography in the English language" (1935, 31) and that he "is the first to compile a complete biography in English" (1935, 32).[19] Of much the same opinion is de Silva (2001, xii–xiii), who has highly praised Roper's *The Life of Sir Thomas More* (2001, xxvii–xxxi). Even Eamon Duffy, when putting rightly the *Lives* within the context of the anti-protestant propaganda project orchestrated around the publication of More's *English Works* by his nephew William Rastell under the aegis of Cardinal Reginald Pole (2009, 179–187), acknowledges that "Harpsfield's book was emphatically a product of the Cardinal's circle, refracting in the gentler form of biography Pole's stern view of

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165) in which he gives a factual account of his own assumption about the collective feelings of the English people as essentially a collective inner monologue. By presenting his information as factual, he confirms previous prejudices intended to appeal to a fervent Catholic audience, a prime example of the necessity of the ruling classes to persuade, and of the ruled to be persuaded in Baroque society (Maravall 1975, 165–166).

[19] But Nicolson (1933, 29), much more exacting about what he calls "impure" and "pure" biography, disagrees: "the book is generally (and somewhat misleadingly) referred to as the first English biography. It would be more accurate to describe it as the first sustained narrative of an individual's life written in the English language."

the treason of the clerks" (185); he defines it as "the only book written by a Marian cleric that can still be read with unalloyed pleasure today" (185). To this, Herrera's predominant modes of exposition and argumentation present a stark contrast.

It should be added that Harpsfield's account of More is clearly complying with one of the demands of modern biographical theory which is absolutely missing in Herrera: the corrective impulse. Ira Nadel (1984, 177) claims that as early as 1666 this was already articulated in Izaak Walton's introduction to the life of Richard Hooker. For me, however, Nicholas Harpsfield exemplified this drive a century before. Following Roper's text as a kind of template, Harpsfield corrects him in many places, expands largely (more than double), and introduces relevant new information of biographical interest. The main contributions by Harpsfield are the inclusion of appropriate contemporary written references to More (from Erasmus's letters among others), excerpts of More's writings, and, finally, the account of More's trial. Documentarily (see above and Reynolds 1963, v and ix), we know that Nicholas Roper had given him this assignment.

Herrera, however, does not present any corrective intention. He does not presume to know any first-hand or documentary data about the life of Thomas More with which to enlarge, nuance or correct previous texts. Furthermore, he twice acknowledges that he lacks first-hand knowledge, and that his interest lies, rather, in culling and summarizing the works of others in order to construct his own argument (Herrera 2001, 136, 137).

Herrera overtly shows that he is not as interested in the personal life of Thomas More as he is in the hagiographic interpretation of More's life as an international myth and martyr. *Tomás Moro* is for him more than a metaphor; he is an archetype. Herrera's main method is the synecdoche, for he selects only one aspect of the personality of his subject as standing for the whole. Hence, in contradistinction to his English counterparts, he does not provide any information of his personal or emotional life (Randel 1971, 119 and 126). Moreover, there is not in Herrera the unavoidable confrontation between the private life of the man and the myth already created.[20] As Nadel says, "the

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[20] There is no denying that Roper and Harpsfield were constructing an image of More as part of their lobbying for his recognition as a martyr and saint by the Catholic Church

division between public and private self separates myth and fact — but one always unites with the other" (1984, 176). They constitute two sides of the same coin. These two facets have a clear presence in Roper and Harpsfield, each of whom both mythologizes and demythologizes More. Roper had presented the more familiar and personal aspects of his father-in-law already, and Harpsfield preserved them while expanding on More's public images. They both have kept the many anecdotes dealing with the festive personality of More. Herrera, however, has almost completely ignored such details beyond vague allusions possibly originating in Sander (López Estrada 2001b, 153).[21] As a consequence, Roper's and, above all, Harpsfield's, works can claim their status as biographies in line with the historical development of the genre in the ensuing centuries, even if we take into account their hagiographic intention. Herrera, on the other hand, is only interested in More as a symbol: the few details he supplies concerning his personality always contain a symbolic reverberation. Ultimately, Herrera's work is not only a hagiographic piece, but a propagandistic one, based on argumentation and persuasion. This is consistent with the line of thought underlying Tridentine and Jesuit recommendations for polemics prevalent in Herrera's Spain.

However, Herrera does show some secular facets and opinions in line with his own Catholic humanism. His stoicism is apparent in his whole opus and also observable in *Tomás Moro*, whose civil courage and exemplarity is not left out (Lillo Castañ 2021). Indeed, Herrera puts the myth of Thomas More to the service of his general and long-asserted topic of the virtuous and courageous men of ancient times set against the dissolute and weak men of his own. In this respect, Herrera does not restrict the significance of his symbolism to the orthodox defense of the Catholic faith, but also deals with topics which are constant leitmotifs in his historical output. These, as enumerated by Randel (1971), are (1) the exemplary conception of

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(Guy 2000, 17). But the rhetorical strategy displayed is not as blatant as in the hagiographic or martyrological tradition. This rhetorical strategy is thus assimilated into the Western development of biography leading to the so-called "new biography."

[21] "The modesty and softness of his customs were in equal comparison with the integrity and measure of his life and the festivity and grace of his wit […]" (Herrera 2001, 128–129).

history;[22] (2) divine providence and the concept of heroism; (3) the individual struggle of the Spanish or Christian hero against overwhelming circumstances; (4) and the contrast between the flourishing of virtue in antiquity and its contemporary decay.

Thus, the moralizing and exemplary intention is present in both works, but they appear in a subtler, more diluted form in Harpsfield. His biography, much longer than the brief essay by Herrera, covers many dimensions of the figure of Thomas More, which E. E. Reynold, the editor of the 1963 edition, has been able to group the different aspects of More's personality according to neat cross-headings. We obtain thus a polyhedral personality which presents More, the man, from different perspectives. In Harpsfield's approach More's value as a model of religious and civil honesty is more implicitly suggested than overtly stressed. Herrera, in contrast, makes a stringent reduction of the aspects of More's life, the better to render it an instrument to convey the point of view he wants to demonstrate, namely, the decay of virtue and the preponderance of vice in modern times in contrast with a golden era in which resolute men were endowed with both religious and civil virtues. As we have seen, this point of view with its related topics has been conditioned by Herrera's ideological, discursive and textual horizon. Indeed, his readership seems to share it: underlining by an anonymous reader in the R-1428 edition in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid covers only Herrera's commentaries. The reader seems to take little interest in the historical facts of More's biography. Perhaps they were well-known to him/her, or perhaps he/she assumed that they did not count for his/her personal experience (López Estrada 2001b, 84–87); but no less likely this response suggests contemporary acceptance of the suasion of Herrera's *discurso*.

The comparison of the emplotments and narrative techniques of Roper and Harpsfield with Herrera's clearly reveals up to what point the former venture into the domain of biography and how the latter steers far from it. In Roper's text, as noted above, there are 25 main thematic nuclei; in Harpsfield's, there are 52. In both cases these are unfolded with a remarkable richness of details and leisure of

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[22] The conception of history by Herrera is akin to the epic, too; a kind of epic in prose (Márquez Villanueva 2005, 169–172). He is not far from the then-current conception of history as exemplified by Ribadeneyra (Weinreich 2017, 75–86).

deployment. As Chambers (1935, 32) has aptly commented referring to Harpfield's *Life* (and for that matter to Roper's), it "has a finished design and a power of arranging material which is noteworthy." In Herrera's, in contrast, I have distinguished up to 47 thematic nuclei in total, of which only three deal with factual pieces of material as found in the English biographers. This is what has allowed López Estrada to group Herrera's text in his edition into three main sections.[23] Besides, Herrera, after cursorily dealing with the birth and early life of More, focuses on the two culminating events in his life as a saint:[24] his persecution and his martyrdom. In this way, Herrera complies with the demands of hagiography, the chronicles, and *semblanzas de claros varones* [sketch or portrait of illustrious men], a quasi-biographical mode common in Spanish biographical works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here the interest does not lie in the complete life of the biographees, but rather in the achievement that made them exemplary. It is also exemplified in the very social milieu of Herrera, for his portrait, both textual and pictorial, was written and drawn by Francisco Pacheco in his *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones escrito y dibujado* (1599).[25]

In his attempt to write a sketch of *semblanza* of Thomas More, Herrera recurrently deals with the model aspects of his personality: his mildness, integrity and alacrity (128–129), his exemplary life (132–134) and marvelous behavior as a magistrate, his intellectual fight against heresy (148), his fortitude, constancy, and religiosity in countering royal coercion (135–136), his readiness for martyrdom and

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[23] These are the titles of the sections: 1. In a time when virtue was uncommon, Herrera writes *Tomás Moro* in memory of a virtuous man. 2. More turns away from the King when the issue of the divorce of Queen Catherine is raised. 3. Imprisonment, trial, and martyrdom of More (López Estrada 2001b, my translation).

[24] It is also worth remembering that, as already mentioned, in the Spanish tradition of the *semblanza* or *retrato de claros varones*, the only two characters who deserve attention are the nobleman and the saint and that, "even before the sheer physical portrait, it seems fundamental to the biographer to point out the ancestry of the character" (Romero 1944, 118). This justifies Herrera's choice of portraying More and his initial obsession with justifying More's lineage: "Thomas More was born in the most noble city of London […]. His father was John More, a man of a more honest than noble lineage" (Herrera 2001, 128).

[25] Francisco Pacheco was both Velázquez' painting teacher and his father-in-law. He was nephew to the Francisco Pacheco who was a member of Herrera's coterie.

acceptance of his death sentence with a festive spirit (153), and his ardent desire and humble heart while waiting for his trial (153–154).

Yet Herrera does not resort to these *vignettes* for their own interest. They serve him as the exemplary support to persuasively ground his three cherished themes:

– Contemporary prevalence of vice versus virtue. This is his most important and recurrent theme. It appears tightly interwoven with the other two themes, receiving support from them and also giving them coherence. This is why they frequently overlap. The example of Thomas More, Herrera suggests, is most valuable, because it shows to his contemporaries that virtue can still be practiced, even when the majority of men, especially those in high posts, yield to the tyranny of princes.

– How a counsellor should be (*Cómo ha de ser el privado*). After a brief delineation of Thomas More's ancestry and works, Herrera discusses the highest point of his career, his rise to the dignity of Lord Chancellor (132), and unleashes another favorite topic: his honesty, impartiality, efficiency, affability and detachment as a magistrate (132–133). In this way, Herrera links More's private and public virtues with his own preoccupations. A clear example of his concern with this topic can be seen on pages 138 and 140–142. In the former, apropos Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Herrera raises the theme of how the counsellors of princes should be and sends a strong warning on a related subtheme: the danger posed by flatterers, especially when they spur the whims of kings.

The issue of the counsellors is a subsidiary concern to the general thesis of vice and virtue in a degenerate age. It was, however, highly relevant for Herrera, since the nature and function of the favorite or *valido* was a question, which became a public concern during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. Quevedo gave fitting voice to this subject in his essay *Discurso de las privanzas*, (ca. 1606–1608) and in his play *Cómo ha de ser el privado* (1629?). Herrera is interested in More's example as an efficient and honest civil servant as presented in Harpsfield's biography. The theme probably reached him through Sander and through the Erasmian *Expositio Fidelis* (Jones 1950a: 436–438; López Estrada 2001b, 155 note). Herrera emphasizes honesty as one of More's outstanding social virtues, a factor for which he was still remembered by Londoners half a century after his martyrdom (Chambers 1935, 47).

Fittingly this civic topic is put to the service of a religious one: Catholicism versus heresy. More's opposition to tyranny is

presented as justification for rebellion and tyrannicide, which would soon be authorized theologically in Juan de Mariana's *De rege et regis institutione* (1599). Herrera appears reluctant, in principle, to condone rebelling against a prince (Herrera, 2001, 147), but he could accept it theoretically to prevent the alteration of the Catholic faith (147, 165–166).

– Orthodox Catholicism versus heresy. Only the defense of orthodox Catholicism could justify such an immense crime as the rebellion against a king. Catholicism constitutes the overtly and pervasive topic closely interwoven with the preceding ones. Herrera stops just short of declaring More a saint, strongly implying it by placing his attitude and actions close to saints and their saintly actions (154–155). As we have seen, this is what Stapleton and Sander had done at the macro-textual level in their endeavor to canonize More.

In conclusion, while one can assert the impossibility of identifying Herrera's work as an antecedent for the *new biography* by Spanish Catholic writers, the same cannot be said for the English Catholic biographers Roper and Harpsfield, even if they form part of the early Counter-Reformation project promoted ty Cardinal Reginald Pole in England during the Marian period (Duffy 2009). In Spain, the slower emergence of modern biographical theory was due to the restrictions imposed by the ideological horizon created by both the national and international evolution and transmission of the myth, by the specific form of Spanish Counter-Reformation, and by the prevalent discursive and textual tradition that metamorphosed it on its Spanish reception. Herrera draws from the themes present implicitly in the biographical narration of his English counterparts (More's moral integrity, exemplary character, and quasi-saintly status) as a base to argue for his own explicit thematic concerns in such a way that *Tomás Moro* cannot be considered a biography in the sense in which the genre ultimately evolved in the modernist and postmodernist Western World. This is a fact amply highlighted by Royston Jones, Randel, López Estrada, Sebastian Neumeister, and Víctor Lillo Castañ. Instead of dealing steadily with facts, Herrera constantly wavers, as was customary in the Spanish genre of life writing and religious epic, between a few specific, momentous events in the life of More, and the political and moral reflections which Herrera intercalates on every possible occasion (Lillo Castañ 2021). He constitutes therefore one of many early examples of the restrictions to the emergence and

development of the modern concept of biography in early modern Spain.

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Mending "the injurie of oblivion": "Englishing" Chaucer and Barbour in early printed editions

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the editorial choices made in Edinburgh printer Andro Hart's 1616 edition of John Barbour's *Brus.* Comparison of the 1616 Hart edition with Thomas Speght's 1602 Chaucer edition displays similar concerns with preserving accessibility to historical texts despite significant language changes in both Older Scots and English, noting shared employment of assistive paratextual apparati. Linguistic assessment comparing Hart and Speght's editions to their parent texts demonstrates how both editors modernize language to improve reader accessibility while preserving archaic qualities and metricality. Contextualization of the declining prestige of Older Scots during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries further clarifies this assessment. Hart's edition portrays both a genesis of mutual intelligibility between Scots and English, and a coda for Older Scots as a literary prestige tongue.

KEYWORDS: Older Scots; Thomas Speght; Scottish printing; Early Modern printing; Anglicization.

Enmendando "la injuria del olvido": La "anglificación" de Chaucer y Barbour en las ediciones impresas tempranas *

RESUMEN: Este artículo examina las decisiones editoriales tomadas en la edición del *Brus* de John Barbour realizada por el impresor de Edimburgo Andro Hart en 1616. La comparación entre la edición de Hart de 1616 y la de la obra de Chaucer realizada por Thomas Speght en 1602 demuestra que hay una preocupación similar a la hora de preservar la accesibilidad a textos históricos a pesar de los significativos cambios en tanto en el escocés an-

Remendando "o dano do esquecimento": A "Anglicização" de Chaucer e Barbour em edições impressas protomodernas**

RESUMO: Este artigo examina as escolhas editoriais feitas na edição de 1616, do impressor Andro Hart de Edimburgo, do livro *Brus* de John Barbour. A comparação da edição de 1616 de Hart com a edição de 1602 de Chaucer por Thomas Speght mostra preocupações semelhantes com a preservação da acessibilidade de textos históricos, apesar de mudanças linguísticas significativas no (ânglico) escocês e no inglês mais antigos, observando-se o

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* Translation into Spanish by Tamara Pérez-Fernández.

** Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

tiguo como en el inglés, y llama la atención acerca de un uso compartido de aparatos paratextuales de apoyo. La evaluación lingüística comparando las ediciones de Hart y Speght con sus textos originales demuestra cómo ambos editores modernizan el lenguaje para mejorar el acceso del lector al mismo, preservando a la vez cualidades y métricas arcaicas. Una contextualización del prestigio en declive del escocés antiguo durante los siglos XVI y XVII ayuda a clarificar esta evaluación. La edición de Hart representa tanto un origen de inteligibilidad mutua entre el escocés y el inglés como un punto final para el escocés antiguo como lengua de prestigio literario.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Escocés antiguo; Thomas Speght; imprenta escocesa; imprenta protomoderna; anglificación.

emprego comum de aparatos paratextuais auxiliares. A avaliação linguística comparativa das edições de Hart e Speght com os textos originais demonstra como ambos os editores modernizam a língua para melhorar a acessibilidade aos leitores, preservando qualidades arcaicas e a métrica. A contextualização do declínio em prestígio do escocês mais antigo durante os séculos XVI e XVII ajuda a clarificar esta avaliação. A edição de Hart representa tanto uma génese de inteligibilidade mútua entre o escocês e o inglês, como também um momento conclusivo para o escocês mais antigo como uma língua de prestígio literário.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Escocês antigo; Thomas Speght; imprensa escocesa; imprensa protomoderna; anglicização.

In 1616, a new edition of John Barbour's *The Brus* left the busy press of the wildly successful Edinburgh printer Andro Hart (d. 1621). Hart's prefatory letter to his readership opens thus:

> There is nothing vnto which the minde of man doth more aspire than to renown & immortality: therefore it is, that no time hath bene so barbarous, no countries so vnciuile, but they haue had a care to preserue worthie actions from the iniurie of obliuion, & laboured that the names of those that were vertuous, while they liued, should not perish with their breath. And amongst all the strange and diuerse fashions of remembering the dead, no record hath bene found to be compared to that of bookes, & amongst all bookes none so lasting as these in verse, which how so euer rudely done, yet seeme to haue striuen with dayes, and euen to compasse time, beeing the first remembrances that either Greece or Rome haue, and apparantly shall be the last. (Hart 1616, sig. ¶2r)[1]

This compelling statement on the memorializing power of great literature would not be out of place in a modern editor's foreword.

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[1] Hart's edition of Barbour's *Brus* (Barbour 1616), including his preface and the table, will be cited as "Hart 1616" throughout the article. The spelling of the quotations of printed texts has been maintained, though expanding abbreviations (except for the ampersand).

The predecessor of a slightly different 1620 print, Hart's 1616 *The Actes and Life of The Most Victorious Conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (hereafter *Actes*) has attracted only modest scholarly interest in recent years, most centered on its relationship to its source text. Jeremy Smith's chronology of historical *Brus* editions (2013, 37–54) briefly notes Hart's interest in showcasing the authority of the text and discusses the edition's lessened inclusion of Scots forms. Concerning Hart himself, Alastair J. Mann's contributions to the history of the Early Modern Scottish press sketch a detailed image of Hart's life and career (2000; 2001; 2004).

Additionally, scholars have remarked on the linguistic changes to the *Brus* text in Hart's two editions: an avoidance of Scots forms or "Anglicization" (Smith 2013, 25–26; Bald 1926, 107–115). This feature has not been fully assessed in the wider context of Renaissance literary vernacular texts, as the Hart edition has not been studied alongside similar editions. Similarly, initial comments have been made about the smaller-scale editing decisions visible in the text of Speght's *The Workes of our Ancient and lerned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly Printed* (hereafter *Workes*). However, not all of Speght's editing choices, particularly his language changes to Chaucer's text, have yet been explicitly squared with the recognition that his editions were designed with his contemporary audience's linguistic needs in mind (Trigg 2008, 107–109). Finally, as Mann (2001, 181) notes, the history of Scottish print has yet to be fully understood in terms of its dependence on, and independence of, the slightly elder English printing industry. A comparative reassessment of Hart's 1616 *Actes* that places it alongside a similar English edition, Thomas Speght's 1602 *Workes*, reveals that Hart's Anglicization is, like the editing strategies of his English contemporaries, geared toward linguistic modernization, creating accessibility for contemporary readers. Specifically, Hart's editing modernizes an archaic Early Older Scots text to a contemporary Late Middle Older Scots, the latter itself undergoing the final stages of dialectalization and subsumption into English.[2] In fact, the editing decisions Speght made to safeguard Chaucer's writings from the linguistic "injurie of time" are

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[2] I draw this distinction between Early Older Scots (to 1450) and Late Middle Older Scots (1550 to 1700) because substantial language change occurred between the writing of *Brus* and the publishing of Hart's edition; I here follow A.J. Aitken's periodization of the language (2015a, 10).

demonstrably similar to those used by Hart in his edition of the *Brus* text, themselves in the name of preserving it from the "iniurie of obliuion" (Trigg 2008, 108; Speght 1598, sig. [aii]v; Hart 1616, sig. ¶2r). This comparison reframes Hart's edition as one reflecting the changing status and style of Late Middle Older Scots language. Before beginning the comparison, however, some methodological concerns need addressing.

1. Comparing a second edition to a first edition: materials and methods

Hart's 1616 *Actes* is aptly compared to Thomas Speght's 1602 *Workes* for several reasons, even on top of the double contemporaneity of both the edition publications and the lives of their respective historical authors, Geoffrey Chaucer (1342–1400) and John Barbour (ca. 1320–1395). Both editions, albeit in differing degrees, are elegant, lavishly decorated interpretations of their source texts, and both make substantial linguistic alterations to their source materials, or, to develop further Smith's metaphor of editing, their "Platonic texts" (2013, 66). Comparatively extensive academic work has been devoted to Speght's numerous editions of Chaucer's oeuvre. Scholars previously have attacked the books for their heavy modernization of their source material, but more recent assessments of the Speght *Workes* recognize that the book's editing is primarily concerned with publishing a text of majesty, venerability, and authority to assert Chaucer's and his texts' places in the English and European literary canon (Bishop 2007, 336–363; Trigg 2008; Bly 1999; Machan 1995, 149). Clare R. Kinney (1998), for example, explores Speght's careful marking of Chaucer's "sentences and proverbs," which utilized Henry Peacham's definitions of "Gnome" and "Paroemia." Conversely, Hart's *Actes* has been problematized for its Anglicization of the source material (Smith 2013, 45–46; Bald 1926) but has not been studied alongside any similar contemporaneous English poetic editions. A comparison of this kind provides a control by which the claim of Anglicization can be better qualified. Further, as will be shown below, the books reflect in their prefatory texts very similar editorial concerns regarding the challenges presented to readership by inevitable language change. Therefore, through close linguistic comparisons of each edition to its respective Platonic text, historical

contextualization, and analysis of each book's design, it is possible to observe the editing strategies of Hart and Speght, and to compare those strategies to one another.

There exist a few procedural concerns to discuss. First, the present essay uses the 1602 *Workes* as its model for comparison with Hart's *Actes*, not the 1598 printing. This choice is to account for the fact that the 1598 print appears to be something of a rush job; it was not until the 1602 edition that Speght was able to resolve several issues with the first edition (Machan 1995, 148). Therefore, selecting the 1602 edition eliminates undesired variables in close comparison. Furthermore, the 1598 *Workes* printing does not make changes to its predecessor text, John Stow's 1561 edition, while the 1602 does display significant textual editing and was completely reset from its predecessor (Machan 1995, 147; Pearsall 1984, 86–87). It is thus the first edition in which Speght's choices in editing his primary texts are truly apparent. Finally, the 1602 *Workes* and the 1616 *Actes* are a few years closer together in age, which helps further isolate their differences to only those being compared.

Additionally, while my comparisons strive to compare manuscripts in transcription directly to their printed counterparts, this was not always feasible as the *Brus* manuscripts have not been digitized for public use. Instead, I have turned to McDiarmid and Stevenson's edition (Barbour 1980), as it contains the most thorough method section and critical apparatus and most avoids modernization.

2. Hart's editing ethos: Scots against an English backdrop

Other scholars have mined Speght's *Workes* for the techniques it employs in service of canonization. Derek Pearsall assesses the *Workes'* appeals to a classical authority (1984, 75), while Stephanie Trigg highlights an interest in preserving Chaucer's poetry by translating its antiquated language (2008). Further, Tim William Machan highlights Speght's interest in curating a complete collection of Chaucer's writings (1995), and Siobhan Bly and Louise M. Bishop discuss veneration of Chaucer's body and personage (1999; 2007). Hart's *Actes* reflects similar concerns, noting the problem of ensuring intelligibility despite significant language change. This quality is readily apparent in Hart's prefacing letter, and reflects similar

concerns held by Speght. Comparing the concerns expressed shows that both Speght and Hart perceived language change as a barrier for their audiences, and thus suggests reasons that both books make substantial alterations to their source materials.

2.1 Anglicizing and modernizing: a changing linguistic landscape

Andro Hart's prefatory letter is composed in English—admittedly, a large move away from Scots. However, historical evidence suggests that this choice to "English" a part of the book was made with the expectations of a new English-language pre-Commonwealth audience in mind, an audience for whom the linguistic lines between Scots and English were growing less clear-cut. Hart's English preface is not out of place for its time. Marjory A. Bald notes that English, or at least a form of Anglicized Scots, was already for mid-sixteenth-century Scottish printers the "correct diction for academic works," while Scots was primarily a spoken vernacular language (Bald 1926, 110; Aitken 2015a, 5–6). In the case of Hart's slightly later *Actes*, his critical English preface follows this prescription, following a steady path of language progression. English was already overtaking Scots in the presses by the time Hart printed his 1616 edition: following the years of Robert Waldegrave's press career, which ended in 1603, Scots writings were outnumbered 2:1 by English works (Mann 2001, 191; Mann 2000, 116; Bald 1926, 106–115). James I and VI's own tastes in literature chart the overall literary fashions of the period: his fondness for Scottish poetry waned after the Union of the Crowns, and his tastes shifted towards English-language literature (Wormald 1991, 192–193; Jack 1988, 137–138). Growing preference for English is also reflected by the Scottish Kirk's use of English-language Bibles, both the Geneva Bible and James' Authorized Version. In Bible prescription was an enforced Englishing of the Scots linguistic landscape: in 1611, the Synod of Lothian prescribed that every parish purchase a copy of Hart's 1610 Geneva Bible, while the Synod of Fife enforced that every Kirk did the same, as well as suggesting that ministers also encourage their flocks to buy their own personal Bibles (Mann 2000, 38). Later in 1636, a canon law specifically prescribed the King James Authorized Version, though this ruling was not strongly enforced, and it was not until the 1660s that the shift from the Geneva Bible was complete (Mann 2000, 38–39, 49–50; Mann 2001, 191). Reflecting its declining socio-cultural prestige, Scots was also dropped from the printing of

official documents by the time of Hart's editions. Bald (1926, 114) estimated that a 1606 proclamation printed by Robert Charteris was probably the final official document printed in Scots.

The nature of the Scottish book trade was also seemingly friendly to importation, even of bound books, providing more evidence for changing feelings regarding the English language: it was not until 1681 that the Scottish Privy Council moved to protect the Scottish bookbinding industry, immunizing unbound books from import duties (Mann 2001, 193). This openness of book importation into Scotland is clear from two cases Andro Hart himself brought before the Privy Council, which both upheld the long-standing rights of merchants to import books without paying duties, citing in the second ruling the importance of "virtue, letteris, and learning" for Scotland (Mann 2000, 136–137). Furthermore, changes in Scottish reading tastes show that English-language texts were beginning to supplant Scots-language texts in Scotland. Between the 1630s and 1660, Scottish works of literature and non-fiction were largely superseded in the Scottish book industry by the printing of religious material and importing of Bibles printed in the Low Countries (Mann 2001, 195). On the obverse of this coin, substantial interest in Scottish poetry and Scottish-generated news had grown appreciably in England, though works were typically rewritten in English for southern audiences (Blakeway 2016, 536–537). This fact implies that Englishmen were an additional audience that Hart considered while editing, suggesting another reason for an English preface.

On an epistemic level, feelings seemed to have been rather mixed about this apparent overall "Englishing" of Scottish identity. The general atmosphere of James' early reign was celebratory of the Union, one that James presented as a happy, indissoluble marriage (Lawson-Peebles 2016, 60–63, 66–69). At the same time, a certain uneasy tension between modernity and antiquity remained, an anxiousness to preserve a distinct national identity for Scotland, one reflected in the later reprints and revisions of George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Mason 2013, 38–65). Thus, a Scottish poetic "historie" integrating English and Scots together in one volume, and indeed using modern, fashionable English to introduce more "old-fashioned" Scots poetry within, is perfectly representative of its own time. It also cannot here go unsaid that Scottish printers very

frequently borrowed English printing techniques in general, though preserving their own recognizable style (Mann 2001, 185).

This borrowing of techniques overlapped with the borrowing of English spelling graphemes into Scots and an overall tendency towards subsumption into English that linguistic evidence makes clear. For example, in terms of spelling, Tudor English graphemes such as <sh>, <ch>, <gh>, <oo>, and <-ed> began to mingle with Scots variants (i.e., <sch>, <tch>, <u>, <-it>) in the latter sixteenth century (Aitken 2015d, 8). Furthermore, <yh> and <ʒh> disappeared, leaving only <y> and <ʒ> (Aitken 2015d, 8). While this change might have been motivated by a loss of aspiration or a change in preceding vowel qualities, it is probable that this change shows some influence from English spelling. This subsumption and overlap are somewhat visible in Hart's prefatory letter itself, which includes a few Scottish elements (Bald 1926, 114). A. J. Aitken (2015c, 36) opines in his re-evaluation of Bald's "The Pioneers of Anglicized Speech in Scotland" (1927) that partly or fully Anglicized language was *en vogue* for Scots speakers; additionally, he assembles several primary sources which indicate that Scots was subsuming into a lower-prestige English dialect (Aitken 2015c, 29). Therefore, by printing his introduction in English, Hart not only courted a possible English-speaking audience for a Scots poem, but also obeyed general subsumptive trends in which written Scots was fossilizing into a language reserved only for special literary uses and spoken Scots was fading into "broadness" and "dialect," leaving English to take over as the written prestige language.

2.2 *"It speaketh the language of that Time": Language change and intelligibility*

Hart also makes a comment in his letter that specifically recognizes the linguistic challenges he faces in creating his edition: "And amongst all the rest, this storie of the valiant Bruce is not the least: it speaketh the language of that time, if it spake ours, it would not bee it selfe: yet as an antique it is venerable" (1616, sig. ¶2v). Hart here defends the Early Older Scots of his text, treating its difficulty (and what Englishmen of the time would have regarded as its "broadness") as a function of its historicity. Furthermore, his comment displays clear awareness of linguistic distance between a current language ("if it spake ours") versus the historical tongue ("the language of that

time"). It is perhaps telling that he does not specify which language is meant by "ours"; his vagueness may be an intentional neutrality, meant to avoid offending either English or Scots readers.

Hart's statement resembles a number of sentiments in Speght's *Workes* that note challenges to reading Chaucer's language, providing guidance on the matter by, for example, noting the presence of double negatives (Speght 1602, sigs. [aii]v– [aiii]r).[3] Additionally, Beaumont's letter in the *Workes* clearly recognizes that language change is a troublesome fact of editing historical texts:

> […] in vsuall languages of common practise, vvhich in choise of words are, and euer vvill be subject vnto change, neuer standing at one stay, but sometimes casting avvay old words, sometimes renewing of them, and alvvaies framing of new, no man can so vvrite, as that all his words may remaine currant many yeeres. (1602, sig. [aiii]v)

He goes on to praise the practice of "reviving of auncient words," by which he means to use archaic turns of phrase for artistic or poetic use, citing the works of Spenser, and he lauds Speght's editing labors: "[…] by your interpretation of the vnusuall vvords, that auncient hardnesse and difficultie is made most cleare and easie" (1602, sig. [aiv]r). These longer sentiments are, in essence, the same in tone as Hart's brief comment: Hart excuses his text for the fact of its language change, while also stressing its historical component as a measure of its value; Speght and Beaumont do the same. While it is true that Speght intimates that Chaucer's writings are influenced by Latin and Greek sources, historical linguistic change of English was the real issue at stake: Beaumont's comments focus more on linguistic change operating on "wordes in common tongues" and cite Lydgate's praise that Chaucer was "The Loadstarre of the English language" (Pearsall 2004, 120; Speght 1602, sigs. [aiii]v–[aiv]r). Thus Beaumont, at least, appears to have considered English language change more problematic for legibility than influence from Latin or Greek.

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[3] Speght's editions of Chaucer's works (Chaucer 1598; Chaucer 1602), including all the preliminary material and the glossaries, will be referred to as "Speght 1598" and "Speght 1602" respectively throughout the article.

2.3 An editing ethos: Editors as translators

The most important aspects of these comments by Speght and others are the clear admissions to changing the texts from their original form, and the acknowledgement that this change is desirable and helpful for their readership. That is, it is by Speght's "*interpretation* of the vnusuall words" that the struggle of reading Chaucer is lessened, and his poetry is "restored" (Speght 1602, sig. [aiv]r, emphasis mine). "Interpretation" here is to be understood as "translation": Beaumont's letter asserts that "seeing not onely Greeke and Latine Poets haue had their interpretours, and the most of them translated into our tongue" (Speght 1602, sig. [av]r). Additional comments on the same lines appear repeatedly in the book, for example in the laudatory poem on sig. [av]v, praising Speght for making "old words, which were vnknown of many, | So plaine, that now they may be known of any." These lines fully cast Chaucer's English into the territory of the unknown tongue by celebrating Speght's role as his translator. This overall emphasis on language adaptation, and these admissions and comments, allow one to reconstruct Thomas Speght's editing mentality: his interest was in preserving accessibility to the text by altering and translating its language from the original (Trigg 2008, 108). It is important here to briefly consider the real role of Speght in the editing process. As Pearsall (2004) has shown, John Stow put forth substantial labor into the editing of the *Workes*, though he was given only a brief mention of credit, probably because of class prejudices. However, as so much of the 1602 *Workes'* front matter explicitly praises Speght as the translator or interpreter of the language, it seems likely that he was responsible at least for this linguistic portion of the edition of 1602.[4]

   Speght's editing ethos was centered on protecting Chaucer's work from the "injurie of time"—by his own admission, Hart's *Actes* is meant to safeguard the poem and its historical content from the "iniurie of oblivion" (Speght 1598, sig. [aii]v; Trigg 2008, 108; Hart 1616, sig. ¶2r). Therefore, considering the similar awareness in the *Actes* of the problem of language change, and the inclusion of similar reading aids and language adjustments, it is probable that, like

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[4] Derek Pearsall (1984, 81) suggests that the glossaries included with the Speght Chaucers, themselves meant as reader aids, were also Thomas Speght's work, which also tilts the scales toward Speght as the textual editor.

Speght's, Hart's own editing focus was on creating reader accessibility to the *Brus* text, accomplishing this by modernizing its archaic Early Older Scots to Late Middle Older Scots.

3. Book design choices: Accessibility to the historic text

Hart and Speght clearly both recognize that language change is a substantial barrier between their "Platonic texts" and their shared audience: seventeenth-century speakers of English, a portion of whom understand written and spoken Late Middle Older Scots to varying degrees. Considering the general historical context of the Union of the Crowns, as well as the knowledge that Englishmen were taking in a substantial amount of Scots poetry, albeit often heavily edited to fit English tastes, it is fair to assume that Hart's interest in improving language accessibility might have also extended to Englishmen, whose ability to read Scots forms was presumably weak (Blakeway 2016, 536). This fact, alongside the example of Speght's 1602 *Workes*, casts the 1616 *Actes* book design choices as reading aids that promote accessibility to the book's content, and as will be shown at the conclusion of this work, accounts for a portion of the Anglicization of the *Brus*.

3.1 Typeface design and headings

There exist several physical similarities in the books; for the sake of space, I will focus on those which function to improve language accessibility, thereby improving the legibility of the historic texts. The two books mirror one another in typeface design, using typefaces both for critical and assistive means and to assert antiquity. This sharing may be an example of the tendency of Scottish printers to borrow English printing styles; furthermore, the types used are themselves possibly of English origin, as Scotland's first major typefoundry was not in place until the 1740s (Mann 2001, 185). Hart's *Actes* prints most of the critical or supplementary material in roman and the body text in blackletter, using italics to distinguish Latin body content, such as the dedicatory Latin poem or the quotation regarding Scipio (Hart 1616, sigs. ¶¶4v, ¶¶3v; Smith 2013, 45). This choice was a conscious stylistic one on Hart's part; blackletter was well out of fashion in Scotland by this point and Hart did not use it to publish William Drummond's poems or his 1610 Geneva Bible (Smith 2013, 45; Mann

2001, 192). He used blackletter for other historical texts, as well, such as his edition of makar Sir David Lindsay's poetry (Mann 2001, 192). Speght's *Workes* employs the same stylistic technique. It displays Speght's Chaucer biography and most critical commentary in a modern roman. Francis Thynne's corrections and responses to the initial work in the 1598 edition appear in italic, as does Latin. Lastly, text attributed to Chaucer appears in blackletter. In the *Workes*, this printing technique helps to distinguish the sources for various pieces of content; in both books, it lends a sense of venerability to the poetry while also distinguishing critical from historic material.

Additionally, Speght includes short critical comments, or "arguments," between sections of the Middle English texts in roman, while Hart's similarly roman headings break up portions of the *Brus*. The language of these headings typically features some Scots forms, for example here final consonant devoicing: "HOW THE KING PAST TO THE SEA; and how the Erle of LENNOX was chaist" (Hart 1616, 55). This does not match the clearly English commentary of Speght, but the inclusion of these elements still provides a critical and assistive function for a reader as Speght's inclusions do, explaining and summarizing the material and providing breaks in the narrative. The intended assistive use of the headings is clear in Hart's book, as he includes a table of contents referring to them at the back (Hart 1616, sigs. Cc8r–Dd2v).

3.2 Front matter and back matter as reading aid

Both the *Workes* and *Actes* include various texts that may be lumped in under the heading of front matter. In Speght's book, this front matter is quite extensive: various letters, poems, pictures, an imagined dialogue between Chaucer and his readers, and a table of contents fill the space between the title page and the start of the Prologue on sig. Aiir. In Hart's book, this front matter takes the form of a long and detailed letter to the reader that runs from sig. ¶2r–¶¶4r, and a short Latin poem, with rhyming English translation, on sig. ¶¶4r. The table of contents, simply titled "A Table," has been bound into the back of the book, beginning sig. Cc8r and continuing to sig. Dd2v. These elements of Hart's edition have assistive, didactic functions that facilitate reader accessibility, even for readers whose ability with Scots is weaker.

The prefacing letter is a firmly instructive, critical inclusion in the *Actes*. Most of the letter, after briefly highlighting the historicity of the poem, serves as a long summary of the historical context for, events of, and characters in *Brus*. It is written in English, as previously noted, and the letter's assistive purpose is clear: Hart writes "somewhat of the occasion of these warres, that the Historie may the better appeare" (1616, sig. ¶2v). Hart's detailed summary describes the events of the poem with care, including dates, names, and locations. Key words such as place and character names are typically italicized. These printing choices provide a detailed English-language key to the poem's events and narrative, either for reference in times of confusion or as a preface. The italicized key words enable a reader to scan for relevant material and thus to check his or her understanding of portions of the *Brus*, and the English language opens the preface to a broader readership. These adaptations are comparable to the assistive motions Speght makes in his Chaucer edition, such as his explanatory notes on Chaucer's language in his prefatory letter and his inclusion of a glossary (Speght 1602, sigs. [aii]v–[aiii]r, Tttir–Uuuiiiir).[5]

Hart's "Table" and its correlating headings also act as a vector for accessibility. His headings are descriptive in nature: "How *Iames* of *Dowglas* slew *Webtoun*, and wan his Castell, and kest it downe"; "How the King scaped fra his faes, and how the sloothhound slaine was" (Hart 1616, 156, 123). Though written in Scots, the headings are new creations on the part of Hart (Mackenzie's introduction to Barbour 1909, viii). The corresponding "Table" in the rear of the book running from sig. Cc8r to the book's end allows a reader to access distinct subsections of the poem by making use of the pagination. Because the Table is organized using slightly longer forms of these very complete, distinctive headings, accessibility to the text is optimized; combining use of the Table with the detailed English summary in Hart's prefatory letter enables even non-Scots speakers to navigate the poem. Therefore, an English reader with no specific Scots knowledge is at least provided thorough context for the language by means of which he can make rough sense of unfamiliar Scots forms and grammar. This reference-based accessibility generated through textual organization and summary appears in Speght's *Workes* as well. The *Workes* employs

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[5] Hart also includes an English translation under his Latin dedicatory poem, which might be considered another nod to textual accessibility.

critical summaries and commentaries to head each section of the text, such as the paragraph included at the start of the Prologue or the short summary of the Knight's tale (Speght 1602, sig. Aiir, fol. 1r).

4. Editing methods at hand: editing for accessibility

I have now demonstrated that increased language accessibility to the text was a driving force for Speght, as shown by material in the *Workes* front and back matter, and that Hart's *Actes* follows largely in those footsteps. Furthermore, the editing of the Platonic texts itself also displays evidence of Speght's and Hart's favoring of textual accessibility over historical veracity. Interestingly, though the methods differ in some fine details, Hart and Speght's choices appear to reflect their shared editing ethos.

4.1 Speght's editing methods in practice

Speght's editing has certain prominent features. Pearsall (1984) broadly notes that Speght appears, at least in the case of the *Canterbury Tales*, to have made substantial revisions and improvements from the 1561 Stow version, typically introducing better readings and restoring missing elements (86–88). Pearsall goes on to note that many of these changes were made based on manuscripts or in order to take into account input from Francis Thynne, though the changes do not follow a known single manuscript (1984, 87). My own assessments using transcriptions of the Hengwrt (Hg) and Ellesmere (El) manuscripts correlate with this finding. Furthermore, Pearsall (1984) briefly notes the presence of metrical changes (87). Speght clearly engages in an overall "updating" of the text, largely replacing Middle English words with their Early Modern counterparts while also trying to show an identifiably iambic metrical structure.

On the surface, this work appears to be a mere makeover of the spellings, such as seen in the change "tendre" to "tender" or "halfe" to "half" (GP 7–8: Speght 1602, sig. Aiir a/El & Hg).[6] One of the most

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[6] The transcriptions of the Ellesmere (El) and Hengwrt (Hg) Chaucer manuscripts used for my comparison are sourced from *The Multitext Edition,* edited by Estelle Stubbs *et al*. (Chaucer 2013). Quotations from *The Canterbury Tales* are cited with normalized abbreviations: GP = "General Prologue", followed by the references in Speght and the manuscripts.

typical expressions of these changes is the <y> to <-ie> shift, demonstrated in changes like "melodie" from "melodye" (GP 9: Speght 1602, sig. Aiir a/El & Hg). However, Speght's interest in improving accessibility is clear in his attention to vowel changes and expletive structures:

El: The hooly blisful martir for to seke
Speght: The holy blisfull martir for to seeke,

El: That hem hath holpen / whan þ^t they were seeke
Speght: That hem hath holpen, when they were seke.

(GP 17–18: Speght 1602, sig. Aiir a)

Speght's new spelling makes clear that the first line is to be understood as "seek" (vowel sound /i/ or /i:/, its length and quality now marked with doubled vowel) and the second as "sick," (here with vowel sound /ɛ/). This change removes an obvious source of confusion for the untrained reader. He makes a similar change by altering "eye" to "eie," a seemingly strange choice—however, this choice of grapheme <ie>, expressing vowel sound /i/, allows the line to rhyme with the foregoing "melodie" (GP 9–10: Speght 1602, sig. Aiir a/El & Hg). Speght, of course, needs to preserve the all-important end-rhymes to flatter his audience's poetic partialities. Speght also makes a few careful grammatical changes, such as dropping the now unnecessary, archaic <þ^t> "that" above in GP 18, or moving verbs to more contemporary positions, as in GP 19, "It befell that season on a day" (sig. Aiir a). Here, Speght creates a more modern and easily readable expletive from the more challenging verb-fronted relative construction "Bifil that|in that season on a day" (GP 19: El & Hg).

These changes also infer alterations to the meter, as by the Early Modern period, final <-e> schwa was no longer pronounced, and the Great Vowel Shift was well underway (Menzer 2000; Baugh and Cable 2002, 222–3). Speght resolves these metrical problems by slightly emending the wording in certain lines to attempt to form iambs, foreshadowed in his defensive note to the reader that

[Chaucer's] verses, although in diuers places they may seeme to vs to stand of vnequall measures: yet a skilfull Reader, that can scan them in their nature, shall find it otherwise. And if a verse here and there fal out a sillable shorter or longer than another, I rather aret it to the negligence and rape of *Adam Scriuener*, that I may speake as

> Chaucer doth, than to any vnconning or ouersight in the Author.
> (Speght 1602, sig. [aiii]r)

This slight adaptative measure allows the Early Modern reader to recognize Chaucer's merit as a poet and improves accessibility: Speght's audience clearly expects quality verse to conform to the rigid rules of good poetry as laid out in their own time, and they must be able to recognize that conformity to the rules with ease. This technique is visible in l. 22:

> El: To Caunterbury / with ful deuout corage
> Speght: To Canterburie with deuout courage,
>
> (GP 22: Speght 1602, sig. Aiir a/ El)

Speght's edition omits "ful." The only reason to drop this largely unchanged modifier is to enforce an iambic form despite changes in the stress of 'courage' and the number of syllables in the typical pronunciation of "Canterbury." This placename would have had a definite four syllables in its Middle English form. As Speght's audience would presumably not have struggled to understand this use of "ful," this deletion must serve a metrical motivation. Other changes for presumably similar motivations are those in GP 28, in which a second "the" is dropped from a parallel construction, leaving "The chambers and stables weren wide," and in GP 27, in which "wolden" has been modernized to "would" (GP 27: Speght 1602, sig. Aiir b / El). In the former case, dropping "the" has no reader effect but to alter the meter. In the latter case, Speght has adopted single-syllable "would" here, but elsewhere leaves <-en> verb forms in place, such as GP 28–29, "weren," or GP 13, "seeken" (Speght 1602, sig. Aiir a–b).

4.2 Hart's editing methods in practice

It is clear from the above that Speght's editing methodology focuses on presenting an acceptably iambic metrical structure, removing certain challenging aspects of Middle English grammar, and modernizing word forms. Hart's editing choices are not far removed from these and represent not simple, overt Anglicization as such but rather an intended modernization of Scots language, one which brings it into a more modern, Anglicized form. This reassessment thus puts

a fresh angle on Smith's (2013) argument that Hart's edition largely de-Scotticizes in its changes to the source materials (46).

Hart's editing changes many word forms from the source material. Just as Speght has done, Hart swaps <-y> spellings for <-ie> spellings, for example changing "storys" to "stories" and "heryng" to "hearing" (ll. 1, 3, 5, 10: 1616, 1/Barbour 1980, vol.2). These changes are, like Speght's own respellings, probably more motivated by printing concerns than anything else as removing these descenders tidies up the interlinear space. Thus, they cannot really be considered an "Englishing" of the text. Additionally, <-ie> spellings were appearing interchangeably with <i> and <y>-type spellings in Scots by the sixteenth century (Aitken 2015d, 7). Furthermore, while Hart does make vowel changes that could be interpreted as simple Anglicizations, such as the change from "suthfastness" to "soothfastness" (l. 7: 1616, 1/Barbour 1980, vol. 2), he more typically leaves a Scots form in place, merely adjusting its orthography. For example, in l. 8, Hart modifies "schawys" to "schawes," or in l. 33, "buk" becomes "buke," and in l. 15, "swa" becomes "sa" (1616, 1–2); Barbour 1980, vol. 2). These changes do not strive to remove Scots from the text in any way; they merely adjust the Scots to follow new rules. "Soothfastness" from "suthfastness" reflects, for example, the use of a new grapheme recently adopted from Tudor English into Scots as a possible spelling (Aitken 2015d, 8). Hart's interest is therefore in improving the readability of the text to the Early Modern reader, not in de-Scotticizing it *per se*, and his method is much like Speght's.

Hart also shows a similar concern in adapting the more challenging grammatical structures of Barbour's historic Early Older Scots language to reflect the grammar of contemporaneous Middle Older Scots writing:

| *Brus* | Yan suld storys yat suthfast wer |
| Hart | Then sould Stories y[t] [that] soothfast wer; |

| *Brus* | And yai war said on gud maner |
| Hart | If they be spoken in good maner, |

Brus	Hawe doubill plesance in heryng.[7]
Hart	Haue double pleasure in hearing:

<div align="center">(ll. 3–5: Barbour 1980/Hart 1616, 1)</div>

George Eyre-Todd's translation provides for these lines, "Therefore should stories that are true, if well told, have double pleasure for the hearer" (Barbour 1907, Book 1). The subjunctive modality of l. 4 is not overtly expressed in the basis text. It must be inferred by the modal "suld" in l. 3, which subjunctivizes not only "suthfast wer" in its own line but also "war said" in l. 4. Hart resolves this hindrance to his readership by adding overtly subjunctive "if" and "be" to l. 4 to clarify the sense of the line. This change is reminiscent of Speght's small grammatical alterations, such as his change from a verb-initial form with a relative pronoun, "Bifill that," to a more modern expletive, "It befell."

Hart also modifies archaic negation methods for clarity:

Brus	For yar mycht succed na female
Hart	For there micht not succeid a Female,[8]

<div align="center">(l. 59: Barbour 1980/Hart 1616, 3)</div>

Rather than negating the noun in the archaic style, "na female," Hart negates the verb in contemporary fashion, "micht not succeid." This eliminates a certain "broadness," but more importantly clarifies the sense of the line; note that the spellings are altered but the Scots "micht" form remains intact. Thus, the intent is not to de-Scotticize, but to clarify. Another alteration of negation is in l. 52, in which "nyt" is exchanged for "contraryit." This example also makes a change which does not actually de-Scotticize; the use of devoiced <-t> in the spelling is in no way a move toward English. If anything, Hart has asserted Scottishness more then backed away from it. Furthermore, this change is one typical of Late Middle Older Scots literary structure, in which Latinate and French loanwords appear in addition to, or replacing, vernacular terms (Aitken 2015d 2, 34). At the same time, the very Germanic and dated "nyt," (lit. "nay-ed," cf. modern German

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[7] All lines marked *Brus* in this manner are sourced from vol. 2 of McDiarmid and Stevenson's edition (Barbour 1980).

[8] It is difficult to determine if the punctuation placed here is <,> or <.>

verneinen) is made sensible, as the new word choice cannot be so easily misunderstood or read past.

Hart's changes, like Speght's, are also made with an eye for the poetry:

| *Brus* | And led yar lyff in gret trawaill, |
| Hart | And led thair life in great trauell: |

| *Brus* | And oft in hard stour off bataill |
| Hart | And oft intill hard stoure of battell, |

| *Brus* | Wan gret price off chewalry |
| Hart | Wan richt greit praise of Cheualrie, |

| *Brus* | And war woydyt off cowardy, |
| Hart | And was voyde of all Cowartrie: |

(ll. 23–26: Barbour/Hart 1616, 2)

Hart inserts new syllables into lines 24–25. This change appears to stem from the change in pronunciation in "trauell"/"trawaill" and "battell"/"bataill." The early forms derive from Old French and were originally stressed on the second syllable, but the latter forms that Hart employs appear to take a stress on the first syllable (Dictionary of the Scots Language 2004, s.v.v. "Travail(l)(e," "Bataile").[9] In order to assure that his text maintains good verse form for a contemporary reader, Hart adds "richt" and modifies "in" to "intill." Notably, the elements he adds are Scots, not English. Though he alters "woydyt," he does not change the devoiced final stop to a voiced final stop, which could be seen as an Englishing of sorts. Rather, in removing final <-t>, he alters the word from a participial form to an adjectival form, which is a much smaller alteration of the text.

The proof that Hart's editing is more a careful Scots modernization than a simple Englishing is best seen through comparison of the text to a piece of contemporary Scots writing. This 1614 decision of the Privy Council regarding Hart's printing monopoly makes for an especially applicable example:

The fredome, libertie, and previledge of prenting, homebringing, and selling of all suche bookis and volumis quwhilkis are allowit and nowise forbidden […] aught be free to all His Majesties subjectis […]

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[9] The vowel qualities also shifted in the second syllable from <ai> to <ɛi>; see A. J. Aitken 2015b.

> and not conferrit and gevin to ony one persone without the grite hurte and prejudice of the cuntrey , becaus every suche privat and plane fredome, libertie, and privilege is not onlie a monopolie of ane evill preparative and example, bot will gif occassioun to alter and raise, hicht, and change the pryces of all bookis and volumes at the appetite and discretioun of the persone and personis in whose favouris the said previlege salhappin to be conferrit; and for this effect the saidis Lordis ordanis the gift and previlege purchest be the said Andro Hairt to be stayed, and on nawise to be past or exped. (Quoted in Mann 2000, i)

The composer of this text incorporates, aside from the typical impressive show of free variation in spelling as shown in "privilege" (Aitken 2015d, 5–10), certain Scots forms. Devoiced <-t> tense endings are apparent in "conferrit," "purchest," and "past." Fricative <qu-> forms are present, such as "quwhilkis," along with sibilant "sal," apparent here in the compounded "salhappin." Lastly, frictive <ch> in "hicht" and negating adverb "na" appear. Each of these tendencies is typically upheld by Hart in his edition, and even when changes are made to the source text, they incorporate these forms—note, for example, the insertion of "richt" in l. 25 to resolve a metrical problem discussed above.

5. Conclusion

This close study of the editing in Speght's and Hart's editions provides a snapshot of how Early Modern readers perceived Middle English and both archaic Early and contemporary Middle forms of Older Scots. Furthermore, it helps to chart a period of subsumption in the Scots language. Andro Hart's edition of the *Brus* text only Anglicizes its source material in the sense that Speght's edition Anglicizes the Prologue of *Canterbury Tales*, reworking the language to fit modern language preferences and standards. As Speght does, Hart makes thoughtful changes that appeal to a blended Anglo-Scots readership and lessen their challenges in grasping the content of the text. He is far from a mere wholesale Anglicizer—he is, in fact, a Scotsman working to update Early Older Scots into his conception of good literary Late Middle Older Scots. His Anglicization is thus merely a reflection of an overall ongoing subsumptive and de-Scotticizing process occurring during the Union of the Crowns. Marjory A. Bald's initial remarks (1926, 114) that Hart's *Actes* was

published as an antiquarian curiosity is thus not untrue. However, now these observations can be taken with substantially more nuance and context, accounting for the dynamic nature of Scots-English language change and the need to present a linguistically accessible volume to his audience.

Furthermore, the edition is a mark by which one can date one *terminus ante quem* for mutual intelligibility between English and Scots, and a snapshot of what this moment looked like. A fair measure of mutual intelligibility is one reason Hart would have printed his preface in English, as if to present Barbour's poem not only as a monument of Scottish history and literature, but as a work of merit, interest, and worth to Englishmen. Considering the cultural zeitgeist of the Union period and James' rule, Hart was doing well to present his book this way. Certainly, in the frame of the opened book trade, this was the profitable move for a bookseller to make.

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"By Jupiter, forgot": Volscians and Scots in Shakespeare and Arbella Stuart[*]

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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the representation of Volscians in two texts, Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and a letter of Lady Arbella Stuart's referring to Virgil's Camilla. It argues that for both authors, it matters that the relationship between the Volscians and the Romans could trope that between the Scots and the English. In the month in which Queen Elizabeth died, Arbella Stuart reached for a Volscian as a way to connect herself to Scotland; five years later, in the wake of James's failed attempt to achieve political and constitutional union between England and Scotland, *Coriolanus* uses the Volscians to question that project.

KEYWORDS: Shakespeare; *Coriolanus*; Arbella Stuart; Virgil; Scotland; Union.

"By Jupiter, forgot": Volscos y escoceses en Shakespeare y Arbella Stuart[**]

RESUMEN: Este artículo examina la representación de los volscos en dos textos, *Coriolanus*, de Shakespeare, y una carta de Lady Arbella Stuart en la que se refiere a la Camila de Virgilio. Se argumenta que para ambos autores es importante que la relación entre volscos y romanos puede ser una representación metafórica de la de escoceses e ingleses. En el mes en el que murió la reina Isabel, Arbella Stuart recurrió a una volsca como forma de relacionarse con Escocia; cinco años después, tras el intento fallido de Jacobo I por conseguir una unión política y constitucional entre Inglaterra

"By Jupiter, forgot": Volscos e escoceses em Shakespeare e Arbella Stuart[***]

RESUMO: Este ensaio examina a representação de volscos em dois textos, *Coriolanus* de Shakespeare e uma carta de Lady Arbella Stuart referindo-se à Camila de Virgílio. Argumenta-se que, para ambos os autores, é importante que a relação entre os volscos e os romanos possa metaforizar a relação entre os escoceses e os ingleses. No mês em que a rainha Elizabeth morreu, Arbella Stuart recorreu a uma volsca como maneira de se relacionar com a Escócia; cinco anos depois, na esteira da tentativa fracassada de James de alcançar a união política e constitucional entre a Inglaterra e a Escócia,

<table>
<tr><td>y Escocia, *Coriolanus* usa a los volscos para poner en duda ese proyecto.</td><td>*Coriolanus* usa os volscos para interrogar esse projeto.</td></tr>
<tr><td>PALABRAS CLAVE: William Shakespeare; *Coriolanus*; Arbella Stuart; Virgilio, Escocia; unión.</td><td>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: William Shakespeare; *Coriolanus*; Arbella Stuart; Virgílio; Escócia; união.</td></tr>
</table>

In Elly Griffiths' detective story *The Dark Angel*, an archaeologist interested in the Romans has his dig sabotaged by one of his students, whose motive turns out to be that she resents the Romans and feels that more attention should be paid to the Volscians. The student has a point, for Volscians are often remembered primarily in conjunction with *Coriolanus*. So who and what were the Volscians, and what did they want? Although the King's Men had never heard of anything like method acting, when Henry Condell (presumably) played Tullus Aufidius, the most prominent Volscian in early modern drama, he would have needed some sense of what kind of role it was. The only direct information offered by the play on this point prompts as many questions as it answers: Aufidius speaks of

> our aim, which was
> To take in many towns, ere, almost, Rome
> Should know we were a-foot. (1.2.22–24)

What the Volscians want is apparently to expand their territory in defiance of Rome. This obviously makes them enemies of Rome, but it also makes them mirror images of the Romans; the two sides are locked in a conflict whose basis is paradoxically not opposition but similitude.

In one sense this might have been familiar territory to Condell, whose primary task seems to have been to play second fiddle to Richard Burbage. David Grote sees Condell as the company's best swordsman, but nevertheless condemned always to lose to Burbage; only in *Macbeth* was Condell "at last […] allowed to win the swordfight, although Burbage apparently insisted they go off-stage to do it" (2002, 141). If Grote is right, Condell's roles would thus have included Laertes, Macduff, and Polixenes—all antagonists of the hero in the same way as Aufidius is, but with one significant difference, which is that we know what their causes of conflict are: Laertes fights Hamlet because Hamlet killed his father; Macduff kills Macbeth because Macbeth murdered his wife and children; Polixenes breaks

with Leontes because Leontes is jealous. Aufidius, however, fights Coriolanus because he himself is a potential Coriolanus; the only difference between the Romans and the Volscians seems to be that the Romans ultimately win. I shall argue that the unusual dynamic between Coriolanus and Aufidius is colored by the fact that in early modern England, Volscians trope dual nationality and can be used to interrogate the tensions within it. Christina Wald notes that in *Coriolanus* "the word 'home' occurs more frequently than in any other Shakespearian drama" (2019, 139); Coriolanus himself, however, is a man who tries to move from one home to another, until the play shows him that that is not possible.

The sense that the Volscians and the Romans are very closely aligned—and indeed that today's Volscian enemy is tomorrow's Roman citizen—is pervasive in early modern culture, but it is particularly prominent in the visual arts. One such art which is particularly pertinent to *Coriolanus* is tapestry. For a play about a military hero, *Coriolanus* is surprisingly interested in sewing; there are for instance five separate references to cushions (1.3.5, 2.186, 2.2.sd, 3.1.103, 5.3.53), more than in any other Shakespeare play. The feeling is mutual, for tapestries are interested in Coriolanus, who formed a popular subject for them. In telling the story of Coriolanus tapestries often represent the Volscians, but they typically depict them in exactly the same way as the Romans. In a set of Coriolanus tapestries in the Brooklyn Museum, woven in the first quarter of the seventeenth century but based on drawings made between 1570 and 1590, it is impossible to tell whether the fourth panel represents Coriolanus taking his leave of Volumnia and Virgilia in Rome or receiving them in a town occupied by the advancing Volscian army; the only thing that is clear is that "the male figures in attendance wear military garb" (Cavallo 1995, 12), but there is no way of identifying which side they belong to because Romans and Volscians are ethnically and iconographically indivisible.

Volscians are thus hard to pin down, but if Condell did in any sense research the role of Aufidius, he would have found a few sources and ideas he could draw on. For one thing, Aufidius was not the only famous Volscian. The Emperor Augustus himself was of Volscian descent, and so was the warrior Camilla, an important character in Virgil's *Aeneid* who was remembered by at least one

politically prominent early modern person. In March 1603, Lady Arbella Stuart wrote,

> I finding my selfe scarse able to stand <on my feete> what for my side and what for my head, yet with a commaunding voice called a troupe of such viragoes as Virgilles Camilla that stood at the receit in the next chamber. (Steen 1994, 152)

The reference to "my side" is to the recurrent pain that Arbella experienced there, probably a symptom of the hereditary disease porphyria, which gave rise to bouts of insanity, and it seems likely that Arbella was in the midst of one such bout when she wrote this letter, which would account for its fevered tone. It does however yield some sense, and is in fact a good example of what Carolyn Sale identifies as the way in which "Stuart's letters situate her in a narrative landscape as densely symbolic as that of Ben Jonson's court masques or Spenser's *Faerie Queene*" (2003, 950). Being a virgin, Camilla is not an inappropriate analogue for Arbella's ladies-in-waiting, whom she might perhaps think of as a troupe of viragoes. Alexandre de Pontaymeri's 1599 intervention in the *querelle des femmes*, *A womans woorth, defending them against all the men in the world*, asks "Where is he that can produce the Captaine of any nation, who in valour, prowess and councell, might be equalled with the victorious Volscian queene Camilla, or the magnanimous Penthesilea?"(63); Pontaymeri dedicated the work to Elizabeth Vernon, countess of Southampton, whose husband was a close ally of the earl of Essex, and Arbella's strong interest in Essex might have meant that she could have come across it. It might also be significant that Camilla would later be one of the queens in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (1609), in which Arbella's first cousin the Countess of Arundel danced (although it was Lady Catherine Windsor who actually danced Camilla); the close ties which Jonson would later develop with the Cavendish family might already have been forming, and his inclusion of Camilla might conceivably be a sign of interest in her in circles in which they moved.

More directly, Arbella may have been influenced by the decorative scheme of the High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, where she was confined in the custody of her grandmother Bess of Hardwick. The main theme of the chamber is praise of the goddess Diana, and Crosby Stevens notes that "One of Diana's attendants is also wearing a crown. Perhaps (especially given the pronounced upper body strength of the nymphs, and their spears or javelins which could double up as

weapons for war as well as hunting) this second royal figure could represent Camilla"; Stevens suggests that Arbella seems to be mustering her "regiment" (Diana's nymphs are called her "regiment" in Ovid) and that "a troupe of such viragoes as Virgilles Camilla that stood at the receit in the next chamber" could thus refer not only to her waiting-women but also to the iconography of Hardwick.[1]

If so, the frieze on the wall of the High Great Chamber would be an image of a Volscian. In *The Aeneid*, the first thing we learn about Camilla is her ethnicity:

> With these, Camilla came. She was of Volscian race, and led her cavalcade of squadrons a-flower with bronze. She was a warrior; her girl's hands had never been trained to Minerva's distaff and her baskets of wool, but rather, though a maiden, she was one to face out grim fights and in speed of foot to out-distance the winds. She might have skimmed over the tops of uncut corn-stalks without ever harming their delicate ears as she ran, or upheld her way through the midst of the sea supported on heaving waves without once wetting her swift foot-soles in its surface. A gathering of mothers and all the young men who were streaming from houses and fields looked forth admiringly at her as she passed, in open-mouthed astonishment to see how regal splendour clothed her smooth shoulders in purple, how her brooch clasped her hair in its gold, and how she wore on her a Lycian quiver and carried a shepherd's myrtle-staff with a lance's head. (*Aeneid* VII.803–817; p.200)[2]

There is an unusual amount of detail here, and indeed throughout the story of Camilla, where we find a couple of things that might have attracted the attention of Arbella. Camilla is an excellent horsewoman, and actually leads the cavalry of the combined forces of Latium:

> Camilla rode up to meet Turnus, her Volscian regiment with her, and hard by the gates the princess leapt from her horse; and all her band, following her lead, dismounted, slipping deftly to the ground. Camilla spoke to Turnus: "Turnus, if the brave have a right to self-confidence, then I, having the courage, offer to meet the Horse of Aeneas' army and to advance alone against the Etruscan cavaliers. Let me set my hand to the opening perils of war. You take your stand

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[1] Personal communication with Crosby Stevens (May 2020).

[2] All quotations from Virgil's *Aeneid* are from W. F. Jackson Knight's translation (Virgil 1956); reference to page numbers in this edition are included for convenience.

dismounted near the walls and keep watch over our ramparts."
(*Aeneid* XI.498–506; p.294)

It is Arbella's cousin the earl of Newcastle who is principally famous for his horsemanship, but he was continuing a family tradition (Edwards 2018); although we know nothing about how well Arbella herself could ride, she certainly knew men who plumed themselves on their equestrian skills, and this might have helped prompt her interest in Camilla. In addition, Camilla had female friends—we hear of Larina, Tulla, and Tarpeia (XI.655–656; p.299) and then later of Acca (XI.820; p.304)—so she is an appropriate figure to evoke in connection with the support offered by Arbella's waiting-women.

Perhaps, though, the appeal of Camilla lay in the ways in which she was *not* like Arbella. The portrait at Hardwick Hall of Arbella as a child shows her holding a doll, but Camilla "used to cast baby spears from her soft little hand" (XI.578; p.297), and she kills twelve men (an event that becomes known in art as "The Carnage of Camilla") before herself being slain by Arruns. Even then, the goddess Diana kills Arruns because she favors Camilla. Sara Jayne Steen notes that one of Bess's letters to Walsingham spoke of "the importance of having Arbella 'the soner be redye to attende on her Majestie', a theme to which Bess often referred in promoting her granddaughter" (Steen 2019, 183); Bess suggests that she has dedicated Arbella to Elizabeth as Camilla's father dedicated her to Diana, but Diana reciprocated, and Elizabeth did not. For Arbella, whose life was wholly constrained and who did not benefit from the favor of Elizabeth, who is represented as Diana in the High Great Chamber, Camilla might have represented what she desired but could not attain. Moreover, Elizabeth could sometimes be figured as Aeneas (who according to the myth of the *translatio imperii* was her ancestor), as in the Sieve Portrait, commissioned apparently by Sir Christopher Hatton in a self-conscious attempt to stop Elizabeth becoming a second Dido by marrying her foreign suitor the Duke of Alençon, or "William Alabaster's *Elisaeis* (an imitation of the Aeneid with Elizabeth, rather th[a]n Aeneas, as its hero" (Freeman 2003, 27). Camilla, who opposes Aeneas, is a provocative identification for Arbella.

Another reason Arbella might think of Virgil could be that she is thinking, as she often does, of the earl of Essex, whose sister was named Penelope and who was himself, as Andrew Hiscock notes,

often figured in classical terms, particularly as Achilles but sometimes also as Aeneas. Arbella connects Essex with the *Aeneid* when, writing on the anniversary of the earl's execution, she demands,

> how overviolently hasty […] to recover [the queen's favor] he was this fatall day Ashwensday and <the> newdropping teares of somm might make you remember if it were possible you could forgett. *Quis talia fando Temperet a lachrimis? Myrmidonum Dolopumque aut duri miles Ulissei*? (Steen 1994, 167)

Essex also intersects with the history of the Volscians in another way, because he was compared to Coriolanus in William Barlow's Paul's Cross sermon on 1 March 1601, which spoke of "*Coriolanus*, a gallant young, but a discontented Romane, who might make a fit parallel for the late Earle, if you read his life" (Shakespeare 2013, 99). Arbella and Essex, two losers in the game of politics, gravitate naturally to stories which speak of opposition to the power of Rome, and which use Volscians to do so. I shall suggest, however, that there is more at stake than individual political success or failure, for Volscians also raise wider questions about what factors lead to success or failure.

Coriolanus gives us the most detailed study of the Volscians in early modern drama, and the first thing it shows us is that they, like Essex, were warlike. This is characteristic of stories about Volscians. At the end of the story of Camilla, Virgil declares that "the Volscian ranks were all destroyed" (XI.898; p.307), but the story told in Livy makes it clear that the Volscians are very hard to kill, and also very hard to defeat, and Anne Barton shows that "Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* was in Shakespeare's mind when he was reading *Coriolanus*" (1985, 116). Livy notes that "It was Tarquin who began the long, two-hundred years of war with the Volscians" in ca. 530 BC (1960, 92), and as his history unfolds it becomes clear that though there might be lulls in the fighting, it was a constant feature of Volscian-Roman relations: he says of events in 496 BC that "the Volscians soon reverted to their normal practices: once again they began secret preparations for war" (1960, 128), clearly implying that forty years after the outbreak of hostilities, there was already a pattern. He also says of the fighting in 462 BC that "In what followed the Volscian name almost ceased to exist" (1960, 192), but by the next year "the Volscians and Aequians, in spite of their recent losses, were on the warpath again" (1960, 194). This same indomitability is evident in *Coriolanus* too: when the

Tribunes refuse to believe there is danger because the Volscians cannot possibly be advancing again, Menenius asks scornfully

> Cannot be?
> We have record that very well it can,
> And three examples of the like hath been
> Within my age. (4.6.47–51)

In Shakespeare as in Livy, the Volscians are the enemy who will not give up or lie down. Coriolanus may demand "If these shows be not outward, which of you | But is four Volsces?" (1.6.77–78), but the fact remains that he is the only Roman prepared to enter Corioles and face its Volscian defenders, and at the end of the play the Volscians seem as powerful and as martial as they were at the beginning.

However, despite this consistently oppositional identity, there are other features of Livy's Volscians which are contradictory. On the one hand, they are Rome's indomitable enemies, and hence radically unacceptable Others: in 486 BC Camillus harangues the Romans "maybe your old enemies the Aequians or Volscians might take it into their heads to do the same—and how would you like to change nationalities with *them*?" (1960, 400). On the other hand, they blend easily with the Romans: Attius Tullius (Livy's name for Shakespeare's Tullus Aufidius) warns the Senate that "many hundreds of my people are here in Rome" (1960, 147), and Livy notes that in 402 BC "the garrison at Anxur was overwhelmed and the town taken. The disaster was due to neglect: troops were away on leave, Volscians were being indiscriminately admitted for trading purposes, with the result that the sentries at the gates were suddenly and treacherously attacked" (1960, 349). The Volscians, it seems, are mixing freely with the Romans, and when Tullius incites them, "Surely you cannot fail to feel that Rome is an enemy city" (1960, 148) it is by no means clear that they are really bound to feel that at all.

Nor need they feel that Rome's greater size means they will inevitably be swallowed up by it: Livy notes that in 494 BC "Numerical superiority made the Volscians over-confident" (1960, 138). Actually, Livy makes it quite clear that the Romans did not fight the Volscians because the Volscians were threatening or different, but because they made an expedient enemy of the sort which the dying Henry IV tells Hal is conducive to national unity. Livy has Cincinnatus observe that "God seems to smile more kindly upon this

country of ours when we are at war" (1960, 206), and the Volscians afforded a ready pretext for maintaining that state of war and for using it as a cover for Rome's rulers to advance other, less popular agendas: Livy notes that in 461 BC "War had been declared, indeed, against the innocent Antiates; but the real enemy which the Senate meant to fight was the common people of Rome" (1960, 195). The Volscians are a stalking-horse, and one of the issues which they are particularly useful for deflecting is Rome's debt crisis. Livy observes that in 495 BC

> a double danger was threatening the City's peace: first, imminent war with the Volscians and, secondly, internal discord of ever-increasing bitterness between the ruling class and the masses. The chief cause of the dispute was the plight of the unfortunates who were "bound over" to their creditors for debt. (1960, 129)

It might credibly have been the connection between Volscians and the plight of debtors which prompted Henry Barlow to compare Essex to Coriolanus, who fought for the Volscians as well as against them, for one of the principal factors motivating Essex's disastrous rising was the crippling load of debt under which he was struggling after Elizabeth refused to renew his monopoly on the sale of sweet wines. The Volscians thus speak not only of external enmity to Rome but of internal division, financial problems, and dispossession.

> Livy ultimately refuses to take a position on the Coriolanus story:

> Whether Coriolanus was actually right is not easy to say; I do, however, think it is possible that the senatorial party might have succeeded in freeing themselves from the various restrictions, including the tribunate, to which they had been forced to agree, if only they had consented to reduce the price of grain. (144–145)

Shakespeare similarly fails to commit himself, but there are some notably provocative elements of his depiction of Coriolanus. John Velz argues that "Coriolanus is strikingly like Turnus" (1983, 63); Turnus was the foe of Aeneas and the ally of Camilla, so to see Coriolanus as like Turnus is implicitly to connect him both with the Volscians and with opposition to the monarchy founded by Aeneas, and supposedly continued by the Tudors and Stuarts. It is also clear that the Volscians in *Coriolanus*, like their counterparts in Livy, belong to a thriving society which does not seem in any way inferior to Rome.

Shakespeare seems to tacitly acknowledge that the Volscians were unlucky rather than unworthy through the play's unusual emphasis on things that are unaccountably forgotten. Peter Holland observes that "few moments have proved quite as contentious for interpretation as the moment of Martius' forgetting the name of his one-time host in Corioli" (Shakespeare 2013, 42): "By Jupiter, forgot!" (1.9.89). In one sense this has an extradiegetic force in that it prepares for the unprecedented moment of silence, which is Coriolanus' initial response to his mother's request, where our knowledge that Coriolanus has previously forgotten something might keep us on tenterhooks by making us genuinely uncertain whether it is the actor or the character who is unsure what to say. It is also worth noting that Coriolanus started his career by fighting Tarquin – "At sixteen years old, | When Tarquin made a head for Rome, he fought | Beyond the mark of others" (2.2.85–87) —but according to Livy, not only did Tarquin start the war with the Volscians, he also used loot from it to found the temple of Jupiter:

> It was Tarquin who began the long, two-hundred years of war with the Volscians. From them he took by storm the town of Suessa Pometia, where the sale of captured material realized forty talents of silver. This sum he allocated to the building of the Temple of Jupiter. (1960, 92)

This gives sharp point to Coriolanus' "By Jupiter, forgot!," for to forget the Volscians is in this sense to forget Rome's own history. At the same time, though, Coriolanus' inability to remember the name of his Volscian host also sets up an implicit contrast with Aufidius' final verdict on Coriolanus, "Yet he shall have a noble memory" (5.6.155). Yes, he will: Livy testifies to that, as do the several sets of Coriolanus tapestries, and Shakespeare's play itself. For Livy, it was (some of) the Romans who were at risk of being forgotten: "no one would have remembered that Cominius had fought at all in the action against the Volscians, had it not been for the record, on a brazen column, of the treaty made at that time with the Latins" (1960, 143). For early modern England, however, the Volscians are likely to be remembered only as the defeated enemies of Rome. The Volscians, like the Trojans, stand for loss and defeat.

This did not have to be so. In both Shakespeare and Livy the Volscians are not less virtuous, less numerous or less valiant than the Romans, and Shakespeare concurs with Livy in understanding that

the war against them is a ploy to deflect attention from internal problems. Coriolanus may be a military hero, but he is also careful to note that

>   Our spoils we have brought home
> Doth more than counterpoise a full third part
> The charges of the action. (5.6.77–79)

The war may be about honor and glory, but it is also about territory and money, and someone always needs to keep an eye on the bottom line. Such awareness of *realpolitik* is implicitly Machiavellian, and Barton suggests that Machiavelli is indeed a direct influence on the play. She points to "a series of overall attitudes, attitudes peculiar to this play, which I believe Shakespeare owed not to any one particular passage in Livy, but to his history as a whole—in itself, and also as it had been interpreted by another, celebrated Renaissance reader" (Barton 1985, 116), and Patrick Ashby notes that Aufidius "expresses his discontent in words which echo those of Machiavelli […] 'our virtues | Lie in th'interpretation of the time'" (4.7.49–50). Gilberto Sacerdoti suggests that what both Livy and Machiavelli saw in the story of Coriolanus was an idea of constitutional balance (2018, 52), and Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* certainly supports this when it observes of the Volscians' success under Coriolanus that

> Livy says it reveals that the Roman republic grew more through the exceptional ability of its commanders than of its soldiers, considering that the Volscians had in the past been defeated and only later had won when Coriolanus was their commander. Although Livy holds this opinion, it is nevertheless evident in many passages in his history that the exceptional ability of soldiers without a commander accomplished miraculous feats, and that they were more organized and ferocious after the death of their consuls than before they were killed. (1997, 292)

For Machiavelli, the story of Coriolanus and the Volscians raises some big general questions about whether history is the story of great men, whether leaders help or hinder, and whether events mean by themselves or need to have meanings made from them. His is a wry, pragmatic perspective which privileges the political rather than the providential.

Machiavelli's response to Livy's story of Coriolanus and the Volscians might prompt us to wonder whether the Volscians might

have wider political overtones in early modern culture. It may well be that they did. Adolph Cavallo suggests that in the case of the Brooklyn Museum tapestries, which were woven in France, "it is not far-fetched to seek some allusion in the story of Coriolanus to the life of the Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici," whom he sees as figured as Volumnia (1995, 16), and John Astington implies that in fact Coriolanus had a continuing currency at the French court: noting that there were ten Coriolanus tapestries displayed at Fontainebleau for the baptism of Henri IV's children in September 1606 (the drawings for which were printed), Astington suggests that one of the poses of Coriolanus "would have struck contemporary observers, particularly Catholics, as reminiscent of the *Ecce homo* tradition of Passion cycle pictures" (2017, 49), a piece of opportunistic iconography which would presumably have resonated with a monarch who had espoused Catholicism only because Paris was worth a mass. The Volscians could also have meanings closer to home. In his 1640 tract *The Case of Shipmony*, the Leveller Henry Parker compared the relationship between the Romans and the Volscians to that between the English and the Scots (Mendle 1995, 49), and there are other signs that the story of Coriolanus could be connected to Scotland. John Thornborough's 1605 *The ioiefull and blessed reuniting the two mighty and famous kingdoms, England and Scotland into their ancient name of Great Brittaine* cites the Volsci as an example of assimilation, and John Kerrigan observes that

> *Coriolanus*, which works with London perceptions of Anglo-Scottish difference in the polarity that it establishes between the fractious, politically complex world of Rome and the more archaic, aristocratic, and militaristic milieu of the Volscians, responds to the stubbornness of MPs in the Commons (Tribunes of the people) during the union debate as it reached its climax in the parliamentary session of 1607. (2008, 18)

Alex Garganigo develops this: remarking that "in many ways, the Union debate revolved around the status of the king's body" (2002, 335), he shows both that the belly fable was applied to the Union project and that "Pro-Union tracts frequently adduced the expansion of the early Roman Republic as an example of successful union by conquest and incorporation, citing the Sabines and Volscians as peoples it had absorbed" (2002, 338); Garganigo thinks it is therefore suggestive that "the play's Rome and Antium, as states extremely

close to one another and so alike in language, customs and government as to be virtual mirror-images, are very similar to England and Scotland" (2002, 340), and he further considers that "the mother-son bond between Volumnia and Coriolanus transacts topical business as well in paralleling James's vexed relationship with his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and with the mother figure of Elizabeth" (2002, 357). Nor is it only in the context of the Union debate that Coriolanus might crop up in connection with Scotland. In Shakespeare's play a Volscian servingman, hearing of a possibility of renewed conflict, says "Why, then we shall have a stirring world again" (4.5.221–222); when Sir Robert Carey, son of Shakespeare's first patron Lord Hunsdon, came to record his recollections of serving as a Border Warden, charged with policing the difficult frontier between England and Scotland, he observed that "we had a stirring world, and few days passed over my head but I was on horseback, either to prevent mischief, or to take malefactors" (Mares 1972, 48). If Carey was deliberately quoting *Coriolanus*, that would in fact have been perfectly apposite, for as Barton notes, "historically, the Volscians were a semi-nomadic, cattle-raiding people" (1985, 124), and it was cattle (and sheep) raids that were at the heart of Carey's troubles on the Border, where Reivers regularly bore off animals from England and drove them back to Scotland.

Catherine Loomis has suggested that Robert Carey was a direct influence on *Macbeth*. Carey was the man who rode north on Elizabeth's death to inform James of Scotland of his accession, and on the way he fell off his horse and suffered an injury which left him bloodstained and bandaged, which Loomis thinks is remembered in Duncan's question "What bloody man is that?" (he means the sergeant who brings him news of the success of the battle). If Carey did indeed influence *Macbeth* before going on to quote from *Coriolanus*, he would have been underlining the fact that there are some suggestive parallels between the two plays. Both *Macbeth* and *Coriolanus* feature tableaux of three women, the latter an invention of Shakespeare's: Livy has only Coriolanus' wife and mother trying to persuade him, along with "a number of women" (1960, 150). There is no equivalent of Valeria, who is indeed something of an opaque figure. Coriolanus hails her as

The noble sister of Publicola,
The moon of Rome, chaste as the icicle

> That's candied by the frost from purest snow
> And hangs on Dian's temple —Dear Valeria! (5.3.64–67)

Because of this emphasis on purity, the Arden note suggests she was a Vestal Virgin, developing Wilson Knight's view that Valeria, Virgilia and Volumnia represented three forms of womanhood, virgin, wife, and mother, while Emrys Jones compared them to the three Marys (Jones 1977, 66). Equally, however, they could alternatively (or additionally) be seen as past, present and future, and as connected to the Norns and to the three Weird Sisters of *Macbeth*, whose hero is not going to play the Roman fool but may perhaps foreshadow one. *Coriolanus* may be set in ancient Rome, but it does in this respect look as if it is remembering the Scottish play.

Another potential connection, and one which again has a Scottish resonance, is between *Coriolanus* and *Cymbeline*. In the *Aeneid*, Turnus tells Camilla,

> I have in hand a ruse of war. There is a sunken track within the forest where I plan to block the jaws at each end by posting armed soldiers there. You must take position and prepare to receive the charge of the Etruscan Horse. (XI.515–517; p.295)

He goes on,

> There is a glen, with winding curves, apt for concealment and the uses of war. The slopes crowd down on it from both sides, shadowed by clustering leaves; the path leading into it is ill-defined, its jaws are narrow, and the entrances close and forbidding. (XI.522–525; p.295)

Perhaps there is a parallel here with the episode in *Cymbeline* in which a "strait" lane (5.3.7), "Close by the battle, ditch'd, and wall'd with turf" (5.3.14), is ultimately held against the Romans by Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus. This is traditionally traced to a story in Holinshed, who tells it of a Scots family named Hay living in the time of Kenneth Macalpine and fighting the Danes, but perhaps it points in both directions and thus connects Scots and Volscians. *Cymbeline* is also a play in which echoes of Arbella Stuart have been detected (Gristwood 2004, 451), and one of Arbella's chosen go-betweens in her marriage negotiations was the resonantly-named Owen Tudor. When the plan went wrong Tudor fled to Anglesey, suggesting that he was, or thought he was, connected to the actual Tudors, who came originally from Anglesey, and *Cymbeline*'s reference to Milford Haven is clearly a direct glance at the Tudors.

Scottishness was one of the few things that Arbella claimed in her own right and not through her formidable grandmother; perhaps, then, it was in connection with Scottishness that she reached for an identification with the Volscian Camilla. If the figure whom Arbella connects with Camilla was indeed one of the attendant nymphs in the frieze in the High Great Chamber, then the room next door to it, the Long Gallery, contained a portrait of Arbella as a child labelled Arbella Comitissa Levinae (Arbella Countess of Lennox), underscoring her Scottish identity; elsewhere in the house, "the with drawing chamber" contained "the pictures of the Quene of Scottes, the same Quene and the King of Scotes with theyr Armes both in one, the King and Quene of Scotes hir father and mother in an other" (Boynton 1971, 27). For Arbella, these represented her paternal aunt, cousin, great-uncle and great-aunt. Perhaps, too, she remembered that the most famous Volscian of all was Augustus, the preferred self-identification of Arbella's cousin King James. Not long after her reference to Camilla, Arbella told Sir Henry Brouncker that her secret lover was the King of Scots. Arbella never went to Scotland, and when she finally met her cousin the king, he proved first a disappointment and then a persecutor. But in identifying herself with Camilla she claimed an identity which was wholly her own: royal, admirable, and familial in a way which was completely separate from her bitterly resented grandmother, who kept her a virtual prisoner at Hardwick and who Arbella thought would be the first to run to the queen with tales about her. As she fantasized about her cousin the King of Scots coming to save her, Arbella's reference to Camilla the Volscian offered another way of connecting herself to Scotland and of asserting an oppositional identity.

If the relationship between the Volscians and the Romans could be used to figure that between the Scots and the English, *Coriolanus* starts to look like a rather different kind of play from the one we have been accustomed to see. It has often been noticed that it appears to reflect on the politics of England, but perhaps it thinks too about those of Scotland, and perhaps it is interested not only in the Midlands grain riots but in oppositional identities more generally, and in the ways that Volscians in particular can stand for those who are deserving and noble but nevertheless ultimately fail. If Volscians can express both Scottishness and an oppositional identity, it is also unsurprising to find them associated with Essex, who intrigued on behalf of James I

and whose son was rewarded for that when James acceded to the throne. Above all, if Volscians can be used to talk about England and Scotland, *Coriolanus* becomes a way of talking about what it might be like to try to bring together two different nations. At the heart of the conflict between plebeians and patricians is the question of who is able to articulate national identity. Barton observes that "the plebeians claim that they alone embody Rome" (1985, 118); in this respect *Coriolanus* echoes Marlowe's *Edward II*, where both king and nobles claim to speak for England, but it also develops the potential complications. After his accession, King James VI and I claimed to speak for both Scotland and England. Ultimately, however, *Coriolanus* as a play suggests that, however similar two societies may be, it is not in fact possible for one man to speak for both. While other writers use the Volscians as an example of integration, Shakespeare uses them to figure the difficulties that might attend integration. In the month in which Elizabeth died Lady Arbella Stuart reached for a Volscian figure as a support and, I have suggested, as a way of personally connecting herself to Scotland; five years later, in the wake of James's failed attempt to achieve political and constitutional union between England and Scotland, *Coriolanus* uses the Volscians to question that project.

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The story of what might have been:
Interrogating *Romeo and Juliet*
under the Portuguese dictatorship

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ABSTRACT

In 1969, Teatro Estúdio de Lisboa performed *Anatomy of a Love Story*, an interrogation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* for a generation politicized by their struggles against the dictatorship. This article delineates a narrative of what might have been if this incipient attempt to stage a more inclusive political theatre had prevailed, illustrating how attributions of success and failure to performances during this period need to be contextualized within the limitations imposed by censorship on the one hand, and, on the other, an evocation of a class-based popular theatre that excluded questions of gender and sexuality.

KEYWORDS: *Romeo and Juliet;* Teatro Estúdio de Lisboa; gender; class; popular theatre; Portuguese dictatorship.

La historia de lo que pudo haber sido: Interrogando a *Romeo y Julieta* bajo la dictadura portuguesa *

RESUMEN: En 1969, el Teatro Estúdio de Lisboa representó *Anatomy of a Love Story*, una interpelación de *Romeo y Julieta*, de Shakespeare, dirigida a una generación politizada por sus luchas contra la dictadura. Este artículo traza una narración de lo que pudo haber pasado si este intento incipiente de representar un teatro político más inclusivo hubiese prevalecido. Ilustra cómo las atribuciones de éxito y fracaso de las representaciones llevadas a cabo durante este período han de contextualizarse dentro de las limitaciones impuestas, por una parte, por la censura y, por otra, por la evocación de un teatro popular basado en las clases sociales que excluía cuestiones de género y sexualidad.

A história do que poderia ter sido: Interrogar *Romeo e Julieta* na ditadura portuguesa

RESUMO: Em 1969, o Teatro Estúdio de Lisboa encenou *Anatomia de uma História de Amor,* uma interrogação de *Romeu e Julieta* de Shakespeare destinada a uma geração politizada pelas suas lutas contra a ditadura. Este artigo desenvolve uma narrativa do que poderia ter sido se esta tentativa incipiente de criar um teatro político mais inclusivo tivesse prevalecido. Ilustra como noções de sucesso e fracasso na performance neste período precisam de ser contextualizadas, por um lado dentro das limitações impostas pela censura e, por outro na evocação de um teatro popular de classe que exclui questões de género e sexualidade.

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* Translation into Spanish by Tamara Pérez-Fernández.

> Ah, who will write the story of what might have been?
> If someone did, would this be,
> The true [hi]story of humanity!
>
> *Original Sin*
> (Álvaro de Campos, i.e. Fernando Pessoa)[1]

Introduction

In the extensive critical literature on Shakespeare and adaptation (Desmet and Sawyer 1999; Fischlin and Fortier 2000; Hutcheon 2006; Sanders 2006; Kidnie 2009), the central emphasis has been on challenging the hierarchy between Shakespeare source and adaptation. Such a hierarchy casts adaptation as secondary in relation to the Shakespeare original and reduces critical readings to analysis of how adaptations either follow or deviate from the Shakespearean source. Douglas Lanier's 2014 notion of the rhizomatic nature of adaptation and source text within a non-hierarchical circulation of cultural products has gone furthest in disrupting this binary. Yet there has been less critical attention to the horizontal, decentered multiplicity of the adaptation itself and its diverse textual, cultural and artistic roots. Similarly, how might the notion of the rhizomatic relationship between various cultural products approach instances where script, performance, televising of the performance and published play constitute temporally and intermedially distinct reiterations of a shifting cultural product in changed political circumstances? In 1969, the Portuguese independent theatre company Teatro Estúdio de Lisboa (TEL) performed *Anatomy of a Love Story,* an adaptation but also a version of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Its hybridity and critical perspective on the play render it an interrogation of *Romeo and Juliet* rather than a straightforward staging of the Shakespeare play or an adaptation, while the open-endedness

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[1] All translations from the Portuguese are my own.

of this interrogation encourages a view of the play as evolving rather than fixed.[2]

The play was performed in the company's Vasco Santana theatre in Lisbon and later in Coimbra. Both cities were centers of student radicalism during 1969 amid a growing police presence in the universities with the compliance of the university authorities. This politicization of university students compounded their opposition to a colonial war (1961–1974) and the conscription of young male students. International events such as May 1968 in France and North-American opposition to the Vietnam war provided an international context for the struggles of Portuguese young people against war and political authority. Culturally, Zeffirelli's 1968 film version of *Romeo and Juliet* with its young protagonists and their explicit nudity reflected this generational challenge and could be seen in cinemas around the world, including Portugal. Nevertheless, when Maurice Béjart brought his *Romeo and Juliet* ballet to Lisbon in 1968, he was thrown out of the country by the regime's secret police (PIDE). This was not because of the performance itself, although its encouragement to make love not war, parallels between the struggles of young people and the sacrifice of Christ, and thinly-veiled homoeroticism alerted the censors. Béjart was forcibly removed across the border into Spain because of a speech he made after the performance about the death of Robert Kennedy when he called for a minute's silence to remember the victims of fascism. The speech was enthusiastically applauded by the audience, but Béjart was removed immediately from the country for interference in national affairs. Following the dictator Salazar's bathetic death in August 1968 after falling off a chair, the new Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano had promised to open up Portuguese society. By the time *Anatomy of a Love Story* premiered in April 1969, few believed this promise. However, many were energized by the alternative possibility of dictators falling, wars being brought to an end and new forms of political and cultural transformation. Many women were involved in these oppositional movements and in the Portuguese independent theatre movement. However, as the struggle against the dictatorship was considered the primary locus of political

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[2] I am aware of the charge of using a term such as interrogation in the context of the dictatorship but it seems the best word to describe the way in which *Anatomy* questions the play it also stages.

opposition that would bring other transformations in its wake, few raised specific demands as women.

The Teatro Estúdio de Lisboa (TEL) was the only independent theatre company of the period run by women.[3] Luzia Maria Martins was a director, translator and dramatist who had returned to Lisbon after several years working for the BBC in London. While in London, she met the actress Helena Félix and on their return to Portugal they formed TEL in 1964.[4] Histories of the company suggest that the two were lovers as well as theatrical partners.[5] Their relationship was considered something of an open secret among theatre practitioners, but was never openly admitted.[6] While the work of TEL was respected by critics and there is no evidence that the two women were marginalized by other theatre artists for being either women or lesbians, the "form and pressure" (*Hamlet* 3.2.24) of the time meant that the particular experiences, struggles and voices of women and lesbians were played down within a context where unity against the dictatorship and the class struggle were seen as fundamental. This article analyses TEL's *Anatomy of a Love Story* as an intermedial interrogation of *Romeo and Juliet* created against the backdrop of such

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[3] The National Theatre throughout this period was also run by a woman—Amélia Rey-Colaço—first with her husband Robles Monteiro and later on her own with her daughter Mariana Rey-Monteiro in a familial model that replicated but also subtly subverted traditional gender roles.

[4] The company are associated primarily with the introduction of a contemporary Anglo-American repertoire which included dramatists such as Arnold Wesker, Peter Schaffer and David Hare.

[5] A conversation between São José Almeida, Jorge de Sousa Costa and the author quoted in Yolanda Gonçalves' *Luzia Quê?* suggests that "the relationship with Helena Félix, although not denied, was not overt. It was kept within the private sphere, although when confronted with the question, she [Martins] had no difficulty in telling the truth. It was the only known lesbian relationship in the intellectual circles of the time" (2016, 54).

[6] Eugénia Vasques was threatened with legal action by Martins' sister and the actor-lawyer Morais e Castro for her suggestion in a 2000 obituary of Luzia Maria Martins in the *Expresso* newspaper that she was "a woman with two passions—theatre and the actress Helena Félix," indicating her family's attempts to prevent public acknowledgment of her lesbianism. Gonçalves claims that Martins' papers and possessions are stored in a container in England but this curious narrative may well be a strategy invented by the family to discourage attention to Martins' private life. Helena Felix's papers are held at the Theatre Museum in Lisbon.

tumultuous events and oppositional energies.[7] It analyses in particular the play's innovative intersections between class, gender and sexuality in its framing of the play. While questions of class are clearly prioritized, *Anatomy* also challenges the heteronormative premises of the Shakespeare text. However, in critical accounts of the performances, questions of gender and sexuality were not mentioned. In the tension between, on the one hand, the prescriptions and obstacles of the dictatorship and, on the other, a criticism that placed a politically committed theatre at the heart of a transformed society, questions of gender and sexuality and their relationship with questions of class were either censored or deemed secondary. This article outlines "a story of what might have been" by assessing this play not as a failed experiment in popular theatre, but an incipient exploration of the links between class, gender and sexuality for a young, radicalized student audience engaged in questioning conventional lifestyles and politics.

Dramaturgy

TEL's choice of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* was influenced clearly by the Zefferelli film and Béjart ballet and their focus on the tragedy of the young lovers in an adult world torn apart by materialism, war and political authoritarianism. Martins herself explained the choice of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* as an attempt to appeal to new audiences. She explained that "we wanted to discuss certain problems and in order to do this for a wider audience, we needed a myth, for myths are an expression of the collective which shapes them and gives them a reality."[8] While *Romeo and Juliet* had been translated by the Portuguese monarch D. Luis I in the nineteenth century, the play had remained largely absent from the stage. The National Theatre in Lisbon performed it in 1961, but oppositional theatre groups avoided a play which was not seen as obviously political. The lack of a performance history perhaps explains the company's decision to combine a reduced version of *Romeo and Juliet* and their own critical

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[7] *Anatomy of a Love Story* was performed in the theatre and also shown on the main television channel, RTP. My discussion of *Anatomy* here complements and builds on Rui Pina Coelho's 2008 analysis of the play and the mechanisms of censorship.

[8] From the unpaginated introduction to *Anatomia de uma História de Amor* (1973).

perspective within the same play, although this was a technique they had used already in previous performances.[9] In *Anatomy*, the narrative of *Romeo and Juliet* is consistently interrupted with episodes that comment on the play from a class perspective performed by actors who played the Shakespearean characters as well as the generic roles of Actor/Actress or Man/Woman of the people.[10] The transitions between Shakespeare text and its historicization in the present were signaled to the audience through costume. During the Shakespearean sections, the performers wore period costume while

Figure 1. Performers from Romeo and Juliet in period costume.
Reproduction by permission of the Museu Nacional do Teatro e da Dança, Lisbon.

they appeared in modern dress to comment on the play (fig. 1). The simple black costumes in these latter sections indicated in themselves how radically different these performances were for audiences at this time. Besides a condensed *Romeo and Juliet,* the play also included an excerpt from *As You Like It* as well as three Shakespearean sonnets. Alone after the Capulet ball, Romeo recites Sonnet 15 "When I consider everything that grows" and when Juliet is planning the simulation of her death, she recites Sonnet 71 "No longer mourn for me when I am dead." Soon after, Romeo recites Sonnet 66 "Tired with all these, for restful death I cry."[11] The excerpt from *As You Like It* at

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[9] They had used a similar strategy in their ground-breaking *Bocage—Alma sem Mundo* (1967) about the Portuguese neoclassical poet Manuel Maria Barbosa de Bocage.

[10] This led to some intriguing doubling of roles. The actor playing the Prince, for instance, also played a servant and a beggar.

[11] All three sonnets emphasize the presence of death and *Anatomia* gives the figure of Death the last word. Beyond the connection with the tragedy of the lovers, Martins'

the end of the play is, unsurprisingly, Jaques' "All the World's a Stage" speech. Like the rest of *Anatomy*, these sonnets appear to have been translated by Martins herself. The inclusion of other works by Shakespeare does not really fulfil any dramatic purpose except to compress the action of the play through poetry. Their inclusion seems to respond rather to the company's desire to illustrate their knowledge of Shakespeare and to introduce as much as possible of Shakespeare to audiences who are not familiar with his works.

As the title of the play suggests, *Anatomy* interrogated the tragedy by taking it apart and investigating the social and political contexts of the events in the narrative. The notion of an anatomy of *Romeo and Juliet* suggests an examination of its implicit ideological premises while the demotion of the lovers within a more general love story places the emphasis on the society of the play rather than individual characters. As such, the play counterposed the sense of tragic inevitability in *Romeo and Juliet* and an interrogative, analytical approach to this apparent inevitability. As Martins pointed out, *Romeo and Juliet* had often made audiences cry but less often made them think about how the tragedy might have been avoided. However, this interrogative, political approach to the play sat somewhat uneasily with the passages that were translated almost word for word from the Shakespeare play. If these had been limited to the exchanges between Romeo and Juliet, this might have emphasized their difference from the world around them. However, they also included exchanges involving the Nurse, the Capulets and Mercutio which make the shifts between the Shakespeare play and the contemporary interrogation somewhat arbitrary. There is a desire to open up the play with a scalpel to examine its class and sexual politics but also a fear that straying too far from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* might alienate audiences as well as compromise the performance with the censors.

It was also true, however, that the cultural prestige of Shakespeare enabled the company to use these performances as something of a stalking horse to experiment with narrative and epic theatre techniques in an environment where more directly political plays such as those of Brecht and many contemporary Portuguese

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father, the scenographer Reynaldo Martins, collaborated with his daughter for the last time on these performances and died soon after. The published version of the play is dedicated to him and to Martins' mother and sister.

dramatists were banned from the stage.[12] The performance began with the ensemble pulling onstage a cart that included their props and costumes. This moment would have immediately brought to mind Brecht's banned *Mother Courage* for those aware of the reference and was enthusiastically applauded by the audience at the premiere.

Yet it was Piscator rather than Brecht who the company considered the main influence on their work, probably because the company had forged a personal relationship with him.[13] As John Willett has suggested, Piscator's theatrical techniques were based on the difference between "presenting 'the times' and trying to get under their skin" which echoes productively with TEL's anatomical approach. Willett notes that "faced with industrial society's assumption that the theatre exists for distraction, education or national prestige […], theatre people need a spirit of inquiry, of involvement in outside affairs, and a sense of purpose. And these things Piscator could give" (1986, 111, 192). For an independent theatre like TEL, who were working under censorship and were keen to distance themselves from the commercial and state theatres, Piscator's techniques represented a means of affirming their aesthetic and political differences. Nevertheless, because censorship meant that knowledge of both Piscator and Brecht in Portugal remained fragmentary, there was not a clear separation between their differing views of political theatre for Portuguese practitioners. Both Brechtian epic theatre techniques such as actors commenting on events and characters, as well as Piscatorian techniques of historicization informed the notion of popular theatre that dominated discussions of theatre during this period.[14] In contrast to the folkloric, rural and religious notion of the popular promoted by the regime, the popular theatre envisaged by oppositional critics and practitioners was a politically committed, mainly urban theatre that explicitly sought social and political transformation. Indeed, popular theatre became a code for political theatre in a period where the mere mention of the

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[12] Brechtian drama was banned on stage but could be read in fragments. It was the live encounter between performers and audiences that worried the censors most.

[13] They had invited Piscator to direct their 1967 *Bocage—Alma sem Mundo*, but his death in March 1966 prevented this collaboration. Nevertheless, this suggests the existence of a relationship between the company and Piscator.

[14] The program for the performance explicitly credits both Brecht and Piscator in its comment that the performance "is a performance of epic or narrative theatre."

word political attracted the censors' attention. As Márcia Regina Rodrigues has noted, as well as seeking the effective participation of the audience, such theatre aimed "to lead the spectator to analyze and criticize the social and political context and, above all, recognized theatre as an instrument of intervention and cultural and political struggle" (2010, 21).

Censorship

There are two scripts of the play in the censorship records held at the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon which include permission for the performances and for the television broadcast of the performance by the state channel RTP. One script is more heavily censored than the other, with passages crossed out in red ink rather than pencil. The more lightly-censored script appears to have prevailed, indicating a hierarchy between the different censors. Although performances of *Anatomy* were approved with cuts for audiences aged twelve or over, an ominous note on one of the scripts reads "the literary and dramatic interest of this comedy [*sic*] is, in my opinion, non-existent. The question of whether it is worth subsidizing (supposing such subsidies indeed exist) the company performing it, therefore, should be considered."[15] This kind of sinister comment was designed to threaten practitioners with the removal of funding should they step across the lines established by the censors and to encourage self-censorship by practitioners themselves. The scripts also illustrate the politicization of questions of sexuality by the regime. Any innuendo or explicit mention of sexuality was not tolerated. A filmed sequence of Romeo and Juliet's sexual encounter which included them "rolling in the grass" was removed by the censors, even if Zeffirelli's film, with its far more daring sexual scenes, could be seen in Portuguese cinemas. The Nurse's sexual innuendos and Mercutio's Queen Mab speech were also cut because of their sexual suggestiveness. The fact that the scripts end with the epigraph from Fernando Pessoa that is quoted at the beginning of this article indicates that when submitting the play, the company sensed the distance between what the performance might have been and what they suspected it would become in the context of the dictatorship.

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[15] Document number SNI/DGE 8830 at the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

Performance

TEL's interrogative approach to *Romeo and Juliet* can be integrated within a wider tendency to emphasize the feud over the love story. As James N. Loehlin has argued:

> In the latter half of the twentieth century, *Romeo and Juliet* was transformed, in production and perception, from a play about love to a play about hate. Modern productions have tended to emphasize the feud over the love story and have used it to comment on a variety of social ills (2002, 66–67).

Near the beginning of *Anatomy,* the Actress demands "what is the main theme of *Romeo and Juliet,* love or hate?" (1973, 20) and invites audiences to formulate their own responses. Yet, as the play unfolds, it is hatred and the tragic consequences of that hatred that are made responsible for the death of the lovers. *Anatomy of a Love Story* focuses extensively on the question of "aggression" and the ways in which it leads to the tragedy.[16] Building on Piscator's use of documentary to inscribe the historical narrative within contemporary events, the performances began with a film. It showed "reports of rebellions, scenes of latent violence, police repression of demonstrations […] an image of the aggression of the current period" (1973, 15) in Europe and the USA. The censors correctly intuited that this was also a comment on the regime's violent reaction to student and political opposition in Portugal and demanded these images be removed from the performance. However, the company's apparent legitimation of protest against authoritarian regimes in the film was balanced by a more psychological, evolutionary approach in the play which universalized aggression as a tendency inherent to all human beings from the time they were forced to live in society. The exchanges between the Actress and the Actor at the beginning of the second half of the play, for instance, include the assertion that "aggression exists and will always exist because it is not possible to eliminate instincts that are not channelled, through appropriate social systems, into

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[16] The choice of the word aggression rather than the word violence in the play was occasioned by the banning of the word "violence" on stage by the censors but was also the result of Martins' reading of ethologist Konrad Lenz's 1963 *On Aggression* and other works in the area of psychology and anthropology. Similarly, Porto's use of "historical" and "psychological" was occasioned in all likelihood by the banning of the word "political" in published criticism.

constructive ends" (1973, 41). This dialectical tension between a historically-situated and a wider anthropological understanding of violence rendered the performance's stance on the matter ambiguous in a context where the violence being used against those who contested the dictatorial regime was anything but ambiguous. Although the Actor adds that "the most beautiful as well as the ugliest human inclinations are not part of a fixed, biologically received human nature but are part of the social processes that form human beings" (1973, 59–60), this tension between universalizing violence and recognizing the social processes that shape its expression complicated the communication between performers and their radicalized audiences.

The play's contrast between the lives of the noble characters with the harsher lives of the people was more successful. *Anatomy* included a popular counterpart to the Capulet ball that took place in the street rather than in the lavish interior of a noble house. At this impromptu ball, men and women of the people used their hands to create music for their dances in an explosion of physical energy.[17] This gestic episode illustrated how the sumptuousness and luxury of the noble ball was only accessible to a small section of the population but also suggested the resilience and inventiveness of popular forms of entertainment.[18] The Woman adds that:

> It is with our hands that we knead bread, it's with our hands that we help to give birth, it's with our hands that we caress those we love and it's with our hands that we wrap in shrouds those Death has stolen away from us. (1973, 46)

This comment indicated the existence of wider pleasures and tragedies beyond those dealt with in the Shakespeare play. These popular characters also introduce a class and gendered perspective on the deaths of Mercutio and Tybalt. The Woman comments unsentimentally "if men gave birth, they would know that creating life is more difficult and more beautiful than provoking death. You all need to give birth to understand this […] Let us dance for the deaths

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[17] A short excerpt from the television broadcast of the film can be found at https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/peca-de-teatro-anatomia-de-uma-historia-de-amor/

[18] It is also something of a validation of the work of independent theatres such as TEL who worked with few resources to create theatre during this period.

of these two useless individuals" (1974, 46). This barbed assessment of the relative lack of importance of the deaths of Mercutio and Tybalt to their wider society introduces a class-based perspective on questions of life and death that counters Shakespeare play's elevation of the centrality of the two nobles. The comment also prioritizes the importance of giving life and its association with women over male honor in death. Later, in another class-based rewrite, Romeo convinces the Apothecary to sell him poison by correctly sensing that he is too poor to refuse rather than because of some moral fault of character.

As the Woman's comments on women and childbirth suggest, there is a gendered perspective on events in *Anatomy of a Love Story*, even if it is expressed in somewhat essentialist terms. Lady Capulet, for instance, harangues Juliet for seeking a happiness in marriage she has never been allowed herself in her own dynastic marriage. She complains "who asked me if I wanted to marry who I married? A man who was too old for me and who I did not know […] Did anyone ask me if I could love this man?" (1973, 51). In the performance's anatomy of aggression, there are suggestions that violence is gendered male. The Actress criticizes the fight between Capulet and Montague servants as "that ridiculous scene characteristic of immature men who only know how to resolve their supposed quarrels through violence" (1973, 42). The Actor also comments on this incident, suggesting that men in groups are more prone to aggression. He wonders aloud "do they have the courage to die because they lack the courage to live? If I make this gesture (*exemplifies*) do they feel offended? What if I make another gesture?" (1973, 23). Interestingly, this second gesture does not materialize as another actor prevents him from completing it. The speech is crossed out in red ink in the script sent to the censors with a question mark beside it. This erasure reveals the regime's sensitivity to critiques of male violence in the context of the colonial war, but also the censor's difficulty in dealing with this unspecified gesture. In Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and in *Anatomy,* the first hostile gesture is biting one's thumb, but in *Anatomy* the second, apparently even more contentious gesture, remains unclear. In the performance of the play, this gesture could range from repeating the gesture of biting

one's thumb to more contemporary and more radical gestures of contempt for the regime.[19] As Graça dos Santos has noted:

> These kind of improvisations and unexpected fleeting asides were like winks from the actor to their audience that represented for them incursions of a reality external to the performance. These allusions created an intrinsic complicity between the performers and the audience who understood perfectly the signs directed at them. (2004, 279)

Unfortunately, there is no record of the gesture made in the performances or in the compulsory performance for the censors that preceded them. Yet even if the performers used one particular gesture before the censors, there was no guarantee that future performances would not change the gesture to a more provocative one and that both the gesture and the prevention of its completion might be understood as critiques of the regime by the audience. Such corporeal instability in performance was profoundly threatening to the censors.

Criticism

Criticism during this period played a crucial role in supporting and guiding practitioners towards a particular vision of popular theatre. In the later published version of the play, Martins argued that criticism of the performances in 1969 was "balanced and, in some cases revealed a total understanding of the problems the play dealt with." Reviews of the performances were generally encouraging, although some wondered why the oppositional potential of the opening filmed sequences was not carried through into the rest of the performance. Words used to describe the performance in these reviews such as "honest," "dignified," "generous" and "worthy" seem to damn it with faint praise and one wonders whether such terms would have been used to describe theatre work by male artists. It should be remembered, however, that theatre criticism was itself subject to censorship and the words that appeared on the page were

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[19] In the play, the dispute is broken up by the Prince who prohibits further fighting. This authoritarian response can be read in this context as the response of Portuguese authorities both to theatre and to student protest. In *Shakespeare's Body Language*, Miranda Fey Thomas teases out the history and class, national and gender implications of biting one's thumb and suggests that this scene is "almost a burlesque performance of masculinity, teetering between arrogance and timidity" (2020, 29).

unlikely to have been the words the critics wished to deploy. Carlos Porto's long review of the play is clear that the performance deserved attention and wider discussion. He argued that "this performance should be seen, seen again, applauded or booed, discussed" (1973, 98). However, he pointed to its contradiction between "historical" and "psychological" approaches to violence which, in his view, made the performance less successful as popular theatre.[20] While his critical advocacy of a particular form of class-based theatre is understandable in this particular political context, it also meant that the type of complexity TEL attempted to introduce into the discussion of violence by acknowledging a psychological, evolutionary dimension was dismissed as a confusing deviation from class politics. While Porto correctly identified the tendency to universalize and essentialize violence in this particular instance, his rejection of any psychological dimension to violence, including the ways in which such violence might be directed by men against women, illustrates how the downplaying of any personal or gendered understandings of political theatre during this period dismissed a wide array of lived experiences. Porto also suggested that the Brechtian techniques explored in the performance only revealed the actors and actresses' lack of familiarity and expertise with these techniques. What he found most positive, was the performance's sense of an ensemble and its direct appeal to the audience to debate the issues in the play.

Joaquim Benite echoed Porto's comments in his *Diário de Lisboa* review (1969, 7). He stressed the importance of using Piscator's narrative theatre to directly address the audience in a pedagogical way and argued that it was better for a performance potentially to reach a popular audience than to be aesthetically pleasing. He wondered, however, whether the language of the performance was too complex for a popular audience and, correctly in my view, identified the primary audience for the performance as young, countercultural students radicalized by the regime for whom the idea of the young lovers standing against the society created by their parents resonated.[21] Maria Helena Dá Mesquita (1969, unpaginated)

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[20] Porto asserts that "like all stories of absolute love, *Romeo and Juliet* is a story with revolutionary content as it questions irredeemably […] established values" (1973, 100).

[21] Intriguingly, one of the words Benite felt a popular audience would not understand was "empathy."

felt that the performance simplified Shakespeare but that it was important to bring Shakespeare to popular audiences. She mentions the influence of Béjart's *Romeo and Juliet* and the hippie movement on contemporary understandings of the play. Urbano Tavares Rodrigues (1969, unpaginated) called the performance "almost an illustrated lecture" suggesting a rather static, excessively didactic performance. Tavares Rodrigues rejected the idea that this was popular theatre. although he did admit that it had attracted an audience that was "in the know," of radicalized students. He also reminded audiences of the role of Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* in recasting the play for new audiences. None of these critics commented on the links between class, gender and sexuality in the performances.

Publication

The text of *Anatomy* was published in 1973, four years after the performances. In the year before the 1974 Revolution, practitioners were more explicit in their opposition to the regime and a degree of relaxation in censorship enabled the company to publish an unexpurgated version of their original script. Looking back on the 1969 performances in the introduction to the publication, Martins recalled a "genuine, although in certain respects, failed experience." Her assessment took into account criticism of the stage and television performances of the play as well as audience reaction in the theatre. Martins did not understand the play's failure in aesthetic terms or in terms of audience numbers. For her, its failure resulted from having written what could be said at the time under censorship rather than what she wanted to say. In other words, the sense of failure was directly linked to the political conditions in which the play was performed and the limitations it imposed. Self-censorship among theatre practitioners, where a notion of what the censors would allow them to say encouraged practitioners to censor their own work in advance rather than be censored later by the regime, was an important element of Portuguese theatrical practice and suited a regime that preferred such indirect strategies of control to direct censorship. As dos Santos has argued, in such instances "the individual acts in anticipation in the face of the potential action of the censor, incorporating it as a latent threat and imposing the prohibition themselves" (2004, 247). As the quotation suggests, however, acting

"in anticipation" of the censors sometimes meant that theatre practitioners censored their own work more extensively than the censors themselves. Such practices should be understood within the contexts in which practitioners were operating at the time, yet this indirection and caution, for Martins, also meant that audiences were unclear about the message the company intended to convey. She explicitly contrasts such caution on the part of the company with the later experience of their *Lisboa 72* (1972) where their criticism of the regime was more explicit, but which led for this reason to the censors banning the performances. Such invidious "choices" for practitioners, where they either censored their own work and staged a truncated version of a play or ran the risk of the censors banning their performances, which could mean extreme economic hardship and a difficulty in sustaining future theatre work, rendered the Portuguese experience of censorship an intensely psychological as well as economic and political phenomenon.

Prompted by the 2008 financial crisis, recent critical theory has explored the more positive connotations of failure. Jack Halberstam, for instance, in *The Queer Art of Failure* (2011) notes that notions of success are invariably built on heteronormative and capitalist premises and that "if the boom and bust years of the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first have taught us anything, we should at least have a healthy critique of static models of success and failure" (2011, 2). Notions of failure need, therefore, to be contextualized and historicized in particular theatrical and political circumstances. Martins' caution and self-censorship in *Anatomy* and the tension between deconstructing and reaffirming the cultural value of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* can certainly be seen as imposed by the circumstances of the dictatorship and censorship. Indeed, looking back on the performances from the perspective of the present enables an assessment of some of the successes of the performances. While they did not attract a wider popular audience, they did appeal to the highly politicized students and young people who filled the theatre. They drew connections between the personal and the political, between questions of class, gender and sexuality and between theatre and cinema. While they did not entirely fit the formula for popular theatre advocated by opponents of the regime, they did suggest that there might be other ways of conceiving a political theatre that included the experiences, voices and bodies of women.

Conclusion

In a chapter that focuses on performances of *Romeo and Juliet* under the Spanish dictatorship, Elena Bandín concludes that

> an in-depth analysis of some of these productions reveals that "Shakespeare" is not a stable entity and that *Romeo and Juliet* is but a web of collusions, adaptations, appropriations that configure the entity we call "Shakespeare" and that reflect the political, social and cultural forces at work at the time. (2017, 205)

Unlike the plethora of elite and popular adaptations that Bandín analyses, Portuguese engagements with the play, to my knowledge, appear restricted to a mainstream national theatre production and this oppositional independent production. Yet the notion of "Shakespeare" as an unstable and paradoxical signifier and the connection between engagements with the play and political, social and cultural forces apply both to the Spanish and the Portuguese context. Through the recovery of an acknowledged theatrical failure by reading it within the different contexts in which it was produced and received, TEL's *Anatomy of a Love Story* has been reconceived here as a learning experience in epic and narrative theatre techniques. The immediate context of censorship rendered it a failure both in terms of what the regime desired from theatre and what oppositional critics expected from it. Looking back on the performance and its reviews from a contemporary perspective, slightly different assessments of the performance might be advanced. Rather than reading and judging the performance solely in terms of a political theatre for popular audiences, it might be viewed instead as a successful attempt to stage Brechtian theatre without Brecht and to train Portuguese performers in the narrative techniques of Piscator through historicization of the events of the play. The performance's supposed failures—a lack of expertise in such techniques and a tendency to stage an excessively didactic political theatre—were by no means exclusive to TEL during this period.

Despite the consistent invocation of a popular theatre for popular audiences, the primary audience for the work of the company and other companies of the time were the educated students "sacrificed" by a dictatorial regime which forced young men to fight in a colonial war in which few believed and squashed the ambitions of young women who wished to pursue their education. These students were a

privileged audience for a play that reflected their desire to change an existing order which silenced their voices, cracked down violently on their protests and did not even conceive of the possibility of the free expression of sexuality. As such, it is important to look back on the Shakespeare produced during this period of the dictatorship and re-examine the contexts and critical premises that determined its success or failure. That the company themselves seem to have internalized the performance as a failure only illustrates how difficult it was to create oppositional theatre in this period, let alone reconceive such theatre in more intersectional terms to include women and non-normative sexualities.

One wonders what Portuguese post-revolutionary Shakespeares might have been if their more inclusive model of political theatre had gained a greater hold during this crucial period for the post-revolutionary theatre that followed was overwhelmingly male dominated. Moreover, the hybrid form of the play, where a staging of *Romeo and Juliet* was simultaneous with its critical interrogation is more experimental than the more programmatic political theatre of the period, while the different formats in which it appeared—from censored script to performance to televised performance and critical reviews not only expanded its potential audience, but also created an open-ended, dialogical and intermedial form of political theatre that directly included that audience in its interrogation of the play.

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Rayner

English travelers in early modern Cyprus: Piety, commerce and anti-Ottoman sentiment

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ABSTRACT

English travelers in Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus saw the island as the last obligatory stop on their maritime pilgrimage route to the Holy Land. After the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (1571) the island was visited almost exclusively by English merchants on the lookout for the construction of factories on Eastern Mediterranean shores. They were attracted by Cyprus's famed fertility and by the abundance of much-valued products to trade with. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English traders were nevertheless issued with warnings by English travel accounts. These dealt with the danger of over-trusting the paradise-like prospects of the island and remaining there for good, with the subsequent risk of "turning Turk." In order to discourage English travelers and residents from becoming renegades in Cyprus, travel accounts included abundant morbid information on the brutal repression applied by the Great Turk upon Cypriot cities in the Wars of Cyprus and upon other anti-Ottoman Christian insurrections.

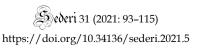KEYWORDS: Travel accounts; Cyprus; Holy Land; English pilgrims; English merchants; Ottoman occupation of Cyprus.

Viajeros ingleses en el Chipre proto-moderno: devoción, comercio y actitudes anti-otomanas

RESUMEN: Los viajeros ingleses a Chipre de los periodos Lusignan y veneciano consideraron la isla como la última parada obligatoria de la ruta marítima hacia Tierra Santa. Tras la conquista otomana de Chipre (1571) la isla era casi exclusivamente visitada por los mercaderes ingleses que pretendían fundar factorías en las costas del Mediterráneo oriental. Les atraía la célebre fertilidad de Chipre así como la abundancia de productos muy apreciados para el comercio. En los siglos

Viajantes ingleses no Chipre da era protomoderna: Devoção, comércio e atitudes anti-otomanas*

RESUMO: Os viajantes ingleses no Chipre do período Lusignan e veneziano viram a ilha como a última paragem obrigatória na sua rota de peregrinação marítima até à Terra Santa. Após a conquista otomana do Chipre (1571), a ilha era visitada quase exclusivamente por mercadores ingleses que pretendiam fundar feitorias nas costas do Mediterrâneo Oriental. Iam atraídos pela reconhecida fertilidade do Chipre e pela abundância de produtos comercialmente muito valiosos. Nos sécu-

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XVI y XVII los comerciantes ingleses recibieron avisos de cautela en los relatos de viajeros ingleses que insistían en el peligro de confiar demasiado en la imagen de la isla como paraíso y de quedarse a residir en ella con el consiguiente riesgo de "convertirse en turco." Con el fin de desanimar a los viajeros y residentes ingleses de convertirse en renegados en Chipre, los relatos de viajes incluían abundante información morbosa sobre la brutal represión aplicada por el Gran Turco en las ciudades chipriotas en las Guerras de Chipre y en las insurrecciones anti-otomanas de la población cristiana.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Relatos de viajeros; Chipre; Tierra Santa; Peregrinos ingleses; Mercaderes ingleses; Ocupación otomana de Chipre.

los XVI e XVII, os comerciantes ingleses recebiam advertências em relatos ingleses de viagens, que insistiam no perigo de se confiar demasiado na representação da ilha como sendo paradisíaca e de se ficar a residir nela, com o risco subsequente de se "virar turco." Para desencorajar os viajantes e residentes ingleses de se tornarem renegados no Chipre, os relatos de viagens incluíam informação mórbida abundante sobre a repressão brutal aplicada pelo Grande Turco às cidades cipriotas nas Guerras do Chipre e noutras insurreições cristãs anti-otomanas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Relatos de viagem; Chipre; Terra Santa; Peregrinos ingleses; Mercadores ingleses; Ocupação otomana do Chipre

Pilgrims were among the first travelers who showed their disposition to write and read travel accounts about their spiritual and adventurous journeys to the Holy Land, the core of Christendom, a literary tradition that dates back to the Middle Ages. Relatively abundant scholarly attention has covered the English experience of traveling to the Holy Land as a pilgrimage destination in medieval times. Yet, there has been even more research done on English travel accounts written and/or published throughout the early modern period. Most recent research has included critical analyses of the literary production of the time and how it evolved as the years passed (Snoek 1995; Kamps and Singh 2001; Suranyi 2002; Aune 2005; Stanivukovic 2007; Kuehn and Smethurst 2009; Bent 2010; Groves 2012; Harvey 2012; Carey and Jowitt 2012).

Most of the aforementioned scholars seem to coincide in the belief that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries European and English travel writing had not yet established its genre boundaries, and they find that first-hand autobiographical travel narratives blended easily with earlier travel writings, hearsay, legends and folklore, personal letters, (more often than not erroneous) geographical data and brief notes on natural history, ethnography, etc., and a generous portion of the writer's imagination. The early modern readership of this emerging genre widened and included playwrights in need of foreign

settings and contexts for their plays, historians, geographers, potential travelers among whom pilgrims, diplomats and merchants especially, abound.

To further exacerbate these imprecise boundaries of the genre, as far as travel in the Mediterranean was concerned, its two main cultural and religious axes—the Christian and the Muslim cultures—did not mingle comfortably either, especially after the Venetian-Turkish crisis (1566–1573) or the year 1570–1571, when Cyprus was invaded by the Ottomans and the leaders of Christendom opposed their initial attempt at their expansion in Europe at the battle of Lepanto. Whereas the European/Christian nations shared their anxiety and fear for the rising power of the Ottoman Empire, Muslims on the whole did not care to show any special interest in the Christian civilization.

Not many Englishmen and women frequented the routes of the Holy Land as a pilgrimage destination in comparison with other nations. This is perhaps due to the distance between England and the most eastern lands of the Mediterranean and because of the numerous holy sites existing in the British Isles and nearby lands.[1] Other nationalities—French, Italian and central European pilgrims—proved keener to go to the very confines of the Mediterranean than the English or have at least left more abundant written records of their voyages which were either in the form of pilgrimages or embarked on for trading purposes (Cobham 1986). Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English travel narrations to the Holy Land concentrated on descriptions of the holy sites of Jerusalem and on the many spiritual implications of a pilgrimage to the "centre of the universe." English-Ottoman political and commercial relations were relatively fluid during the reign of the excommunicated Elizabeth I, as she actually searched for a military alliance with the Ottoman Empire against their common enemies, Spain and Catholicism (Matar 2000; McLean and Matar 2011; Brotton 2016). Nevertheless, despite Henry VIII's

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[1] Chaucer mentions pilgrimages beyond Britain: to Rome, Cologne, Santiago, Bologna and Jerusalem in his presentation of the Wife of Bath ("General Prologue," 465–466). Langland refers to the shrine of Our Lady in Walsingham, Norfolk in *Piers Plowman* ("Prologue," 53–54, 56), but ignores Canterbury. Other popular medieval pilgrimage destinations in the British Isles not mentioned by Chaucer nor Langland were Evesham (Worcestershire, for the Virgin Mary) and Lough Derg, Co. Donegal (Ireland), where St Patrick was believed to have entered Purgatory (Walsham 2010, 178).

abolition of pilgrimages in his Second Injunction in 1538, English travel to the holy places continued, albeit with a different level of intensity, frame of mind and theological scope (Groves 2012, 681). Indeed, the Reformation did not manage to eradicate the sacred character of the journey to Palestine. Protestant thought cast a new light on "pilgrimages": the former medieval perception of the Holy Land sites as sanctified places gradually disappeared and moved toward a more secular view of holy destinations (Groves 2012, 682). Early Modern English travelers poured into their Holy Land narratives a certain feeling of hostility to the uncritical (Catholic) acceptance that a physical site or a visible object (i.e., relics such as crosses, paternoster beads, rosaries, girdles, etc.) could have inherent saintly characteristics (Snoek 1995, 11–12). But Protestant theology did not altogether disregard the idea of pilgrimage as a relevant act of piety for a Protestant. The new idea of "disenchantment of the world" brought about by the Reformation implied the need to discredit the old "Catholic" pilgrimage destinations and search for new Protestant sites of pilgrimage. This new piety grew in the belief that some places were holier than others. Nevertheless, as stated before, although Protestant pilgrimages to former popular holy sites diminished throughout the Early Modern period, they did not stop completely. They continued to be realized for Christian spiritual nourishment, to fulfil curiosity about seeing the outside world, and with time, also for trading interests. Indeed, the Holy Land retained much of its traditional star role as a pious destination among English travelers, even after 1538. The production of travel accounts following an author's experience of a journey to the Holy Land was the response to the Protestant need to store this feast of piety in their memory and to share it with their community. Their accounts either allowed readers to participate in the traveler's spiritual discovery or in his criticism of old Papist practices and perceptions and contributed considerably to the creation of a national identity, the reaffirmation of their Protestantism (Suranyi 2002) and the growth of a proto-imperial mentality (Kuehn and Smethurst 2009).

The clergyman, commercial advisor and political propagandist Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*[2] overtly promoted English colonial

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[2] All quotations to Hakluyt are from Edmund Goldsmid's edition (Hakluyt 1885–1890).

and commercial expansion in the known world (including the Eastern Mediterranean lands) in an ideological context of mercantile, political and religious rivalry (and often open military confrontation) with Spain-Portugal, and to a lesser extent France and the Netherlands. In his *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt collected and gave visibility to England's navigational feats in a discourse of almost undisguised exaltation of her rising commercial entrepreneurship, her growing worldwide leadership in the expansion of Protestantism and her political construction as a rising military and economic power (Carey and Jowitt, 2012). Indeed, Hakluyt played a major role in the change of mentality of the strictly English pilgrim-traveler of medieval tradition compared to the new English merchant-traveler.

Cyprus was an obligatory last stop in the Mediterranean maritime route before reaching the final endpoint of the Holy Land pilgrimage. It is my intention here to put Cyprus on the scholarly map of research done on the literary English travel routes in the Early Modern period. This article aims to explain how the island became a pilgrim destination of secondary importance in the minds of English travelers and how it gradually lost its religious role—though not completely—and acquired the status of a commercial hub for English traders in search of new markets. Parallel to this secularization of the previously dominant religious perception of any English journey to Cyprus in the accounts studied, one perceives a rise in anti-Ottoman sentiment, especially after 1571. The end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century witnessed the almost complete conversion of the English pilgrim figure into the English merchant figure as far as travelers in Ottoman Cyprus were concerned. However, at the same time, the intrepid English traders on the lookout for the founding and the exploitation of commercial factories in the Levant, being also avid readers of travel accounts in the Mediterranean, were provided with constant written warnings about the lack of safety for Christians in Cyprus. In these travel accounts the Turkish invaders of Cyprus were often characterized as practitioners of brutal repressions which they employed with gusto in their recently conquered island, as I will presently endeavor to demonstrate.

During the three centuries of Lusignan rule (1192–1489), the French royal house born in the crusades, the number of French, German and Italian travelers in Cyprus who left written accounts of their travels, mostly men of the cloth on route to Jerusalem and other

nearby holy sites, exceeded any other Christian travelers (Cobham 1986, 13–20) The English on the whole refrained from traveling in the Mediterranean.[3] For England's ships, any venture in the area in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a perilous journey, especially in waters almost monopolized at the time by the Castilian, Aragonese, Venetian and Ottoman navies, Christian and Muslim privateers and Barbary corsairs, as well as Dunkirkers (or Dunkirk Privateers) patrolling the English Channel at the service of the Spanish Monarchy. Around the eastern half of the Mediterranean there were Muslim (Turkish) and Christian (French, Maltese, Catalan and Florentine) pirates in abundance who attacked each other's vessels in a wider context of holy war between the Cross and the Crescent. Turkish pirates also attacked the ports of Crete and of Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus as these were the sole Latin territories remaining in the eastern Mediterranean (Coureas and Orphanides 2007, 123–126; Bekkaoui 2018, 189–190).

A fifteenth-century English traveler who left a brief written record of a visit to Cyprus in the last decades of the Lusignan rule is William Wey (1407?–1476). In his travel account, written in Latin, he provided useful tips for the use of potential pilgrims in the area. In *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College. To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456*,[4] Wey, an experienced pilgrim, claimed to have stopped at Paphos in July 1458. He did not seem to have gone any further inland, despite including descriptions of other Cypriot towns. His descriptions are made up of factual and objective information, devoid of any personal impressions, as if his account had been meant to serve as a pilgrim's guidebook to the major sites in the Holy Land: he explained the local currency and its equivalence in Venetian currency (Wey 1857, 9); he informed about Paphos as the place of St Paul's imprisonment (95); he described St

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[3] In the mid-thirteenth century, a rare example of an English pilgrim, a Benedictine monk from St Albans Abbey and a historian, Matthew Paris (ca. 1200–1259), passed by Lusignan Cyprus. He wrote the illustrated manuscript *Chronica Majora* in Latin after his journey to Eastern lands between 1250 and 1259. Only meagre and ambiguous references to Cyprus can be found in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (ca. 1356), a (probably imaginary) journey made circa 1322 by the fourteenth-century traveler Sir John Mandeville/Maundeville, of dubious origin himself (despite claiming that he was born in St. Albans, England). For the popularity of Mandeville's work in the early modern period, see Bennet 1954 and Seymour 1993.

[4] References to Wey's text here follow the Roxburghe Club edition (Wey 1857).

Katerina's burial place in Famagosta [Famagusta],[5] where, he added, according to tradition, she had been born and had also learnt to read (95).[6] He also told of the relationship of its principal city, Nicosia, with an English Knight known as Lord Mountford, who had died and was buried two centuries before and was revered as a saint in Wey's time (95).[7]

> Also in the city of Nicocea [Nicosia], which is one of the chief cities of Cyprus, there lies the whole body of the lord Mountford, once an English Knight, in the abbey of the Order of S. Benedict, and there he is revered as a saint, and two hundred years and a little more have passed since he was buried there. (Wey 1857, 95)

Wey was in fact alluding to St John of Montfort (or Marshal Frey Jean of Montfort), an ex-Knight Templar, Count of Ruchan (Jeffery 1918; Tyerman 1985; Valente 1995), who spent a time of meditation in Paphos and from whose tomb drops of sweet manna flowed continuously (Jeffery 1918, 40). Wey also wrote Nicosia was the burial place of other Cypriot saints such as Abbot Hilarion and St Mamas (1857, 95). Of St Mamas's tomb he affirmed it exuded oil (95). Wey's interest in Cyprus was restricted almost exclusively to its relevance as a producer of saints and their respective holy burial places and its strategic suitability as a final stop for those religiously-minded travelers on their way to Jerusalem.

Naturally, most visitors in Cyprus during the Venetian rule (1489–1570) and in the decades prior to this were of Italian origin (Cobham 1986, 3–53). John Locke (or Lok), of unknown dates of birth and death, seemed to be the sole English traveler who left a narration of his

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[5] St Catherine (of Alexandria) (ca.290–ca.312) was a Roman virgin and martyr born in Egypt who was very fervently venerated by French crusaders in the Holy Land and by the Greek Orthodox Church from the tenth century onward. Wey's interest in her tomb may be attributed to the popular and widespread veneration in England due to the influence of twelfth-century Anglo-Norman Clémence de Barking's *Life of St. Catherine*.

[6] Despite what medieval English travelers believed, St Catherine had apparently neither been born nor buried in Cyprus. According to tradition, her tomb was found at the foot of Mount Sinai (Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 1996; Foster, 2005).

[7] Other medieval travelers (such as Felix Faber and Fra Stephano Lusignano) spoke of this knight as a German nobleman. Jeffery (1918, 40–41) narrated his life (he died either in 1177 or 1200 or 1248) and his relationship with the Abbey Church of Beaulieu, Nicosia, where he was interred. He was venerated by the Cypriots up to 1571, when his chapel was destroyed by the Turks. The Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus celebrates the saint's name day on 25th of May.

journey through Venetian Cyprus. His account about the island, visited as part of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1553, was published as "The Voyage of M. Iohn Locke to Jerusalem" in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (Locke 1889, V: 76–104). Locke arrived at the coastal town of Limisso [Limassol] in August 1553. Of this town he mentioned its fortress, then in decay, and its ruined walls, destroyed some ten or twelve years earlier by the Turkish navy (1538). His 1553 journey to Jerusalem coincided with the establishment of English diplomatic and commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire thanks to the merchant and sea-captain Anthony Jenkinson (1529–ca. 1610), who, through Solyman the Great, whom he had met at Aleppo, obtained a safe-conduct or privilege allowing him to carry out his trade in Ottoman ports in very favorable conditions.

On his return to Cyprus from Jerusalem in September of the same year, Locke made a stop at Famagusta, of which he wrote it was "a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest of the Iland" (Locke 1887, V: 163). He insisted specifically on the solid protection granted by its Venetian military forces and watchmen night and day, which was a logical consequence of their being a permanent target for their Ottoman neighbors, and the latter's plans for conquest and piracy. Locke added that, according to some, it was the birthplace of St Katherin (169). He also mentioned the unhealthy conditions of the area due, first, to its nearness to marshy grounds and, second, to the yearly sickness suffered by its population always around October, a localized epidemic which used to produce numerous cases of blindness (169–170). In Famagusta he also visited several holy monasteries (praising the continence and chastity of their friars), one of which kept one of the seven jars which had contained the water Jesus Christ had converted into wine at the Canaan wedding (169). He also mentioned his experience contemplating a piece of the true Holy Cross and another small cross that preserved three drops of Jesus Christ's blood at Monte de la Croce [Stavrouni] (171). He visited Salina (i.e., Larnaca), from where the Venetians greedily took all the salt they needed, he added (167–168), and then Nicosia, described as the residence of the gentility of the island (170). He observed that even though the city was walled, "it [was] not strong neither of walles nor situation" (170). He was surprised to see it had so many gardens. As it is unpaved, he added, it looked more like a "rurall habitation" (171). Interestingly, in the description of the ruined fortress and walls of

Limisso, Locke recalled that the Ottomans had been keeping an eye on the Venetian colony for some time. In fact, the local population had been struggling to fight back during several Turkish raids. He also provided ample information about the Venetians' exploitation of carob, wine, vinegar, cotton wool, pickled songbirds, all laden at Limisso (172), and above all, the Venetians' strictness in running their salt monopoly.[8]

The fact that Locke was from England, a country of recently acquired Protestant faith, explains the constant signs of distrust and reservation he showed in relation to the dubious authenticity of the famed Cypriot relics. The use of expressions and phrases such as "they say"; "which is sayd to be"; "whether it be one of them or no, I know not"; "you must (if you will) beleeue it is so, for see it you cannot"; or "this was told me by my fellow pilgrims, for I saw it not," reveals the English traveler's incredulity regarding the authenticity of the sacred objects he had the opportunity of seeing or hearing about in Cyprus. When describing the island's religious sites, as Locke kept in mind the profile of the pilgrim-figure as his main type of reader, his remarks reveal a certain interest in demythologizing and deconstructing sacred worshipping sites and relics, which is characteristic of a zealous reformist Anglican stand. Locke had left England for the Holy Land around the same time that the Catholic Queen Mary I acceded to the throne, but his narrative account saw the light in Elizabethan England. Locke suggests his support for Reformation and Protestantism in his constant dropping of critical comments about what he must have perceived as superstitious adoration of doubtful relics. The purely religious perception of Cyprus as a biblical place like in olden times was now becoming more and more irrelevant in English travel accounts. As positive religious perceptions of the Holy Land faded, the English writers' animosity and fear of Muslims increased, coinciding with the Turk's attempts to conquer European territories.

The Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1570–1571 coincided with the gradual stagnation of the eastern Mediterranean economy due to the

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[8] "This the Venetians have, and doe maintaine to the use of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Iland are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. And there may be none in all the Iland buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night" (1889, V: 167).

discovery of the Atlantic trade routes in the mid-fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century the previously frequented waters of the Ottoman region had become fairly neglected. Many of Cyprus's profitable crops, mainly sugar, were negatively affected by American trade in the seventeenth century. This was partly offset by cotton plantations which tied in well with a tradition of producing fine textiles (linen, woolens, silks and gold embroidery). However, Cyprus still managed to retain a reasonable amount of English commerce with salt, wine, olive oil, carob and grain, all sold at reasonable prices by the Ottoman traders (Jennings 1992). English travelers, whilst most unwelcome in Spain's monopoly of Atlantic routes to America, had in their favor above any other Christian traders in the Mediterranean the fact that queen Elizabeth I had not taken part in the multi-national Catholic crusade against the advancement of the Turkish armies in Europe that had culminated in Lepanto (1571) and were therefore tolerated in the region and waters. In 1580 Sultan Murad III granted English merchants the right to trade in Ottoman lands which led to the formation of the so-called Levant Company. Soon after, in 1581, a "Turkey Company" was established in London. Indeed, during the 1577–1704 period, only two captivity narratives of Englishmen in the Ottoman Levant were published, a meagre figure in comparison to the twenty-three English captivity accounts in North Africa (Vitkus 2001, 36; Vitkus and Matar 2001, 3). However, the message conveyed by the new wave of playwrights, travelers and chroniclers and mercantile advisors was clear: English merchants should be wary of the unreliable and cruel Great Turk if considering doing business in Ottoman Cyprus. Indeed, all Christian travelers found in their dominions ran the risk of being made slaves, galley rowers, being murdered or, what was worse for the English political and ecclesiastical authorities, being forced or being invited to "turn Turk" after being lured by prospects of social and economic advantages.[9]

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[9] The lure of falling into the apostasy of "turning Turk" was recurrently denounced in English church services, tavern yarns, pamphlets such as Frauncis Billerbege's *Straunge Newes from Constantinople* (1585), Thomas Sanders's "A True Discription and Breefe Discourse" (1587, included in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, I: 192–199) or Edward Webbe's *The Rare and most Wonderfull Things which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome travailes* (1590), and plays such as Kyd's *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda* (attributed, ca. 1593), Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turke* (1612), Massinger's *Renegado* (1630), Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II* (1631), etc. (Burton 2002, 40–48).

Despite these "literary" admonitions and the generalized Christian caution and mistrust towards the Great Turk and the Ottoman/ Saracen piracy, the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century saw the rise and consolidation of the figure of the English trading traveler in eastern Mediterranean lands in the shape of a new generation of English travel narratives. Those travel writers who visited Cyprus and left written accounts of it were John Sanderson (1584–1602), Laurence Aldersey (in 1581 and in 1586), Fynes Moryson (1591–1596), Thomas Dallam (1599), William Lithgow (sometime between 1609 and 1621), George Sandys (from 1610), Thomas Coryat (sometime between 1611 and 1614) and Sir Paul Rycaut (1678).

Two new tendencies began to be perceived in the English travelers' portrayal of Cyprus. On the one hand, some Anglophone accounts about Ottoman Cyprus (such as those by Moryson and Dallam) included information on the presence of European merchants, consuls and commercial agents residing in its main cities, namely Nicosia (the only town on the island that was considered to be large enough) and Larnaca (conveniently situated on the southern coast). Eventually Larnaca ended up becoming the trade hub of the island as well as its main port, as the official and commercial representatives who had previously settled in Nicosia, situated in the uncomfortable geographical center of the island, gradually moved towards this growing coastal town. Larnaca was also allowed to hold the consulate of the Levant Company. Limassol, traditionally a small fishing village on the southern coast, also gained importance as it became the port for wine and wheat and a popular supplier for the ships in the area due to its low prices.

On the other hand, unlike Moryson and Dallam, other English-speaking travelers of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries were interested in presenting Cyprus as a victim of the ambitious Ottoman plans for the dominion of Christian Europe. As far as anti-Ottoman travel accounts during the early seventeenth century were concerned, five English travelers, Sanderson, Aldersey, Sandys, Coryat and Rycaut, and one Scot, Lithgow, took the responsibility of reminding their English readership of the unreliability of the Turks in Cyprus, should anyone venture to enter their dominions.

Among those English travelers who praised Cyprus's fertility and wealth, an ideal place for commerce, were Moryson and Dallam. Their

readership included commercially-minded travelers and potential merchants. Thomas Dallam (ca. 1575–ca. 1630) was a prominent English organ-builder who authored the "Account of an Organ Carryed to the Grand Seignor and Other Curious Matter," a personal diary only published as late as 1893 (Bent 2010, 1–98). Dallam left London in May 1599 accompanied by a group of English merchants, settled for some time in Constantinople, played the organ as often as he was asked to, and on the whole played a relevant role in the Ottoman court, to the English and other foreign ambassadors' dismay, who believed him to be a mere artisan unworthy of his privileged position with the sultan. Dallam reports managing to catch the first ever Christian glimpse of the sultan's harem in his seraglio. The fact that Elizabeth I sent Dallam with a gift of a sixteen-foot-high mechanical organ for the sultan of the Porte Mehmet III at Istanbul[10] in 1599–1600 indicates the amicable relations between the English and the Turkish courts. In the encouragement of her friendship with the Ottoman sultan the English queen was seeking a powerful ally against her traditional enemies, the wealthy Papist Spaniards. Dallam's errand in the Porte was therefore of utmost importance for the establishment of fruitful Anglo-Ottoman political relations, which were not merely of a commercial nature.

Dallam's reference to Cyprus, though only brief and incidental, was not lacking in interest. In mid-June 1599 his ship stopped at Famagusta because its captain had allowed a Greek sailor to disembark with permission to visit his brother. Dallam took the opportunity to describe Cyprus as he saw it, "the moste pleasante of any that hitherto [he] did ever see, […] a verrie fruitful contrie" (2010, 29). Dallam was perfectly conscious of the value of Cyprus as a place for potential commerce with England due to its famed wealth of various precious products. No mention of the island as a place of religious interest was made at this stage by the observant musician, let alone in relation to its brutal past during the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571.

Fynes Moryson (1566–1617?) traveled in Europe and in the Levant between 1591 and 1596. In his *An Itinerary containing his ten yeers travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland,*

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[10] Dallam constantly calls the capital city of the Ottoman Empire Constantinople (2010, 50; 57; 61; 81; 89).

Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland (1617), he described Nicosia and Famagusta as the chief cities of Ottoman Cyprus, though he says nothing of the cruelty that had been allegedly exercised on their local populations in 1570–1571. Moryson also mentioned the convenience of Famagusta as a good haven and its stronger fort and stated that it was consequently preferred over Nicosia by the Pashas, in spite of the latter being a fairer city (1908, 185). He added that Cyprus was taken from the Venetians by the Turks "by force of armes" (186), providing no further details about this. His Eden-like description of the island concentrates mainly on the wealth and excellent quality of its products and its trading potential: the terms "fruitfull/ness," "precious," "inriched," "sweet," "pleasure/pleasant," "rich," "fertile," "blessings," "abounding") are the dominant descriptors employed. It is clear for him that Cyprus deserved a fluent commercial link with England, especially for diamonds, oil, sheep, fruit (pomegranates and oranges), cotton, sugar cane and wine.

However, most of the other English travelers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries opted for a negative image of the Ottomans. The Turks had conquered Cyprus in 1571 through the sieges of two of its main cities, Nicosia and Famagusta, according to the remarkable "true relations" of Venetian eye-witness narrations of these events by Count Nestore Martinengo and Bishop Fra Angelo Calepio. Other equally prejudiced Italian chroniclers such as Paolo Paruta and Uberto Foglietta also narrated similar accounts. Naturally, in their propagandistic tracts and narratives the Italian (mainly Venetian) authors insisted on describing with morbid gusto the brutality of the behaviour of Selim II and Lala Mustapha Pasha's armies in the repression of the Venetian and Cypriot survivors after their surrender (Ruiz Mas 2011 and 2013). Even Samuel Purchas wrote in the 1617 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* that for any information on the Wars of Cyprus he recommended the reading of the "Relation of Nestor Martiningo" (Nesvet 2006, 280), precisely the one where the Ottoman cruelty is described at its worst.

The English historians and chroniclers of the period soon followed suit in depicting the barbarity shown by the Ottoman conquerors in their occupation and repression of Cyprus as described earlier by Italian chroniclers, historians and eyewitnesses. The list of anti-Turkish historical accounts and chronicles/pamphlets published in

English at the time included Richard Knolles's *The General Historie of the Turkes* (1603), a rich account of the Ottoman history and culture to date, displaying both fear and admiration for the Ottomans due to their military prowess, with special reference to the conquest of the island; Ralph Carr's translation of large excerpts of Uberto Foglietta's *De Caussis Magnitudinis Imperii Turcici ac Narratio Belli Cyprii inter Venetos et Turcas Superioribus Annis Gesti* (1594) to write his *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (1600), and Henry Carey Earl of Monmouth's translation of Paolo Paruta's *Historia Vinetiana* (1605) as *The Historie of Venice* (1658), among others (Ruiz Mas 2013). These historical narratives were clearly addressed to the English merchants and sailors with an interest in Mediterranean trade.

Laurence Aldersey (1546–1598) was a sea captain and a merchant of London and the author of "The first voyage or iourney, made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Ierusalem, and Tripolis, &c. in the yeere 1581. Penned and Set Downe by himselfe," published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (Aldersey 1889, IX: 177–187). His first journey to the Levant in 1581 began by land via Holland and Germany. In his travel account Aldersey mixed his religious and his economic interests, although the latter were clearly the dominant ones. In fact, he called his voyage a "journey," not a "pilgrimage," despite traveling to biblical lands. In Venice he boarded a vessel for Cyprus and the Holy Land. His brief description of the Cypriots of the village of Missagh in August 1581 is extremely superficial and full of clichés, but he evidences having taken into consideration the scarce (and mostly irrelevant) information that Mandeville had earlier provided on Cyprus in his *Travels*.[11] Aldersey's second journey to the east (now made by sea all the way through) became "The voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey to the cities of Alexandria and Cayro in Aegypt, Anno 1586," also published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1887, VI: 39–46). Aldersey stopped at various Greek islands and at Cyprus (Missagh). At the Cypriot harbor he acknowledged the pitiful sight of hundreds of galleys in Turkish

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[11] "The people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better. They eat their meat sitting vpon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for their most part be hard stones, but yet some of them haue faire mattreces to lie vpon" (Aldersey 1889, IX: 181).

vessels and lamented their wretched state. This was bad publicity for the Ottomans.

In *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584–1602*,[12] Sanderson (1560–1627?), who was not particularly religious, was nevertheless wary of any "perylous" journey made to Cyprus for commercial reasons and overtly and undisguisedly recommended English merchants not to travel there, despite the acknowledged quality of the island's cotton: "And for the Cyprus woolle, you may buy it of som of the Colchester factors, thoughe you geve the more for it, for avoydinge forder trouble in that place" (Sanderson 1931, 130), he wrote. After leaving the Holy Land's shores, Sanderson was forced to spend several weeks at Larnaka [Larnaca] in February 1597 waiting for his ship to be loaded with salt for Venice. In his account Cyprus is portrayed as a place of potential danger (130).

George Sandys (1577–1644), the son of the Archbishop of York and the author of *Relation of a Iourney begun An. Dom. 1610* (1615),[13] spent some time in the early years of the seventeenth century in the area of the Ottoman Empire and was able to offer one of the most informative accounts on the Muslim world of the century. In his travel account he included a detailed summary of the tragic events of Famagusta and Nicosia as well as information on the miserable fate of the (Cypriot) Grecians who staged an ill-fated insurrection against the Infidels in 1607. Sandys does not make it at all clear that he landed in Cyprus, but he did compile with diligence what was known at the time about the former Venetian colony and he wrote somewhat nostalgically about the glorious past of its main city, "the regall City of Nicosia, circular in forme, and five miles in circumference: not yielding in beauty (before defaced by the Turke) unto the principall cities of Italy" (1621, 220). Although he focused on the brutal Ottoman conquest and occupation suffered by Cyprus's population, he could not (and in fact did not) deny its natural wealth and the much valued products the island boasted. Like other English writers (though slightly less enthusiastically than others), he insisted on the island's richness in oil, long-lasting wine, oranges, pomegranates, sugar cane, Oriental

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[12] I have used Sir William Foster edition (Sanderson 1931).

[13] Sandys's work was reedited several times throughout the seventeenth century (Cobham 1986, 55), proof of the popularity and wide dissemination of its contents in early modern England. I quote from the second edition (Sandys 1621).

cotton, wool, precious stones, "of inferior value," and "some small store of gold and silver" (1621, 208). However, the undeniable fertility of the soil did not stop Sandys from reminding his English readers about the island's excessively hot climate and unhealthy summers, its abundance of serpents and locusts and its serious want of water as well as its tradition of sinfulness. Sandys was especially keen on describing "the beastly lusts of the people [of Cyprus], who, to purchase portions for their daughters, accustomed to prostitute them on the shore unto strangers" (1621, 205).

In *Coryat's Crudities* (1611),[14] the Englishman Thomas Coryat (ca. 1577–1617) criticized the fact that the "noble island" (Cyprus) had been rather unfortunate while in the hands of the "ignoble Venetian conquerors" before they were expelled by the Turks in 1571, not before their putting into practice their reputed cruelty on the besieged and wretched Cypriot cities, especially Famagusta, defended by "that valiant Venetian Gentleman Antonius Bragedinus […] being then flea'd alive" (Coryat 1905, 455).[15]

William Lithgow's popular *A Most Delectable and Trve Discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Affricke*, better known as *The Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations*, was published in numerous editions (1614, 1616, 1623, 1625, 1632, etc.) throughout the early seventeenth century.[16] Lithgow (ca. 1585–ca. 1645), an orthodox Scottish Protestant, was not a conventional pilgrim, despite the title of his book, where the journeys are referred to as peregrinations — perhaps to mock Catholics (Groves 2012, 700); still, he did visit Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela. He seemed to have wished to guarantee himself a place in Heaven as a Protestant martyr as wherever he went, he got involved in religious trouble. In Cyprus he claimed to have been attacked by a gang of Turks and helped by a few passing Greek peasants who acted as Good Samaritans, otherwise he would have perished (Lithgow 1974, 111–112). His anti-Turkish/Muslim sentiment gradually increased during his (alleged)

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[14] [London]: W[illiam] S[tansby], [1611]. References to Coryat's text are to the modern edition (Coryat 1905).

[15] On the 1571 siege and fall of Famagusta and Marc Antonio Bragadino's defense of the city and subsequent death at the hands of the Ottoman conquerors, see Ruiz Mas 2011.

[16] Citations to Lithgow are from Phelps's edition (Lithgow 1974), based on the 1632 text.

stay on the island, which contrasts with the kindness and the hospitality he always found among the local Greek (i.e., Christian) inhabitants (109).

Having arrived in Cyprus some time between 1609 and 1621, Lithgow visited Nicosia (he wrote nothing about it) and Famagusta, whose fortress, together with that of Rhodes, was one of the two "strongest holds in all the empire of the Great Turk" (Lithgow 1974, 109). Despite experiencing continuous thirst for the island's want of water, which he said was Cyprus's greatest imperfection (111), as well as intense heat, he openly regretted the loss of the island to the Turks, "the usurpers of God's Word and the world's greatest enemy," who had treacherously taken advantage of the peace existing with Venice to conquer it (110). Lithgow loudly expressed his wish that a Christian prince should attempt its recovery for Christendom, and did not doubt that this idea would be supported by its local population, so "unspeakable is the calamitie of that poor afflicted Christian people under the terrour of these infidels" (112). The reference to the recent unsuccessful Greek insurrections against their Ottoman rulers seems clear. This hypothetical valiant Christian prince would be guaranteed, he added, "an infinite treasure of worldly commodities" (111), a reference to Cyprus's well-known fame of wealth and fertility. Just as Sandys had done before, Lithgow described Cyprus's abundance of strong-flavored wine, its richness of fruit, "infinite canes of sugar," cotton, oil, honey, precious stones. But more emphasis is given now to its mining potential: gold, iron, excellent copper and asbestos (i.e., "the admirable stone amiante, whereof they make linen cloth that will not burn being cast into the fire") (111).

Lithgow did not only fail to disguise the discontent felt by the downtrodden Christians on the island; he also insisted on describing the cruel fate of all the Greeks who participated in the insurrection in Paphos against the Ottoman rule in 1607. The rebellion was "cut off by the bloody hands of the Turks," whom Lithgow described as "bloody oppressors" (1974, 112). His personal experience with the local Turks who robbed him and beat him does not say much good about his opinion of them, especially if he insisted by contrast on the hospitality and affectionate nature of the local Greeks, i.e., the Christians of Cyprus. He did not forget to remind his English readers of the greatest imperfections of the island: its "scarcity of water, and

too much plenty of scorching heat and fabulous grounds" (109). Cyprus was not presented by Lithgow as an appealing place to live.

Sir Paul Rycaut/Ricaut (1629–1700), a secretary of the English embassy in the Porte and consul of the Levant Company at Smyrna, left an account of his stay in Cyprus in *The Present State of the Greeks and Armenian Churches Anno Christi 1678* (1679), a travel book written at the personal command of King Charles II of England. Rycaut paid almost no attention to the famed fertility of the island: the oppression and violence of the Turks on the Cypriot population is the main subject matter of his book, especially as regards their treatment of the Christian churches and institutions: they had all been reduced to a minimum by the Ottoman administration (Rycaut 1679, 90). According to Rycaut, the local population also suffered the cruelty of the Turks: "after a rebellion they made against the Turk, anno 1580 and 1593, the greatest part of the inhabitants was either killed or exterminated" (91). He described his meeting with a monk of 119 years of age who recalled the taking of Cyprus in 1570–1571 by the Turks when he was about twelve years old. The monk vividly remembered that "the channels of his town ran with blood" (213), and "the cruel soldiers bloodily massacring all persons which met them in their fury" (213) and how "his mother defended him from violence" (213) by giving up her own life for him. It was then that the child decided to dedicate his life to serving God in a monastery (214). Rycaut's Ottoman Cyprus was once again far from appealing to any potential merchant, visitor or resident. Though it was true that Pafo [Paphos] remained a port of good fame and renown, "from whence is yearly shipped off a considerable quantity of cotton, silks and other merchandise" (94), he also added that "by the oppression and hard usage of the Turks and the covetousness of the officers, [the town] is reduced to poverty and want of people" (94).

There was more evidence of English Protestant merchants-pilgrims still traveling to the Holy Sites in the second half of the seventeenth century, but the accounts of their voyages no longer included any information about Cyprus, as they now favored the presumably safer land routes to Palestine. In *Two Travels of Fourteen English Men to Jerusalem in the Year 1669* (1672), its editor, Nathaniel Crouch (ca. 1632–ca. 1725), made a compilation of various journeys to the Holy Land, none of which included Cyprus.

After reviewing the main early modern English travel accounts which included a stop or a visit in Cyprus I have attempted to analyze the different types of travelers who patronized pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Cyprus and the reason(s) why they did so. Initially English travelers in Cyprus showed spiritual/Protestant concerns and later were more concerned with the building of a commercial link with the island. As I have endeavored to prove, initially English travelers in the Lusignan and Venetian periods used the island as a last step in their pilgrimage routes to Jerusalem. After its conquest in 1571, Cyprus became an Ottoman province and was visited mostly by English travelers for commercial purposes, notwithstanding their relative distrust of the Turk. The reputation of wealth and fertility of the island made Cyprus the epitome of a land of plenty with an abundance of much-valued products, ranging from jewels, gems, salt, sugar, wine, cotton, minerals, fruit, etc. Cyprus was therefore praised in the English accounts of the time such as those of Moryson and Dallam for its trading potential for English merchants on the lookout for the construction of factories on Eastern Mediterranean shores. However, commercial interest in Ottoman Cyprus did not stop a number of English travel writers, who, presumably supported by the Monarchy and the Protestant ecclesiastical authorities, warned the English merchants and sailors who frequented the plentiful Cypriot markets of the risks of over-trusting the Eden-like prospects of the island in their anti-Turkish chronicles, accounts and narratives. English residents, merchants and adventurers in Cyprus were believed to be in permanent danger of falling into the temptation of remaining there for good, with the subsequent risk of "turning Turk," a policy that would often have improved the social and economic prospects of many an Englishman of the time within the Ottoman Empire. In order to discourage any potential English traders and indeed any travelers from falling into the trap of converting to Islam in bountiful Cyprus and therefore losing their souls for eternity, English historians, chroniclers and travel writers such as Carr, Purchas, Knolles, Monmouth, Sanderson, Sandys, Lithgow, Coryat and Rycaut included in their accounts abundant information on the brutal repression exercised upon Cypriot cities such as Famagusta and Nicosia by the Great Turk during the Wars of Cyprus, as well as on the violence exercised on the Christians who dared rebel against the Ottoman rule on the island.

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Priestly playwright, secular priest:
William Drury's Latin and English drama[*]

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the literary career of the secular priest William Drury, with an emphasis on his drama. The Latin plays which he wrote for performance at the English College in Douai are among the best-known English Catholic college dramas of the Stuart era; markedly different from the Jesuit drama which dominates the corpus of British Catholic college plays, they suggest conscious dissociation from that imaginative tradition. *Hierarchomachia: or the Anti-Bishop*, a satirical closet drama which intervenes in the controversy surrounding the legitimacy and extent of England's Catholic episcopacy, can also be attributed to Drury. In both his Latin and English drama, Drury draws imaginative stimulus from his ideological opposition to Jesuits and other regulars. Yet his characteristic blend of didacticism and comedy, and his sympathy for the plight of all English Catholics—surely fomented by the death of his Jesuit brother in the notorious "Fatal Vesper"—point to broader priestly concerns.

KEYWORDS: William Drury; Robert Drury; Chalcedon controversy; Catholic college drama; English College; Douai.

Dramaturgo sacro, clérigo secular: el teatro latino e inglés de William Drury[**]

RESUMEN: Este artículo examina la carrera literaria del sacerdote secular William Drury, especialmente sus obras teatrales. Las obras latinas que escribió para su representación en el Colegio inglés de Douai están entre las obras para

Dramaturgo clerical, clérigo secular: O drama latino e inglês de William Drury[***]

RESUMO: Este artigo examina a carreira literária do clérigo secular William Drury, com ênfase no seu drama. As peças latinas que escreveu para serem representadas no Colégio Inglês em Douai estão entre os mais conhecidos dramas escritos

colegios católicos ingleses mejor conocidas de la era Estuardo; marcadamente distintas a los dramas jesuitas que dominaron el corpus de las obras para colegios católicos británicos, sugieren una disociación consciente de esa tradición imaginativa. *Hierarchomachia: or the Anti-Bishop*, un drama de armario satírico que interviene en la controversia en torno a la legitimidad y al alcance del episcopado británico en Inglaterra, también puede ser atribuido a Drury. Tanto en sus obras latinas como en las inglesas, Drury extrae su estímulo imaginativo de su oposición ideológica hacia los Jesuitas y otros habituales. Y sin embargo, su mezcla característica de didacticismo y comedia, y su compasión por la difícil situación de todos los católicos ingleses—seguramente fomentada por la muerte de su hermano jesuita en las famosas "Vísperas fatales"—apuntan a preocupaciones clericales más amplias.

PALABRAS CLAVE: William Drury; Robert Drury; Controversia de Calcedonia; Teatro de colegios católicos; Colegio inglés; Douai.

no contexto dos colégios católicos ingleses da era Stuart; marcadamente diferentes do drama jesuíta que domina o corpus das peças dos colégios católicos britânicos, estas peças de Drury sugerem uma dissociação consciente dessa tradição imaginativa. *Hierarchomachia: or the Anti-Bishop*, um drama satírico para ser lido que intervém na controvérsia em torno da legitimidade e extensão do episcopado católico em Inglaterra, também pode ser atribuído a Drury. No seu drama latino e em inglês, Drury é estimulado imaginativamente pela sua oposição ideológica aos jesuítas e a outros clérigos regulares. No entanto, a sua mistura característica de didatismo e comédia e a sua compaixão pela situação de todos os católicos ingleses—certamente fomentada pela morte do seu irmão jesuíta na notória "Véspera Fatal"—apontam para preocupações clericais mais amplas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: William Drury; Robert Drury; Controvérsia da Calcedónia; Drama dos colégios católicos; Colégio Inglês; Douay.

On 27 June 1623, a formal disputation took place between two Jesuits, John Sweet and John Percy *alias* Fisher, and two members of the established church, Francis White and Daniel Featley.[1] In the course of this, a Catholic gentleman observed that their church in England lacked preachers, leading Fisher to commend the capacities of

> two brothers, *Druries*, Gentlemen borne, […] of whom *William Drury* had composed a tragicke Comedy of *Alared*, or *Alfred* sometime King of *England*, […] As also a pleasant Comedie called *Death and the Divell*, by which a reasonable man might iudge of their pregnancie, and sufficiency to any imployment.

On hearing that the other brother, the Jesuit Robert Drury, "was on Sundayes to supply the place of a Predicant [preacher] at a certaine

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[1] On this debate, see (most recently) Rodda (2014, 175–181), and Wadkins 2004. Its date is given in Featley (1623, A3a).

house in the Blacke Friers," the gentleman in question "promised to be a daily attendant, as one of the auditory" (Anon. 1623, 18–19; partially quoted in Freeman 1966, 293). One hopes he was not present at the so-called "Fatal Vesper," when the roof at this house collapsed and many of the congregation were killed, including Robert Drury himself (Cooper and Bradley 2004).[2] The above account is taken from one of the many pamphlets occasioned by the catastrophe, whose notoriety was enhanced by the date it took place, 26 October 1623: 5 November in the Catholic Gregorian calendar, causing it to be seen as God's vengeance for the Gunpowder Plot (Walsham 1994; Witmore 2001, 10–14, 130–154; Quint 1993, 278–281).

The other brother mentioned by Fisher, the secular priest, dramatist and poet William Drury, is the main subject of this article.[3] This study addresses his drama, focusing on a new addition to the canon of his work: *Hierarchomachia, or the Anti-Bishop*, a manuscript play of uncertain authorship to date, which can now confidently be attributed to him.[4] Together with the Latin dramas Drury published, it confirms his place as an important early seventeenth-century English playwright—albeit one whom most scholars in the area have never read—and a leading commentator on early Stuart Catholicism. *Hierarchomachia* is a satirical closet-drama inspired by contemporary tensions on the English mission between regular clergy—those who, like Jesuits, Benedictines and others, were members of a religious order—and secular clergy, who were not. A secular priest himself, Drury comes down firmly on the side of his own kind.[5] Yet his play sympathetically addresses the difficulties faced by all members of the English Catholic clerisy, and can be seen as paying oblique tribute to the fate of his Jesuit brother. As within his college dramas, mockery never occludes moral and spiritual instruction.

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[2] Another Catholic priest of the same name was martyred earlier in the century (Holmes 2004).

[3] Except where otherwise indicated, biographical information is taken from Cooper and Kennedy 2004; Freeman 1966; Siconolfi 1982; and Tricomi 1993.

[4] Rome, Venerable English College, MS C17. The modern edition (Gossett 1982) is referred to below. See also Wiggins (2012–, 8: #2316), where it is entitled *The Anti-Bishop*.

[5] In his printed oeuvre, Drury is described not as a priest but as an English nobleman (*nobili Anglo*: e.g. on the title-page to the 1641 edition of *Dramatica poemata*—see below, footnote 8), presenting him as secular in more ways than one.

Drury's college drama

The Drury brothers came of a gentry family with other literary connections. Sir Robert Drury, from another branch of the family, commissioned the "Anniversaries" from John Donne to commemorate his daughter Elizabeth, and Robert Southwell, the poet and Catholic martyr, was also a distant relation.[6] William Drury's early education was in London, after which he moved to the English College at St Omer, one of the foundations set up on the Continent after the Reformation to educate England's Catholic youth; the plays mounted by the College may have been an early influence on him (Houliston 1993). He became a seminarian at the Venerable English College, Rome, in 1605 and was ordained to the priesthood in 1610. Thereafter he spent time in England: he was in London in 1612, jailed at some point during that period and released in 1618 thanks to the intervention of Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London. Returning to England in 1621, he was imprisoned one or more times over the period 1632–1635, and seems to have died in or after 1643.

Drury wrote three Latin dramas: *Aluredus, sive Alfredus*, a tragicomedy featuring England's King Alfred; the comedy *Mors* (Death); and the tragicomic *Reparatus Sancti Joannis Evangelistae concreditum* (Reparatus entrusted to St John the Evangelist), printed under the title *Reparatus, sive Depositum* (Reparatus, or the Trust). All were performed between 1618 and 1621 at the English College in Douai, where he was teaching at the time, and at least one was particularly well-received; a repeat performance, requested by the town magistrates, needed to be moved outdoors to accommodate the numbers attending, and the performers were rewarded with a barrel of wine afterwards.[7] Moreover, and very unusually for English Catholic college drama, they were printed. *Aluredus* and *Mors* were first published at Douai in 1620 with a poem, "*De venerabili Eucharistia*," based around the conceit of the Eucharist being

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[6] As well as the biographical sources cited above, see Rowe 2004 and Bald 1959.

[7] See Wiggins (2012–, 7: #1880 [*Mors*], #1909 [*Aluredus*], #1983 [*Reparatus*]); and Dana Sutton's editions of all three plays on the "Philological Museum" website (Drury 2014). They are also briefly discussed in Norland (2013, ch.8). On the response to Drury's most successful play, see Burton and Williams (1911, vol.1, 148 [Latin] and 372 [English translation]). It is described as a *comedia*; the dates suggest it was either the blackly humorous *Mors* (Death) or, conceivably, the tragicomic *Aluredus sive Alfredus*.

celebrated by bees, and again in 1628 under the title *Dramatica poemata*, with the addition of *Reparatus sive Depositum*; in 1641, the latter volume was reprinted in Antwerp.[8] This substantial presence in print helps to explain why, in Drury's home country and among his English contemporaries, he appears to have been the best-known Catholic college dramatist of his era. *Mors* and *Aluredus* were both translated into English in the seventeenth century, suggesting a popularity unparalleled by — for instance — Joseph Simons, the English Catholic college playwright most obviously comparable to Drury in terms of ability and contemporary print dissemination.[9] The copy of the 1620 edition now in Cambridge University Library comes from the bequest of John Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and author of the highly anti-Catholic play *Loiola*, suggesting that Drury's work penetrated beyond Catholic circles — admittedly, Hacket and Drury could have agreed on their dim view of the Jesuit order.[10]

Plays as popular as Drury's would usually figure in standard accounts of Tudor and Stuart theatre. Yet Catholic college drama tends to be ignored altogether by scholars in the field, even though its texts survive in some quantity and performances are relatively well documented. Their Latin works against them, as does the fact that they were performed on the continent. But in Drury's case as in others, this attitude is becoming increasingly untenable. After all, these plays were written by English subjects, often dealt with English topics — as *Aluredus* indicates — and were authored, acted and viewed by individuals whose faith led them to engage passionately with the implications of Englishness. Working towards their greater mainstream visibility makes particular sense in relation to Drury's

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[8] On the plays' publication, see Blundell *et al.* (2018, 45). On "De venerabili Eucharistia," cf. the texts covered in Haskell 2003. Drury's verse would deserve separate study, especially since "The first part of the Recovery of the Holy Crosse," a partial translation of Francesco Bracciolini's epic poem *La croce racquistata* (Worcester College, Oxford: MS 4) can probably also be attributed to him; the titlepage of this manuscript credits "Willyam Drury, gentleman" (cf. footnote 5).

[9] All vernacular quotations from the play are taken from Robert Knightley's translation of *Aluredus* (Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Rawl. poet. 80), edited by Tricomi (Knightley 1993). See also Hall 1918 and Sutton's edition (Drury 2014). To date, Simons's work has only been identified in mainland drama once, heavily adapted (Shell 2016).

[10] L* 13.51 (9): Oates (1986, 404), where *Aluredus* is described, oddly, as the "Jesuitical counterpart" to *Loiola*. See also Hacket 1988. My thanks to Liam Sims for further information.

own plays, since these often have closer generic affinities with professional drama performed on the English mainland than with the Jesuit plays which dominated English Catholic college theatre. These tended to be Latin tragedies dramatizing the exemplary life and glorious death of an early Christian martyr: perhaps in Rome, Byzantium, or England. They made lavish use of song, dance and spectacle, staging both heavenly and diabolic aspects of the supernatural. Relationships between men were foregrounded, such as the father-son bond, brotherhood, friendship and the dynamic between tutor and pupil. Comedy was played down, perhaps restricted to interludes in between the main action, and there would be no women characters apart from the odd personification: all in accordance with the strictures and recommendations in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the handbook which shaped Jesuit educational provision across Europe.[11] Most surviving English plays in this tradition come from the Jesuit-run college at St Omer, where Simons was based (McCabe 1983), and Drury's plays look different from contemporary St Omers productions in several ways: for instance, the presence of women—not, it is true, as love interest, but as relations to male protagonists—and the relatively large amount of space given to farce. Moreover, in an age where English Jesuits sometimes reacted negatively to popular festive tradition, Drury's drama—as discussed below—exploits the nostalgic pro-Catholic attitudes sometimes evident within representations of England's past in the early Stuart professional theatre.[12] Factionalism apart, secular priests might well

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[11] "The subject-matter of the tragedies and comedies, which ought to be only in Latin and extremely rare, should be holy and devotional. And nothing that is not in Latin and proper should be inserted into the action, nor should any female character or clothing be introduced" [*Tragoediarum et comoediarum, quas non nisi Latinas ac rarissimas esse oportet, argumentum sacrum sit ac pium; neque quicquam actibus interponatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum, nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introducatur*] (Pavur 2005, 35; translating the 1599 version of the *Ratio*). Despite this, female characters were not unusual in Jesuit drama (e.g. Stefonio 1655); the English College at St Omer, whose productions—as commented above—dominate the surviving corpus from British institutions, may have been unusual in its relatively strict adherence to the prohibition. On the Jesuit preference for didactic comedy, see Winniczuk 1968.

[12] For instance, Jesuit prisoners at Wisbech Castle disapproved strongly of Christmas celebrations involving a hobby-horse and Morris dancers (McCoog 2017, 10). However, both Jesuit and non-Jesuit college dramatic traditions were sometimes indebted to English professional theatre (Cottegnies 2017 and 2019). Wiggins suggests several definite or possible vernacular dramatic influences on Drury (see footnote 7).

have found it easier than Jesuits to draw on creative energies of this kind because they had less of a dramatic house style—yet it would be no surprise if the author of *Hierarchomachia* should, earlier in his career, have availed himself of freedoms which Jesuit dramatists did not automatically have.

English history is addressed within both Jesuit and non-Jesuit college drama, though the English College at Douai had a particular penchant for old English plots—for instance, during Drury's time there, Thomas Carleton's play *Fatum Vortigerni* dramatized the life of Vortigern, the fifth-century English ruler who invited the Saxons to Britain to fight against the Picts and Scots, but then allowed them to take over.[13] Drury's play deals with the events of the year 878, after Alfred and his army had been defeated by Danish forces; Alfred goes into hiding on the island of Athelney in Somerset, then musters his forces again and wins the Battle of Eddington. This leads to a pact between Alfred and Guthrum, the leader of the Danes, whereby England is divided between them and Guthrum, converting to Christianity, is baptized with the name Athelstan.[14] At the beginning of the play, Athelrede—one of Alfred's retinue—laments: "Wee have bin Britans; but that name must be | eraz'd, and Cuntry too, by th' cruell Danes, | A Cuntry styl'd yᵉ Nursery of Saints" (I.i, 10–12).[15] Another courtier, Humfrey, echoes the sentiment: "O England! | Not to be found in thy selfe, whose sorrows | Are preludes of joy to th'insulting foe" (I.ii, 8–10).[16] These sentiments go past the literal truth of what is being represented on stage—Alfred and his nobles may be dispossessed, but they are still on English soil. By the same token,

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[13] For this, and Carleton's lost play *Emma*, see Wiggins (2012–, 7: #1906 [*Fatum Vortigerni*]; #1951 [*Emma*]). Joseph Simons's *Mercia* (Wiggins 2012–, 8: #2083), which plays up themes of martyrdom, is an example of a Jesuit play on ancient Britain. On the sources of *Aluredus*, see Blundell *et al.* (2018, 44–47). On recusant interest in the Saxons, see Hamilton 1999.

[14] Hall (1918, 22–26), suggests that the play's focus on peaceful conversion may have anti-Jesuit overtones: an idea which would be worth exploring further in the context of *Hierarchomachia*.

[15] "*Fuimus Britanni. Nomen & gentem simul | Delere Danus properat. Occidimus: truci | Gemit icta clade terra Sanctorum Parens.*" Transcription taken from Drury (1641, 3), the edition probably used by Knightley (1993, 23).

[16] "*ô Britannia | Vix tibi superstes! ense cui saevo furens | Insultat hostis, clade praeludens tuâ*" (I.ii, 64–66); "*sense*" in 1641 mis-renders an exclamation mark followed by "*ense*" (1620, 1628).

though, it points to parallels between Alfred's court and exiled English Catholics and foregrounds the idea that Alfred has been outlawed for his faith—a deliberate simplification of the actual historical situation, but very pertinent to Drury's audience.

English saints figure prominently in Drury's play. Neothus—St Neot—performs miraculous healings, while in the prologue, St Cuthbert presents himself as responding to Alfred's pious prayers for England's succor:

> Piety's no Captiue to the Orbs above
> But oft unto afflicted lands doth moue.
> This makes me to forsake the glorious skyes
> To visit my poore Cuntry wch exhausted lyes
> A prey to Mars, where the inhuman Dane
> With sacrilegîous Crueltys doth staine
> Our holy Alters; but Im come to bring
> Help to th'afflicted, mindfull of that King
> Of my deare England, who zealously intent
> so oft his prayres unto my eares hath sent […]
> I goe; strait to return an Actor here.   (Prologue, 7–16, 30) [17]

Saints, if appropriately petitioned, can intervene on earth, and Cuthbert's parting words herald his participation in the plot. He also speaks the epilogue, addressing England's hapless present state and channeling the militant spirit of so much Catholic college drama:

> Lo! by bloodshed Alfred won the laurel wreath for you [O England!] from the enemy of the faith, whom you now suffer to triumph anew. […] O devoted band of youth, hope of an island in the midst of shipwreck, you who are like to a spark of the faith cast from a great fire, from which the fatherland will shine with a brighter flame, take up the arms of piety […] conquer by enduring.[18]

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[17] "*nescit in caelo tamen | Pietas teneri, qui in afflictas ruat | Miserata gentes redditâ in terras viâ. | Hinc luminosi templa deserui aetheris, | Patriaeque repeto Marte turbatas domos; | Ubi Danus hostis volitat, atque omni furens | Crudelitatis genere funestat pias | Sacrilegus Aras; ferre sed miseris opem | Descendo rebus, Angliae carae memor, | Et Regis ad me prece recurrentis piâ | […] do locum, in scenam brevi | Rediturus actor*" (1–2). In 1641, "*aereris*" is a mistake for "*aetheris*" (1620, 1628).

[18] "*Alvredus ecce sanguine paravit tibi | Ab hoste fidei lauream hunc pateris novos | De te triumphos ferre. […] Turba vos iuvenum pia, | Spes naufragantis insulae, & fidei velut | Scintilla magnis eruta ex incendiis, | Ardebit unde patria meliori face, | Pietatis arma sume; […] | Patiendo vince*" (18–20, 24–28, 31; line numbers taken from the transcription of 1641 in Knightley 1993, 155).

Suggestively, in Robert Knightley's otherwise very complete English translation of the play, the appeal to youthful Catholics is left out, meaning that the epilogue ends in a more downbeat spirit: "But England's now a Stepmother, alas, | which once of Saints a fertile Parent was" (17–18).[19] Knightley was writing in 1659, a year before the Restoration, and transposing Drury's play onto the Royalist plight— not the only time that Catholic writing got a new lease of life that way.[20]

In different ways, both Drury and his translator are channeling pro-Catholic nostalgia: a mood which, earlier in the century, was surprisingly prevalent in the London professional theatre. Drury might well have seen plays of this kind during his time in London, despite the fact that he was so often in jail; imprisoned Catholic priests frequently did visit the theatre in early seventeenth-century London (Semper 1952; Siconolfi 1982, 18–19).[21] One such drama, William Rowley's *A Shoemaker a Gentleman*, was put on at the Red Bull Theatre around 1618, the year that Drury was released from jail (Wiggins 2012–, 7: #1868). This play features the outlawed Alfred in sanctified company: his sons, who avoid persecution by becoming apprenticed to a shoemaker and adopting the names of Crispin and Crispianus, later patron saints of the craft; the protomartyrs of England, St Alban and St Amphibalus; and Winifred, a saint of the Welsh borders (Chapman 2001). The play, not surprisingly, stops short of fully endorsing the holy well associated with St Winifred, reputedly miraculous and a notorious rallying-ground for recusants (Walsham 2014, ch.7). Yet contemporary analogues for religious persecution are hinted at: for instance, when Crispin and Crispianus's master comments that "we must drink strong drinke, as we shew our Religion, privately. 'Tis dangerous to be good Christians now a daies" (Rowley 1638, B4b). Plays like this have common ground with *Aluredus*, and Drury is likely to have found them inspirational.

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[19] "*Noverca facta, quae prius fueras parens*" (17: Knightley 1993, 155). In a sermon preached in the Venerable English College, Rome, in 1583, Robert Bennett compared England to a stepmother: see Underwood (2021, 4–26). My thanks to Dr Underwood for this reference.

[20] See Potter (1989, 106–107), written before the identification of R.K. as Knightley. On Knightley's Catholic and royalist connections, see Tricomi (1993, 17–22).

[21] For the various London prisons in which Drury was held, see Anstruther (1975, 88–89).

All the same, he had a very different agenda from writers for London's professional theatre. *A Shoemaker a Gentleman* exploits pro-Catholic sympathies in a pragmatic, discreet way which maximizes possible audience appeal; Drury, by contrast, could be surer of his audience and had an educational task to fulfil. As the above-quoted epilogue demonstrates, his dramatization of England's past history is not just an imaginative return to the good old days or an acknowledgement of current difficulties, but a reproach to the heretical present and a call to future action. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Alfred's conversion to a more upright way of life is central to the drama. At the start of the play, he is presented as the rightful monarch and personally sympathetic, but also as flawed enough to incur St Neot's reproaches: "You esteeme yʳ selfe then | Miserable when you suffer Evells. | I thought you had bin miserable when | you had committed them" (IV.ii, 73–76).[22] After St Neot's remonstration, Alfred behaves with conspicuous virtue in the succeeding episode when St Cuthbert, disguised as a mendicant, begs bread at a time when Alfred and his family are nearly starving, and Alfred shares their last loaf with him. Their landlord goes out to catch some fish instead, whereupon Cuthbert appears to Alfred in a dream, prophesying victory and predicting that, as a sign, the landlord will return laden with fish. This duly happens, conflating references to two Gospel miracles: the loaves and fishes in Christ's feeding of the five thousand, and the fish glut which Christ arranges for his disciples.[23] Thus, Alfred's contrition followed by his charity legitimizes the happy ending.

Aluredus is comic in both senses, since slapstick content is typical of Drury, and would surely have gone down well with his young actors. For instance, the pretensions of Bragadochia, a *miles gloriosus* (boastful soldier) straight out of Plautus, are cut down to size at various points: he is ridden like a horse by two boys and beaten up by Crabula, an old woman.[24] These farcical scenes recall Drury's other

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[22] "*Tunc esse miserum te putas, quando mala | Iam pateris: ego te, quando fecisti mala, | Miserum putavi*" (IV.2, 54). Sutton queries whether Alfred's faults are stressed enough for this plot development to be convincing (introduction).

[23] Narrated in (e.g.) Matthew 15:29–38; Luke 5:1–10.

[24] The name may recall Braggadocchio in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Bayley 1990, 286–287). On the stock character of the *miles gloriosus* at this period, see Miola (2019, 321–322). The type could figure in Jesuit drama too (Winniczuk 1968, 305–306).

early Douai play, *Mors* (Herbrüggen 1991). In this comic rewriting of the Dr Faustus story, the protagonist Scombrio bargains with Death to ensure his father Chrysocancrio's speedy demise, so that he can inherit his hoarded wealth. Death lays claim to him, and Scombrio agrees on condition that he must pray before his death, while secretly resolving never to pray again. The twist is that Scombrio's miserly father has pledged his son's soul to the Devil in return for greater wealth. The play harks back to diabolic antics on the London professional stage: for instance, the scene in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* where Faustus and Mephistophilis disrupt a gathering of Catholic clerics, who then try to exorcise them.[25] But in sharp contrast to Marlowe's play, Catholicism keeps creeping into Drury's: for instance, the Devil in *Mors* is clearly Protestant, since he denies the existence of purgatory and upholds the notion that one can only be saved by faith (Siconolfi 1982, 158–159, 177–178 [faith and good works], 198 [purgatory]). But, that said, Drury sometimes takes the opportunity for a sly jibe at the excesses of his own denomination, as in the exchange when Chrysocancrio is enquiring into the devotional habits of one of his servants, Crancus: "CHR: What praier thou? | CR: I lift my heart to thee. | CHR: To th' Crosse | Or th' Jibbett[?] | CR: your gould & silver Crosses I doe meane" (Act 2.4, pp.145–156).[26] Elaborate and valuable crosses are associated with Catholicism, but the implication is that Crancus is less interested in their devotional significance than their monetary value—rather like his master. In this respect as in others, Drury's instructional remit is never far away.

Mors is something of a hybrid: comparable to, and borrowing from, contemporary devil-plays in the English mainstream; reaching back to late medieval drama in its debt to the morality play; and drawing as well on the Roman New Comedy of Plautus and Terence, like so

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[25] For a plot-summary of Marlowe's play, see Wiggins (2012–, 2: #810). Other devil-plays of the period include Thomas Dekker, *If This Be Not a Good Play the Devil Is in It* (Wiggins 2012–, 6: #1641); Dekker (?), *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (Wiggins 2012–, 5: #1392), and Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (Wiggins 2012–, 6: #1810). Herbrüggen (1991, 652) footnotes a suggestion from Clarence H. Miller (presumably orally transmitted) that Drury's play bears similarities to Jonson's. See also Siconolfi (1982, 70–75), and Cox 2000.

[26] "CH. *Et tu?* | CRA. *Ad te levavi.* CH. *Nempe ad patibulum.* | CR[A]. *Immo ad tuas cruces aureas, & argenteas.*" The vernacular translation is Robert Squire's (Newberry Library, Chicago, Case MS 5A/7), as edited in Siconolfi 1982. It is not clear whether Squire used the 1620 or 1628 edition of *Mors* (Siconolfi 1982, 85); the Latin quotation above is from the latter, at 106.

many humanist educational productions (Miola 1994 and 2019; Ford and Taylor 2013). Counter-Reformation concerns are more implicit—yet, in a community where martyrdom threatened so many alumni, writing a comedy about death had a particular insouciance. Michael Siconolfi has complained that the characters seem to over-react when, as often, they are told to "go hang yourself": "it soon becomes as tiresome as puns about horns and cuckolds in other plays of the period" (1982, 94). Yet, at Douai, this would have recalled how many Catholic martyrs went to their death with a smile and a joke: at the scaffold steps, Sir Thomas More quipped to the Lieutenant at the Tower of London, "I pray you […] see me safe up and, for my coming down, let me shift for myself" (Roper 1962, 254). In 1726, several decades after England's last Catholic martyrs had been executed, this juxtaposition was recalled at the Jesuit College in Ypres, when Drury's play was split up into a series of comic interludes punctuating a tragedy about the seven Maccabean brothers: young men put to death for their involvement in a revolt against the banning of Jewish religious practices (Proot 2013). This repurposing seems appropriate for a playwright who, from the tragicomic *Alfredus* to the dark comedy of *Mors*, was happiest when straddling generic boundaries.

Drury's third play for the English College at Douai, *Reparatus sive Depositum*, lacks its second part (Wiggins 2012–, 7: #1983), but what survives is in the same vein. Reparatus, the protagonist, is a *protégé* of St John the Evangelist who has gone to the bad and joined a band of robbers, equated to heretics, Protestants and antinomians. The theme of good and bad mentoring, common in Catholic college drama, is explored with considerable emotional complexity as Reparatus undergoes a number of existential crises, leaning towards good and evil in turn. But in this context his name reassures: the past participle of the Latin *reparo*, it means "renewed," "restored," or "repaired."[27] Drury likes mixing different planes in his cast-lists: in *Mors*, Death and the devil mix with humans; in *Aluredus*, saints and mortals walk together upon English earth; while in *Reparatus*, realistic and allegorical characterisation are blended. At one point, for instance, an allegorical representation of Heresy poses as the robber-heretic Cacus, whose name is Latin for "rascal" and may pun on *cacare*, the Latin for

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[27] The fourth-century bishop and martyr St Reparatus appears not to be a point of reference.

"to defecate."[28] Cacus's indecorous behavior extends to a stint in women's clothing after a fugitive steals his normal attire: his declaration that he inverts himself (*verto*) in so doing draws audacious attention to cross-dressing, more evidence of how Drury deployed plot-devices familiar from mainstream Tudor and Stuart theatre (Drury 1641, Act 2.3, 191). Indeed, *Reparatus* features not just women's clothing but women's roles, some of which trigger interesting plot gambits. The politician Polypus, worried that people will think he is of the same religion as his Christian wife Sophronia, considers banishing her and sending his sons to be instructed by someone else,[29] while Reparatus's mother Beatrix has a big scene where she and the Bishop of Sardis lament their respective shortcomings towards Reparatus.

Drury's authorship of *Hierarchomachia*

Such a prominent deployment of women characters is unusual in English Catholic college drama: numerically dominated by Jesuit authors, who—as commented above—seldom included female roles, and hardly dealt with gender issues either. In exploiting this relative freedom, Drury is probably making a partisan statement. He was, after all, a secular priest writing plays for the English College at Douai, which cut educational ties with Jesuits during his time at the institution—and though his brother was a Jesuit, siblings do not always agree.[30] Moreover, the closet drama *Hierarchomachia: Or the Anti-Bishop*—which, as the rest of this article will outline, can be securely attributed to Drury—comes down firmly on the side of secular priests. A satirical *roman-à-clef*, *Hierarchomachia* musters several comic types from the ranks of Stuart Catholicism—mostly real individuals with lightly anagrammatized names—and comments on

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[28] If so, this would recall the notoriously scatological Luther: Oberman 1988. On cratylic naming, see the discussion of *Hierarchomachia* below, pp. 131–132.

[29] In post-Reformation England, familial separations did sometimes take place on grounds of religion: Underwood 2014, part II.

[30] In 1619, the college removed its students from Jesuit-run schools in the town and taught them in-house after the escalation of claims that an English student was being disciplined with undue harshness: Burton and Williams (1911, 1:148–175; translated at 372–387). See also Milward (2004) on Matthew Kellison (1561–1642), the college president appointed in 1613 who was responsible for this.

the Chalcedon controversy. This continued an ill-tempered internecine debate which had blown up late in Elizabeth I's reign, over suspicions that the archpriest who oversaw Catholic secular clergy in England was overly deferential to Jesuit interests. The papal appointment of a bishop for England in 1623—the appropriately named William Bishop, who held the titular see of Chalcedon in Asia Minor—did little to quieten the debate, since both Bishop and his successor, Richard Smith, were beset by questions concerning the extent of their authority (Lake and Questier 2019). In all its stages, this controversy had the broad effect of posing secular priests against Jesuits and other regulars, though the Jesuits were usually cast as the arch-villains by their opponents. Peter Lake and Michael Questier have recently ventriloquized the opinion, common among both early modern Catholics and Protestants, that "the Jesuits were the quintessence of disorder in both Church and State—an equal threat to the powers of prince, bishop, and pope" (230)—and the author of this play would have agreed.

Though *Hierarchomachia* is currently listed as anonymous in all scholarly sources, Drury's name was associated with it in the early 1630s, around the time of its composition (Wiggins 2012–, 8: #2316). For instance, writing to Peter Biddulph in January 1633, John Southcot comments on "a certaine <English> comedy supposed to be made by Mʳ Drury, called the Antibishop" that is likely to incur complaint from individuals "toucht in it." Southcot instructs Biddulph that

> if any such complaint be made […], you may answer that the clergy in generall doth not avow any such work, nor hath any knowledg of it, nor that Mʳ Drury is the author but rather […] are persuaded that he could not be the author by reason of his sore arme (his right arme) w*hi*ch hath held him these 6 or 7 yeares, wherby he is altogeather unable to write with that hand. Neither does my l*o*rd b*isho*p know either the work or the author for certaine, but only by hearsay.[31]

A contemporary Latin redaction of this or a similar account repeats the story without alluding to Drury by name, and dismisses it because "this priest […] strongly denies that he is its author. He has completely

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[31] Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 18 January 1633 (Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster (AAW), A XXVII, no.3, 9–10), as edited in Questier (2005, 144–145). On this and other contemporary references to the play, see Gossett (1982, 21–27).

lost the use of his right hand now for six years—so that he is not able to move it, in fact."[32] Yet there is a problem here: though a sore arm certainly affects the physical act of writing, it does not impede the imagination, and someone afflicted in this way can dictate to an amanuensis, or even write with the other hand. In the early modern period, and still sometimes to this day, the word "author" has—like the Latin *auctor*—broad associations with the idea of origination which can point to the physical rather than the mental production of a text; these, in turn, could be used to deflect attention from someone who had thought up a subversive drama, but not written it down.[33] If this is happening here, it would not be the only time that members of a community well-used to equivocation were economical with the truth (Mullaney 1980, Butler 2012).[34] In Southcot's account, besides, we are nowhere unambiguously assured that Drury is not the author, just that the clergy in general have no knowledge that he is the author, and "are persuaded" he could not have been.

The problematic nature of these reports becomes especially conspicuous when set against the fact that anagrammatized versions of Drury's name feature both in the play and in its paratext. Weighing up pre-existing discussions of attribution for her edition of *Hierarchomachia*, Suzanne Gossett interpreted Southcot's remarks as a reason for downplaying the attribution to Drury, concluding that there was a better—albeit inconclusive—case for Peter Fitton (1982, 22–23). But in a review of Gossett's edition, P.J. Holmes (1987) re-opened the question. He was more convinced by the case for Drury, pointing out that the character Erudius's name was a near-anagram of "Drueius"; though the second "R" is lacking, it is as close to the original as many of the other names in *Hierarchomachia*. Regarded simply as a cratylic name, it works well for the most learned and judicious character in the play, given its connotations of erudition; the fact that it does not immediately present as an anagram diverts attention from the question of a real-life original, and hence any buried declaration of authorship. But the discussion can be moved on

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[32] "*Sacerdos iste* […] *quod Authorem se perneget, manus suae dextrae usum à sex iam annis penitus amisit, ita ut nec movere quidem eam possit*" (AAW, A XXIII, no. 41, 105: "*Ex litteris scriptis*").

[33] *OED*, "author," *n*. esp. II 4 a.

[34] My thanks to Michael Questier for discussions of this point.

by pointing to another, better, anagram on the title-page of *Hierarchomachia*; the authorial pseudonym given on this, "Reuerardus," can be anagrammatized as "Drurraeeus,"[35] In conjunction with Holmes's discovery, contemporary suspicions and the penchant for comedy in Drury's previous plays, this amounts to a convincing case for his authorship.

Like "Erudius," "Drurraeeus" is not obviously an anagrammatic pseudonym. Many of those in *Hierarchomachia* are not seriously intended to conceal the original, declaring themselves by their obviousness or their lack of relationship to any pre-existing name: "Bolnutus," for instance, which denotes the Jesuit Richard Blount. "Reuerardus," on the other hand, boasts an overt double pun, on the name "Everard," and on "Reverend," pointing towards the priesthood of the writer.[36] In the context of a play which deals with a quarrel between the secular and regular clergy, the latter word is loaded in itself, as if the title of priest is good enough for the author without the additional styling of, say, Jesuit or Benedictine. The play's historical sourcing is just as sharply angled towards contemporary polemical relevance, exploiting the resemblance between present-day English quarrels and those of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions in medieval Germany and Italy. Guelphs supported the pope, Ghibellines the Holy Roman Emperor; in *Hierarchomachia* the Guelphs are the pro-episcopal faction, figuring the secular priests, while the Ghibellines stand for all who oppose the bishop. The comparison functions more as a loose reference to Catholic factionalism than a detailed attempt at historical recall, perhaps because point-by-point correspondence could have worked against Drury's message. The balance to be struck between allegiance to the pope and loyalty to monarchs was fiercely debated among Drury's Catholic contemporaries, not least because of the divisive Oath of Allegiance imposed after the Gunpowder Plot (Questier 1997). But the focus of *Hierarchomachia* is elsewhere, revolving round the Ghibellines' futile attempts to besmear the bishop's reputation. The attempts of Jargus—based on the Jesuit Laurence Anderton—to bring the laity round to the Ghibelline way of thinking comically backfire. Hiding from those

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[35] See the title-page reproduced in Gossett (1982, 50).

[36] The name "Everard" may have been intended to evoke Everard 1611, an anti-Jesuit autobiographical account of its author's time at the Venerable English College, Rome.

he has angered, he finds himself—in a comic reference to priestholes—up a chimney disguised as a devil and unable to get out of his costume.[37] The play's combination of satire and farce deliberately recalls Ben Jonson's work, with *Every Man Out of his Humour* a consistent point of reference (Gossett 1982, 27–34).

Also reminiscent of Jonson is the attitudinous "Apology" at the beginning of the text. Famously, Jonson was given to arguing that his plays were just as morally instructive as sermons, and much more entertaining; Drury, who is just as up-front with his didactic agenda, makes an interesting point of contrast to Jonson.[38] It was always a problem for satirists to distinguish adequately between *saeva indignatio* and bitchery, something which Drury gets round by writing:

> I intended this work as a private satisfaction to myself, expressing some strong apprehensions I had of the indignity of this opposition, which brought with it into my fancy the persons of particular men […] If I spare them not for it, let them thank themselves, that spare not by their example to incense the zeal of the most remiss spirit and make it sensible of a wrong offered to the very heart and soul of religion. (52–53)[39]

Later on, he develops the theme:

> I leave them […] that may seem to be any way pointed at in this comedy, in their full freedom to take to themselves as much or as little of the imputation laid upon them as they list or can with a safe conscience, and wish them to be the less troubled, the more they find themselves inwardly free from blame. For to an innocent man nothing can prove so glorious in the end as to have his actions thoroughly tried and his very thoughts put to the test. (54–55)

Here, Drury advances a remarkably positive vision of satire as having the potential to be "glorious"—at least, to those who are tested by it and emerge triumphant. Comedy, thus conceived, is a stimulus to conscience. Drury's casuistical thoroughness bespeaks a priestly stance, perhaps most of all in the way he does not exempt himself

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[37] Death as a blackface chimney-sweeper features in *Mors* (Siconolfi 1982, 122, 147).

[38] For a recent discussion of Jonson's position, see Preedy 2014; for a general account of Jonson's satire, see Dutton 2000; and on the dichotomy between polemical and didactic satire, see Renner (2014, 386).

[39] All references to Gossett 1982 give page numbers for both facsimile and transcription.

from potential criticism: "I should not be much moved to see my name brought on the stage, though to no other end than to serve as a scarecrow to affright the spectators from doing ill" (54–55). Drury is, for once, writing as himself, and the high degree of authorial reflexivity is worth noting.

In this as in other ways, *Hierarchomachia* is highly metatheatrical. The prologue features the spectators Therulus and Lucianus, respectively Protestant and puritan; [40] the Ghibelline Bolnutus vows in relation to his opponents, "were they saints, I'll find | A way to bring their credit on the stage | And spot them with aspersions that shall dye | Their souls in grain" (82–83, lines 496–498); and Jargus, reflecting ruefully on his disguise as a devil, opines:

> This will prove a theme
> For comedies hereafter, and my name
> Will fly upon the stage, entitling plays
> Of church revenge in "Jargus' Chimney Plot,"
> Or else, "The Politician Mewed, Transformed,
> Characterised, Endevilled," and such stuff (196–199, lines 2406–2411)

This comes at the point in the play when Jargus is stuck in his devil-costume, a comic scenario which has serious resonances in a recusant context; Catholic priests operating in England would, after all, have been used to adopting disguises. Moreover, the anagrammed names of Drury's priestly characters recall how so many of their originals adopted at least one alias, often more. Given that they often had some claim to those aliases — perhaps a family connection, perhaps no more than wordplay — one can see this as a kind of onomastic equivocation: true, but not true enough to be dangerous. [41] In a further twist to the play's reflexivity, the characters explicitly reflect on such issues. Speaking to a pursuivant, one clerical member of the Ghibelline faction declares that no "Romish priests" are present, to which another adds: "No simple ones he means; | For we are mixed [anagrammatized], or double [using aliases], not contained | In

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[40] It has not been previously pointed out that "Lucianus" anagrammatizes "Caluinus" (cf. Drury's use of the same anagram in *Mors*, identified by Siconolfi 1982, 245); the reminiscence of Lucian, a classical exemplar for satirical dialogue, is felicitous. Similarly, the name of Lucianus's interlocutor Therulus anagrammatises "Lutherus." On negotiating the relationship between playwright and audience in early Stuart satirical drama, see Yearling 2016.

[41] Cf. Southgate 2004.

odious names" (260–261, lines 3421–3424). This comment qualifies the first speaker's polemical term "Romish," which could certainly be thought of as an "odious" name—and, in so doing, signals resistance to the epithet. Though both speakers are priests, and both Ghibellines, they differ in their willingness to use Protestant polemical terminology, even when throwing pursuivants off the scent. But then again, the pursuivant appears to be well aware that he is being deflected; remarking "I know you, and I know you not; suspect, | And not suspect you," he demands financial compensation and turns a blind eye thereafter (260–261, lines 3427–3428). The scene vividly recalls Annabel Patterson's idea that censorship is to be understood as a game between author and censor, where not playing by the rules is penalized rather than subversive comment *per se* (1984). More generally, the satire of the scene is mitigated by Drury's sympathy for the plight of all Catholic priests.

This broader perspective is also conveyed via the character of Erudius, whose name—as commented above—is a near-anagram of Drury's own, as well as connoting learning and wisdom. This gambit, unashamedly linking Drury's authorial persona to good sense, is used to extend the prologue's self-conscious theatricality. At the beginning of Act 5, for instance, Erudius declares of his anti-episcopal opponents, "In this last act to alter thus and swerve | From our own doctrine and the church's form […] It makes me tremble when I think on't" (226–227, lines 2869–2870, 2879): a comment appropriate both to the play's end and to the extra-theatrical present day. It is also Erudius who looks beyond the play's squabbles to voice more positive visions of religion, hints of what both sides were fighting for. In one such speech, he declares:

> Were it not I know the church
> To be a sun unblemished in itself,
> Yet oftentimes to us with clouds obscured,
> My faith might oft miscarry in those mists
> And times of dissolution, [when] those lights
> That should encourage us, with every puff
> That passion raiseth glimmer, or go out,
> And leave us in the dark to grope our way,
> Were not that gracious help that guides our souls
> Unto eternity, our fixèd star. (224–227, lines 2851–2860)

Here Erudius is addressing Candle, his usual interlocutor and the character in the play most resistant to definition. As his name suggests, he holds a candle for Erudius, assisting him by shedding light on proceedings. Yet as his designation "Neutralist, or time Critick" in the *dramatic personae* suggests, he is difficult to pin down ideologically.[42] At times he demonstrates an outspokenly Counter-Reformation mindset. When Erudius says, "I fear me Luther and his afterbirth | Had never ruffled so against the pope, | Had the *magistri nostri* of those days | Not swelled but taught the way of Christian love | With more humility" (224–225, lines 2833–2837), Candle voices his agreement: "I see thou dost not mean | To palliate abuses that have crept | Among the Romanists themselves" (224–225, lines 2843–2845). But at other points he is variously characterized as a Nicodemist, someone who supports the true church in secret; compared to the Jesuit Jargus; and seen as contemptuous of all churches, or simply irreligious (58–59; 114–115; 116–117; 74–75). A protean character who facilitates a wide-ranging debate, he gives us access to Drury's heterodox imaginings.

In this era "candle" was a synonym for "rush," given the contemporary popularity of rushlights, and this points to yet another connotation of Candle's name: Friar Rush, a trickster-figure whose antics figured in oral and print culture across medieval and early modern Europe.[43] A devil sent to a friary under that name to sow discord among its inhabitants, he plays tricks ranging from the harmless to the positively cruel. In one story, he kills the friary cook by throwing him into a seething kettle of water; in another he makes truncheons, with which the friars mount a pitched battle (Anon. 1626). The idea of a devil passing as a friar and acting as an *agent provocateur* was clearly too tempting for Drury to pass up, especially given his feelings about the religious orders, and Friar Rush is invoked at two points in *Hierarchomachia*.[44] Candle shows his kinship with him not only onomastically, but in the way he stage-manages the action to

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[42] For "neutralist," see *OED*, A, *n.* 1: "A person who maintains an attitude of neutrality between competing theories, ideas, etc. (in early use *spec.* in matters of religion)."

[43] *OED*, "rush" *n*, 1 d; see also "rushlight," *n*.

[44] Cf. the earlier comments of the secular priest Christopher Bagshaw on Robert Persons, the controversial leader of the Jesuit order in England: "Is not such a mans talke of peace like the speech of frier Rush after he had set all by the eares"? ("An answear of M. Doctor Bagshaw to certayne poyntes of a libel," 40; in Ely 1602).

pitch the clerics against each other. Jargus even complains that Candle has maneuvered him into simulating the Friar — "Well, if he have betricked me in this sort, | And for his pleasure made me play the part | Of Robin-good-fellow or Friar Rush […] | I'll study to requite him if I live" (196–197, lines 2376–2378, 2380): a self-characterization which is all the apter because, at this point in the play, Jargus is still in his devil-suit. Lucianus the Calvinist develops the idea: "But when comes Jargus down to act his part? | I long to see the devil kindly played. | Have you read Friar Rush?" (163, lines 1818–1820). Thus, the devil-friar is not exclusively associated with any character, but acts as a multivalent point of reference.

Conclusion

Multi-layered intertextuality of this kind indicates a sophisticated playwright when — as here — it is brought off with *élan*. If *Hierarchomachia* were by a canonical author, it would be admired and much written about. Elegant, sharp and mischievous, it reads well even when compared to the work of Drury's literary model Jonson. An even apter point of comparison might be Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, another play which exhibits the bravura deployment of satirical archetypes within a plot inspired by religio-political controversy — including Drury's savior Gondomar as the Black Knight (Wiggins 2012–, 8: #2130). In this as in other ways, the existence of *Hierarchomachia* is a reason to query the sharp dividing line that has often been drawn between London professional drama and the drama of the English Catholic colleges on the Continent. This essay has also argued that Drury's Latin drama yields points of comparison between the two worlds: especially where, in *Aluredus*, he nostalgically depicts the medieval Catholic world so familiar within Stuart dramatic romance and tragicomedy.

Yet, for all that, Drury's plays were vehicles of priestly ministry — which recalls the episode at the start of this essay in which Drury is compared to his brother Robert. In the description of their literary talents, the familiar comparison of sermons and plays is evoked with a censorious Protestant spin: the idea that *Mors*, or any comedy, would make "a reasonable man […] iudge" of the brothers' "pregnancie, and sufficiency to any imployment" has to be ironic. Since this comes from a pamphlet about the Fatal Vesper, we may

even be intended to pick up on the fact that the gathering in question took place near the Blackfriars Theatre. Either way, given the context, the author strongly implies that both Catholic sermons and Catholic drama are a misuse of wit. Edward Benlowes's Latin poem on the tragedy makes a similar point, reading in translation: "Drury, when you sprinkle your empty thoughts from the pulpit, when you spread abroad the empty phantoms of your mind, you will die, struck down by a wooden beam."[45] Thus portrayed, Robert Drury is not just a mistaken preacher but a vacuous fantasist, justly annihilated by a wrathful God.

Perhaps Robert Drury's death affected his brother's literary imagination too. The latter's playwriting career seems, from the texts we have, to have fallen into two unequal halves: the college drama from 1618–1620, when he taught at Douai, and *Hierarchomachia*, around 1631, written at a time when he was in England. The Fatal Vesper had happened in between, and one polemical production inspired by it makes a suggestive point of comparison to Drury's only English-language play. As suggested above, one of the differences between *Hierarchomachia* and Drury's earlier work is the satirical hits at living individuals, who figure in the play under punning or anagrammatized versions of their real names. Protestants poked similar fun at Catholics, and in a series of polemical engravings connecting the Gunpowder Plot and the Fatal Vesper, Guy Fawkes and Robert Drury are arraigned through wordplay (Walsham 1994, 68–69). Fawkes's name frequently invited puns on *faux*—in French, "false"—and one engraving, "A Plot with Powder," labels an image of him "Faux why." In "No Plot No Powder," a companion picture displaying the Fatal Vesper, the preacher's body, painfully spreadeagled amidst the ruins, is labelled "DREW(a)Ry": punning on his name in the light of the draughtsman's distortion, which in turn points to the mutilation caused by Drury's live burial (Figs. 1 and 2). The whole rhyme, "Faux why Drew awry," connects Guy Fawkes's treason to Drury's providential punishment.

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[45] "*Drurie, cum cerebro conspergis pulpita vano, | Dum spargis cerebri phasmata vana tui, | Trabe peremptus obis.*" Benlowes's poem is preserved in Fuller (1970 vol.5, 539–544); translation from Davidson and Davidson (1971, 46–47). Witmore discusses the theatricality of the incident (2001, 140, 149, 152).

Figure 1: "No Plot No Powder" engraving (Thomas Jenner, 1623). © The Trustees of the British Museum

Might someone as sensitive to onomastics as William Drury have remembered this mocking pun on the family name when writing *Hierarchomachia*? Certainly, both "Erudius" and "Reverardus" dismember and reconfigure it: "Drew awry" indeed. And if so, this would extend Drury's imaginative preoccupation with concealment

and the toll this takes on identity, from the trials of King Alfred to the subterfuges of outlawed priests. Though Jargus's unyielding devil-disguise in *Hierarchomachia* shows a secular priest's desire to mock Jesuits and other regulars, it also speaks compassionately to the shared plight of all England's Catholics. In this play, and Drury's others, farce and factionalism figure prominently, but so does its author's missionary agenda: sometimes, Friar Rush is a gadfly for God.

Figure 2: detail of Jenner's engraving, showing the figure of Robert Drury.

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Notes

A ballad of treason for Queen Mary I's accession

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ABSTRACT

A ninuectyue agaynst Treason is a ballad that was printed upon Queen Mary I's accession. It is comprised of fourteen stanzas; the first ten each have seven lines, and the last four are only four lines each. The ballad is not so much celebratory of the new Queen Mary, but a lesson or warning about the dangers of acting against a Tudor monarch.

KEYWORDS: Queen Mary I; ballad; treason; accession; John Dudley; Duke of Northumberland.

Una balada de traición para la ascensión al trono de la reina María I *

RESUMEN: *A ninuectyue agaynst Treason* es una balada impresa con motivo de la ascensión al trono de la reina María I. Se compone de catorce estrofas; las diez primeras tienen siete versos y las cuatro últimas solamente cuatro líneas cada una. La balada no es tanto una celebración de la nueva reina María como una lección o advertencia acerca de los peligros de actuar contra una monarca Tudor.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Reina María I; balada; traición; ascensión al trono; John Dudley; Duque de Northumberland.

Uma balada sobre traição para a tomada de posse da Rainha Mary I**

RESUMO: Texto *A ninuectyue agaynst Treason* é uma balada impressa por ocasião da tomada de posse da Rainha Mary I. É composta por quatorze estrofes; as primeiras dez têm sete linhas cada uma e as últimas quatro têm cada uma apenas quatro linhas. A balada não é tanto uma celebração da nova Rainha Mary, mas uma lição ou um aviso sobre os perigos de agir contra uma monarca Tudor.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Rainha Mary I; balada; traição; tomada de posse; John Dudley; Duque de Northumberland.

A ninuectyue agaynst Treason is a ballad that was printed upon Queen Mary I's accession on July 19, 1553.[1] The only known copy of this ballad is currently held in the British Library.[2] It is a single sheet folio, printed in black letter in two columns. According to Joseph Ames and William Herbert it is the only known text printed by Roger Madeley

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* Translation into Spanish by Tamara Pérez-Fernández.

** Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

[1] Thomas Watertoune, *A ninuectyve agaynst treason* (London, 1553). STC 25105.

[2] London, British Library, MS C.18.e.1.(88.).

(1786, 827). Peter W. M. Blaney suggests that the ballad's type was owned by William Powell, so this was really printed by Powell for Madeley, possibly under Thomas Raynald, who operated at the sign of the star in Paul's Churchyard (2013, ii:752). Powell had a strong connection to texts related to Mary I, as he printed at least three books that were dedicated to her between 1549 and 1555, so it is not improbable that he could have printed this ballad as well.[3] Yet, no matter who did the actual printing, the title of the ballad contains a typographical error, as is should read *An inuectyve* instead of *A ninuectyve*.

The ballad was reproduced in facsimile in 1892, when it was included in Richard Garnett's translation of Antonio de Guaras's chronicle of the accession of Queen Mary (Guaras 1892). The text of the ballad was reprinted by Hyder E. Rollins in 1920, in a collection of English ballads (1920, 2–7). Rollins offers a one-page introduction to the ballad, and he has some unusual opinions of Mary for the early twentieth century. He calls her a "too much reviled Queen," something which modern scholars are still grappling with, as her moniker, "Bloody Mary" simply will not go away in popular culture (Rollins 1920, 1).[4] Yet, when Rollins introduces the ballad, he suggests that the author, probably Thomas Watertoune as the ballad is only signed by T.W., was not concerned with Mary's religious views even though he was probably a Protestant.[5] He bases this conclusion on Watertoune's sympathy for Edward and the fact that he does not mention Lady Jane Grey as a rival queen, suggesting Watertoune was perhaps sympathetic to her cause. Yet, as I will show below, Rollins is likely incorrect on this point. Literature celebrating Mary's accession

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[3] The books printed by Powell are John Proctor's *The fal of the late Arrian* (1549); Leonard Goreti's *Oratio Leonhardi Goretii Equitis Poloni de matrimonio serenissimi ac potentissi, serenissimae potentissimaeque Dei gratia Regis ac Reginae Angliae, Hispaniae & Ad populum principesque Angliae* (1554); and Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *Decades of the newe worlde or west India* (1555).

[4] Historic Royal Palaces and its curators, perhaps the most popular and influential Tudor historical institution and group of historians, refer to "Bloody Mary" both on its website and on location at the Tudor palaces. For a reassessment of Mary that fights against this reputation, see Doran and Freeman 2011; Hunt and Whitelock 2010; Edwards 2016; Duncan and Schutte 2016; Samson 2020; and Pérez Martín 2008.

[5] The identification of Thomas Watertoune as the author of the ballad is generally accepted, yet Watertoune does not appear to have written any other printed ballads to support this suggestion.

was written by Protestants and Catholics alike, and the potential for Mary to lead England into religious unity (although what that would look like remained opaque) is a common theme among the popular literature written and published at Mary's accession (Schutte forthc.). Further, Rollins argues that Watertoune's "joy, like that of the people at large, arose from the knowledge that Mary's accession would put an end to the power and tyranny of the Duke of Northumberland" (1920, 1). His observation about the unpopularity of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland is substantiated in both primary accounts and popular literature produced at Mary's accession that blame him entirely for altering the succession in order to place his daughter-in-law Jane on the throne (Schutte forthc.). Accordingly, the people of England celebrated Mary's accession both because Northumberland was an overthrown tyrant and because Mary was the rightful heir.

Thomas Watertoune's ballad is frequently cited as a piece of accession literature that bolstered Queen Mary I's legitimacy. Alice Hunt notes that the ballad shows a "sense of the fragility of a divinely ordained legitimacy" (2008, 119). Jenni Hyde suggests that the ballad emphasizes Mary's dynastic right, which is true (2018, 160–162). But while this ballad was produced for Mary's accession and touts her lineage and legitimacy, it is not so much celebratory of the new queen, but a lesson or warning about the dangers of acting against a Tudor monarch. At the time of Mary's accession, she was a legal bastard, which is one of the justifications that Edward used to exclude her as his heir. Yet, according to King Henry VIII's 1544 Act of Succession, Mary was his acknowledged offspring and legal heir should Edward die without any children of his own. Therefore, in July 1553, Mary's legitimacy was directly related to her ability to inherit the throne, and literature, such as this ballad, had to grapple with her gender, religion, legitimacy, and lineage all at the same time. To do so, Watertoune focuses on treason and attempted usurpation of the throne against all of the Tudor monarchs to show that Mary's accession was as legitimate as her forebears.

Ninuectyue is comprised of fourteen stanzas; the first ten each have seven lines, and the last four are only four lines each, which probably explains why Garnett was not impressed with the ballad, noting that its author "was no nursling of Apollo or the Muses," and that it is "wretched as a poem" (Garnett 1892, 29). Above the first stanza is a two-line introduction: "Remember well, o mortall man, to whom god

geueth reason, | how he truly, most ryghtfully doth alwayes punyshe treason" (1–2). It is possible, though not stated within the ballad itself, that this was not so much of an introduction, but a refrain. If it was meant to serve as a refrain, this further substantiates that the entire premise of the ballad is a warning against committing treason, as Mary, like the three previous Tudor monarchs, had to contend with treasonous subjects immediately at her accession.

The first stanza explains how in recent memory several acts of treason have been committed against English monarchs. Watertoune writes, "I called to remembraunce the hateful war and stryfe | which hath ben don within this realme thrugh gret iniquite" (5–6). Many traitors have tried to "achyue the crowne, 7 reyal dingnyte" (7). Again, the ballad is not entirely about Mary, but demonstrates how Mary's accession follows a pattern of unsuccessful usurpers who attempted to gain monarchical power. Watertoune presents Mary as in a line of rightful, divinely ordained Tudor monarchs who all overcame treason at the start of their reigns.

In stanza two, Watertoune turns to the example of Richard III. Watertoune wants to know "what moued the Duke of Glocester, Edwarde the fourthes brother" (10), to seek the destruction of his two nephews and also the queen. Richard, "styll workynge tyl he had brought to passe, his false and yll entent | by murtherynge the innocentes, that he him selfe myght raygne" (14–15). But, "lyke a noughty false traytour, at Boseworth was he slayne" (16). The second stanza is important for setting up the history and tradition that led to Mary's reign. Watertoune uses it to tell readers that treachery is not tolerated and will be punished by death; Richard acted treacherously, and was ultimately killed. It also invokes Bosworth, the battle in which Henry VII's army defeated and killed Richard. Here, Watertoune evokes Mary's grandfather, thereby establishing her lineage and legitimacy as Queen.

Continuing with Richard, Watertoune recalls how Richard convinced Edward IV to have their brother, George, Duke of Clarence, killed. Edward himself presided over George's trial and demanded that Parliament pass a bill of attainder against him for treason of dubious loyalty. However, according to Watertoune, Edward was immediately remorseful, "for which wycked fact sone afterward, the kynge was ryght sory" (20). But the final line of this third stanza

repeats how Richard was later punished for his actions: "Yet at the last this ranke traytour, as boseworth was he slayne" (23). Again, Watertoune goes back to Mary's Tudor dynastic roots, emphasizing that traitors against the crown will be punished by a rightful Tudor monarch. This seems both celebratory and cautionary to anyone else considering plotting against the new queen.

Stanza four is still about Richard, whom Watertoune alleges also killed Henry VI with a short dagger. For three stanzas, Watertoune piles on all of Richard's traitorous acts, such as killing his nephews, the rightful kings; instigating the killing of his brother; and killing an anointed king. Whether or not Richard actually did these things, what is important to Watertoune, which he stresses through repetition, is that "but at the last, for his desartes, at Boseworth was he slayne" (30). All of Richard's terrible acts were vanquished when Richard was killed by the army of the rightful king, Henry VII, the first Tudor monarch. Richard was king only briefly because his attempted usurpation was righted by the true king, Henry VII, in a similar fashion to the short reign of Jane Grey being unseated by Mary.

Stanzas five and six turn to treason against Henry VIII. "Lyke treasone to our last Henry, was wrought by haynous spyght | By olde Hemson and by Dudley, as traytours most vntrue" (31–32). Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley were accused of exerting undue influence over the young king, yet were more likely condemned for their role in the financial activities of the previous reign (Gunn 2016, 8–9). Watertoune goes on to write, "yet many treasons mo were done, agaynst this noble kynge" (38). Though under Henry VIII several men and women were executed for committing treason, such as the organizers of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Edward Neville, Henry Pole, Thomas More, and Elizabeth Barton, the example of Empson and Dudley is perfect for Watertoune because Edmund Dudley was the father of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was executed in 1553 for plotting against Mary, and who the rest of this ballad vilifies. In these stanzas on Henry VIII, however, Watertoune notes that God revealed these traitors' wickedness so that "no myscheuous trayatour could obtayne his owne entent" (42). Again, treason was discovered and punished, but this time not by a rightful king on the battlefield, but by a rightful king on the throne through the intervention of God. Although these two stanzas proclaim Mary's lineage and legitimacy, they do so in the context of treason and coups,

suggesting that though the legitimacy of Mary, and by extension the Tudors, has been questioned, they always prevail. As a result, the message is clear that those who supported Northumberland, and perhaps the Dudley's more generally, were doomed from the start.

Stanza seven turns to the most recent English monarch, Edward VI. During his reign, "traytours hath increased | And spronge vp very hastely" (45–46). It is likely that this refers to Edward's uncle, Thomas Seymour, who was executed for treason at the instigation of his brother, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector. Thomas made a bid for power over Edward as early as summer 1547, only six months after his accession. Yet, Edward "sought and mynded goddes glory, entendyng vertuous wayes" (48). This is the sentence for which Rollins suspects that Watertoune must have been a Protestant. However, "entendyng" is problematic. Could Watertoune have used "entendyng" to mean that Edward was responsible for "increasing" virtuous Protestant activity in England? Or, as I suggest, did Watertoune think that Edward intended to be virtuous, but was not? Or, that Edward intended to be godly, but was led astray? If so, then perhaps Watertoune was not a staunch Protestant supporter of the young king. Even if Watertoune meant that Edward intended virtuous ways, as in he sought to increase his own virtue, this line can still be read that Edward fell short, and does not firmly identify Watertoune's religious position.

In the same stanza, Watertoune continues,

With him and his two vncles deare, they made dyuers assayes
Vntyll such tyme as they cought them, in theyr most crafty trayne
And so working most wyckedly the ryghteous haue they slayne. (49–51)

The slain righteous could be a reference to those executed for participating in the 1549 Prayer Book Rebellion, a revolt in Cornwall and Devon against new changes outlawing traditional religion in favor of the *Book of Common Prayer*, further cementing that Watertoune was not a Protestant. As for Edward's wicked uncles, this same crime, execution of a brother, was used against Richard III in an earlier stanza. Somerset, however, was overthrown in a coup by Northumberland, and later executed for felony. Therefore, Edward's uncles, once they tasted power, also plotted against the young Tudor monarch and were rightly punished. Ironically, the Lord Protector

was executed by the urging of Northumberland, who later committed treachery against Mary.

Stanza eight finally turns to Mary. Watertoune writes,

> At last they dyd attempt agaynst, theyr lyege Lady and Queene:
> Mary, by the grace of god of Englande and of Fraunce
> And also ryght heyre of Irelande. (52–54)

Yet, God preserved Mary from "all hurt and myschaunce" (55). Watertoune continues, "Whom god at her great nede doth helpe, workynge nothyng in vayyne | Subdueth to her, her enemies al, which wrought with dredful trayne" (57–58). Here, Watertoune is laudatory of Mary and mentions her favor by God. God has preserved her during all of her prior hardships, such as her separation from her mother and being declared a bastard, in order that she should one day become Queen. At the same time, however, Watertoune takes away Mary's agency. While Mary herself credited divine intervention for her success, in Watertoune's previous examples, those kings killed their enemies with God's assistance (Hunt 2008, 119). For Watertoune, all credit for Mary's victory goes to God, whereas the kings played a part in their own success. The level of divine intervention is different. With that point aside, what is most important is that Mary was a providential monarch with God on her side.

In stanza nine, Watertoune describes those traitors against Mary as "most fearfulle to beholde" (59), though he does not name them specifically. He continues that "if god wolde haue ben helper to such, as stryueth in the wrong | But at the last he helped vs, though we thought it ryght longe" (62–63). Watertoune concedes that Mary's enemies were strong, and if they had been favored by God, they would have been victorious. Yet, in the end, God helped "vs." But who is "vs"? I suggest it is Mary and her supporters, but it leaves unclear if Watertoune was in the group of original Marian supporters in Norwich. Hyde suggests that Watertoune uses "vs" so as to place "the audience on the side of Queen Mary. It divided the audience by excluding those who did not support her, affiliating them with those traitors, who were, of course, always punished" (2018, 162). As Watertoune used "vs" to place himself in the group who always supported Mary, the next line then gives away that he was not a noble, as he does not use another inclusive term, such as "we": "The Nobles here proclaymed her queene, in voydyng of all blame | Wherfore

praise we the lorde aboue, and magnyfie his name" (64–65). It is not clear if the "nobles here" were those in London or in Norwich. Mary was first proclaimed Queen in Norwich on July 13, 1553. But perhaps "voydyng of blame" indicates that "here" is London, where Jane was proclaimed Queen on July 10 and Mary was not proclaimed Queen until July 19, only after the Privy Council saw Northumberland's defeat as inevitable. Watertoune seems to acknowledge that some switched sides so that they could not be blamed as traitors as well. What Watertoune wants to make clear is that he supported Mary all along.

Further complicating Watertoune's location is the first line of stanza ten, in which Watertoune writes that Mary's proclamation as Queen was "done the .xix. day, of this moneth of July." "This moneth" seems to indicate that Watertoune wrote this ballad immediately upon Mary's accession, within the last twelve days of July. Watertoune tells of the joy in London when Mary was proclaimed Queen, which seems to align with all other accounts of the event.

> In the Cytie of glad London, proclaymed most ioyfully
> Where capes and syluer plenteously, about the stretes did flye
> The greatest ioy and most gladnes, that in this realme myght be
> The trumpettes blewe vp all on hye, our Marie's royall fame. (68–71)

There were immediate celebrations in London when Mary was proclaimed Queen on July 19, but she herself did not enter the city until August 3. It is not clear if Watertoune witnessed the events in London or if he heard about the London celebrations while in Norwich with Mary's retinue. It seems most likely that Watertoune was based in London, as his ballad was printed by either Madeley or Powell.

In stanza twelve, Watertoune continues to marvel at the celebrations for Mary's accession: "Such myrth was made in euery place: as the lyke was neuer seene | That god had shewed on vs his grace: in geuyng a ryghtful queene" (79–80). Like so many other first-hand accounts and pieces of literature printed upon Mary's accession, Watertoune stressed jubilation as had never been seen in London for the proclamation of a new monarch. Mary was not just accepted, but *wanted* because she was the "ryghtful queene." She should have been queen based on both law and tradition.

In the final two stanzas, Watertoune returns to the theme of treachery. He still never mentions Northumberland by name, but he does relish his downfall. "And where as he went forth full glad, as prince both stout and bolde | He came a traytour in full sad, with hart that myght be colde" (81–82). Northumberland was taken to the Tower of London as a traitor on July 25, giving further clues as to when Watertoune wrote his ballad. It is likely that this was composed during the last week of July, after Northumberland's imprisonment, but before Mary entered London, or he likely would have included that information. Northumberland was later executed on August 22.

Watertoune concludes his ballad: "We se therfore the ouerthrowe, of al theyr wicked wayes | Howe wicked might is brought furlowe, to gods great Laude 7 prayse" (87–88). He must have written it in the immediate aftermath of Mary's proclamation and Northumberland's downfall as a warning to those who did support the Catholic Queen. Like her grandfather, father, and brother, Mary discovered who was treasonous against her and will punish him. Yet again, God exposed traitors to the monarchy and the rightful Tudor monarch was victorious.

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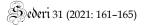
Reviews

Kate Aughterson and Ailsa Grant Ferguson. 2020. *Shakespeare and Gender: Sex and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Drama.* London: The Arden Shakespeare

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Feminist Shakespeare criticism, as is widely known, emerged as a field of study during the development of second-wave feminism. In fact, the publication of Juliet Dusinberre's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* (1975) constitutes the first full-length feminist analysis of the portrayal of women in Shakespearean drama. The last few years have seen a gradual interest in scholarly criticism in regard to Shakespeare and feminism. In 2016 Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare published *Shakespeare in Our Time: A Shakespeare Association of America Collection* (edited by Dympna Callaghan and Suzanne Gossett), to mark the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death. Phyllis Rackin (former SAA President 1993–1994) inaugurates the collection with an essay entitled, quite pertinently, "Why Feminism Still Matters." It is significant that feminism is the first topic discussed in a volume which analyses the current state of affairs and future developments in twenty key areas of research in Shakespeare criticism.

Indeed, nowadays, in the age of the #MeToo movement, the Black Lives Matter movement, or the LGBTQ+ movement, conversations and debates on questions relating to gender and sexuality, particularly when examined through the lens of current fourth-wave or intersectional feminism, seem more relevant and necessary than ever. In *Shakespeare and Gender: Sex and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Drama*, Kate Aughterson and Ailsa Grant Ferguson (University of Brighton) provide an insightful, thought-provoking and enriching discussion on sex and sexuality in a variety of Shakespearean plays, thus offering a monograph that constitutes a valuable contribution to the field of feminist Shakespeare criticism. In the introduction to their work, the authors acknowledge and attest to the growing engagement with analyses of Shakespearean material from the perspective of intersectional feminism, as evidenced by the following recent

publications: the second edition of *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare* (edited by Dympna Callaghan 2016), Valerie Traub's *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality and Race* (2016), Ania Loomba and Melissa Sánchez's *Rethinking Feminism in Early Modern Studies: Gender, Race and Sexuality* (2016), and Marianne Novy's *Shakespeare and Feminist Theory* (2017).

Bearing in mind representation and inclusion, Aughterson and Grant Ferguson address early modern and twenty-first century debates on gender and sexuality. *Shakespeare and Gender: Sex and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Drama* offers a detailed critical account of how gender and sexual identity are represented and constructed in Shakespearean drama. The methodological approach and format chosen are suitable. Each chapter provides a broad examination of a given topic relating to gender and/or sexuality, but the focus lies on one or several Shakespearean plays, named "Key Text(s)" by the book's authors. In other words, Aughterson and Grant Ferguson have opted for a case study format. Close reading is employed, as themes are analyzed according to their depiction by different female and male characters, selected from the varied corpus of Shakespearean history plays, tragedies, and comedies. Both early modern and current contexts are taken into consideration, paying special attention to recent performances of Shakespearean drama in theatre, film and television. Readers will strongly benefit from the inclusion in each chapter of textual extracts that the authors label as "Resources." These resources constitute examples of different types of early modern texts (literary, medical, political, religious, etc.) that help to contextualize the themes discussed in each chapter within the context of Elizabethan and Jacobean England. In addition, the authors engage with past and present theoretical and critical approaches to gender and sexuality, mostly borrowed from the fields of feminism, queer studies, and performance studies. Hence, textual analysis, historical contextualization and theory perfectly intersect, resulting in an engaging and highly informative read.

The monograph is divided into nine chapters. Chapter 1, "The Woman's Voice," centers on *Much Ado About Nothing*. As a female characterized by her wit and public eloquence, Beatrice disrupts patriarchal ideology. The authors contrast the image of the witty, outspoken woman that Shakespeare presents as desirable, with the restrictive image of the silent female archetype defended by early

modern male poets. The chapter ends with an analysis of Paulina from *The Winter's Tale*, a character who, like Beatrice, publicly disrupts male hierarchy, but is also eventually silenced by men. Chapter 2, "The Male Body, Kingship and the Body Politic," explores the body politic model, particularly in relation to *Richard II.* This play depicts a king traditionally described as effeminate, who disrupts the masculinity of kingship and the monarch's relationship with a feminized England. The chapter also examines recent all-female productions of Shakespearean history plays that challenge the masculinity of the kingly body politic. Chapter 2 ends with an interview with director and actress Adjoa Andoh, whose recent—and first—all-women-of-color production of *Richard II* on a British stage (Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, 2019), further challenged the body politic analogy within the context of white patriarchal history. Chapter 3, "Testing the Marriage Plot: Form, Violence and Gender," examines Shakespeare's use of the marriage plot in *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *All's Well That Ends Well*. It is argued that, despite challenging dramatic and social conventions, all three plays ultimately celebrate heterosexual marriage. Chapter 4, "Cross-Dressing and Gender Transgression(s)," focuses on *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*, two plays that employ female-to-male cross-dressing as a plot device. The authors discuss Shakespeare's exploration of erotic fluidity and non-binary identities, and how the playwright problematizes the heteropatriarchal plot that ends with heteronormative marriage. The chapter includes an interview with actress Lucy Phelps, who reflects on her playing Rosalind in *As You Like It* and Isabella in *Measure for Measure* for the RSC (2019–2020).

Chapter 5, "Gendering Madness," centers on *Hamlet* and its gendered portrayal of madness. The authors defend that, whereas Hamlet's feigned or actual madness reflects contemporary ideas on the rational, intellectual male afflicted by melancholy, Ophelia's mental illness – similarly to the Jailer's Daughter's madness in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* – is presented as visceral, based on early modern ideas of female madness and its supposed relation to the reproductive organs. Chapter 6, "Paternity and Patriarchy," mostly focuses on *King Lear* and the carnivalesque reversal of both the parent-child relationship and gendered hierarchy that brings about the collapse of domestic and public order. *King Lear* and *The Tempest*, two plays in which mothers are absent, are shown to expose the tyranny and

fragility of paternal rule. Chapter 7, "Sexual Excess: Space, Sex and Gender," analyzes *The Comedy of Errors*, *Measure for Measure*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Pericles*, reflecting on how space can be gendered. It discusses how these Shakespearean plays employ space as setting and metaphor to problematize assumptions about gender and sexuality. Chapter 8, "Anxious Masculinity," explores different depictions of male anxiety in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Othello*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*, demonstrating how Shakespeare portrayed and challenged contemporary notions of masculinity based on physiological beliefs about male and female bodies (humoral identity). Chapter 9, "Maternal Bodies: Female Power," discusses the performative connotations of the female maternal body through the representation of maternity in the *Henry VI* plays, *All's Well That Ends Well*, and *The Winter's Tale*. These plays feature maternal characters whose bodies symbolize female power, female agency, and sacredness, respectively.

One of the strongest points worth highlighting from the book is the format designed by Aughterson and Grant Ferguson to close each chapter, which will prove particularly useful for students and teachers of Shakespearean theatre alike. Chapters end with a summary that takes the form of bullet points, in which the main conclusions derived from the analysis are enumerated. Conclusions are followed by two final sections: "Further Work," and "Further Reading." In the former the authors ask several questions, so as to invite readers to further explore a given theme in Shakespearean plays, which often differ from the texts discussed in the chapter. The section entitled "Further Reading" not only provides a list of bibliographical references, as is common in scholarly criticism, but also adds a brief—though pertinent—description of what is to be expected from a reading of the works selected for further research and study.

In summary, reading *Shakespeare and Gender: Sex and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Drama* constitutes a rewarding experience. Aughterson and Grant Ferguson write in a style that is both clear and didactic, which significantly contributes to engage readers from the very first page. Consequently, one ought to highly recommend this work of well-informed scholarly research. The target audience—educators, students, researchers, and theatre practitioners—, will discover a useful resource that invites readers to re-evaluate and re-examine Shakespearean texts and current performances on the basis of the

challenges posed to traditional representations and stereotypes of gender and sexual identity.

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Sophie Chiari and Sophie Lemercier-Goddard, eds. 2019. *John Webster's "Dismal Tragedy"*, The Duchess of Malfi *Reconsidered.* Paris: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal

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This collection of essays originated in an international conference on John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* at École Normale Supérieure de Lyon in 2018. The conference had the goal of discussing the long-lasting relevance of a tragedy which has never ceased to appeal to readers and audiences and exploring new perspectives in its study. The subject matter of the volume needs little justification. 2010s productions of the play at the Old Vic, the Sam Wanamaker playhouse and the Swan Theatre attested to its enduring popularity; the questions it poses about female empowerment, misogyny, corruption, and theatre itself allow for countless responses. Its eerie pessimism resonates loudly in these pandemic times.

Scholars of multiple nationalities and at different stages of the academic career—ranging from doctoral students to Professors Emeriti—are the contributors to this collection; their varied interests add to its richness. The editors have exercised a sound rationale in their organization of the contents, by sorting them out into four thematic sections, preceded by an introduction and followed by a coda and a general bibliography.

In their general introduction, editors Sophie Chiari and Sophie Lemercier-Goddard, plus Anne-Válerie Dulac from the Sorbonne, discuss the tragedy as a multi-sensory experience that haunts the imagination through the power of suggestion rather than sight. They aptly call the tragedy a "kaleidoscopic play" and emphasize the "mist" that seems to enwrap the stage of *The Duchess* and makes it "impossible to draw any single or simple conclusion from the tragic spectacle" (21). The second half provides an overview of the volume contents and the valuable contributions made in the thirteen essays, which may prove useful to the reader seeking to navigate the collection with specific interests in mind.

The first section, "Looking Backwards," focuses on the sources of *The Duchess*, its early performances, the editorial cruxes it presents, and the Duchess as a tragic heroine that reveals Webster's proto-feminism. In chapter 1, Anna Demoux highlights the relevance of source studies as she investigates the origin and the role given to the character of Delio, Antonio's friend, who is a fundamental framing device in the play. Inspired by the fictional persona of Bandello in one of the Italian sources, Delio is a commentator on characters and events, and at the same time underscores the metatheatrical aspects of the tragedy. Roberta Barker provides a fascinating exploration of the early "boy actresses" (50) who played the Duchess, Richard Robinson and Richard Sharpe of the King's Men, in chapter 2. She looks at how their differing repertoires and ranges inform and influence which aspects of the female protagonist would have been foregrounded onstage. Sharpe's performance, memorialized in the printed cast list, probably emphasized the romantic heroine dimension, female desire, and defiance in the face of male oppression. Jane Kingsley-Smith grounds chapter 3 on her own experience editing the play for Penguin and facing some critical editorial decisions. She reflects on the editing process of *The Duchess* as one that may "hide things from sight" (67) and deals with three textual issues: the signposting (or lack thereof) of Webster's sententiae in the printed editions, the practice of creative editing of stage directions—which supplies or subtracts information—and the different options as to the punctuation of Ferdinand's famous line beginning "cover her face." This all serves as an important reminder that readers peruse a text informed, and even altered, by editorial interpretation. In chapter 4, Dympna Callaghan convincingly argues that the Duchess's central role in her own tragedy, too often dismissed by critics and performance reviewers, must be emphasized not only in a twenty-first-century context, but also as transgressive and proto-feminist in its own time; her decision to exert her will and remarry whom she chooses contrasts sharply with the violence enacted by men.

The second section, "Looking Outside," revolves around the external Jacobean world and how aspects of it pervade the play. Unlike Callaghan, who places the Duchess at the center of the tragedy, Eike Kronshage views it as decentered, oscillating between the "ultimately colliding viewpoints" of the Duchess and Bosola (105). In chapter 5, the transformative power of money articulated by Marx, he

argues, is at play both in the Duchess's acquisition of a lower-class husband, commodified through language, and in Bosola's fixation with payment. Kronshage focuses on the financial dimension of Ferdinand's motives, which is often overlooked, and views the play as influenced by the context of an emerging mercantilist society, in which economic concerns were increasingly replacing ideas of blood and honor. Chapter 6, by Sophie Lemercier-Goddard, deals with travel and mobility in the play, and how it relates to cultural and social mobility; there is an emphasis on returned travelers and on confined characters whose freedom is restricted. She looks at the Duchess's feigned pilgrimage to Loreto and identifies resonances of the destroyed shrine of Walsingham, which still haunted the English imagination. In chapter 7, Sophie Chiari studies the atmospheric imagery scattered throughout the play and extreme weather conditions (heat, cold, storms, whirlwinds) which add to the unstable, dismal cosmography evoked by Webster. Together with the foul air of the play, they affect characters or are embodied by them; they prefigure events and lead to a progressive darkening and even "dissolution" (150) of the world. At the core of the noxious atmosphere lie the Duchess's humorally-imbalanced brothers.

The third section, "Looking Inside," examines the inward world of the play and, especially, bodies. In chapter 8, Misako Takahashi explores canine imagery, particularly in connection with the Duchess and Ferdinand; one noteworthy idea is that the animal comparisons meant to belittle the Duchess (i.e., "hyena" or "mastiff") can be read as representing her resilience and agency. Animal-human hybridity is also the focus of chapter 9; Joseph Kidney delves into the obsession with death, the funereal, and the digging up of bodies in the tragedy. As in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, the audience of *The Duchess* is made to confront corpses and body parts. Ferdinand's lycanthropic hybridity draws attention to the dehumanization of corpses and the early modern debate on the separation between species. The lack of human exceptionalism is further stressed by Wendy Wall in chapter 10; in her analysis, human bodies are viewed as part of the physical world and occupying a place in the food chain of consumption, decomposition, and regeneration. She brings together references to human remains and bodies as nourishing vermin and draws attention to words that can both depict macabre imaginings of death and common kitchen

ingredients used for cooking or medicinal purposes in the female-managed domestic space.

The last section, "Looking Forwards," explores the ways in which Webster's interest in different areas of knowledge can be traced in *The Duchess*. In chapter 11, Lisa Hopkins analyses the prevalence of the number two in a tragedy made of dualities, doubles, and mirror-images. Both characters and settings are read as having dual natures and interpretations which contribute to the proto-Gothic atmosphere. She also establishes connections with other plays and even later cultural manifestations. Mickaël Popelard looks at the presence of geometry in the tragedy from a linguistic, metaphorical, and even structural level in chapter 12. He makes the point that Webster's geometry is "negative" in that "geometrically-minded" characters, who are also the greatest intriguers and politicians, only achieve destruction and their own annihilation (231); thus, the tragedy seems to lead to arithmetic nothingness, a nihilistic zero. In chapter 13, François Laroque reflects on the darkness that has so often been associated with the play by alluding to the painting technique of chiaroscuro, the alchemical *nigredo*, and the field of optics. In a tragedy which grows increasingly dark and misty, the reader/spectator is tasked with looking at it from oblique perspectives, as if using optical implements. This unveils the topical references to the contemporary Jacobean court and its scandals.

The coda section begins with a conversation held at the Lyon conference and led by Anne-Valérie Dulac; the participants include some volume contributors plus other specialists such as Michael Neill. Overall, the ideas expressed round off the volume. There follows a conversation between the editors and Anne-Laure Liégeois, the director of a 2010 production of *The Duchess*, noting some of its highlights. The editors have purposefully left this in the original French arguing that this production "was […] aimed at a French audience" (24). However, this may come across as off-putting to scholars without a strong command of French, who may feel they are missing out on some content and can only find solace in the beautiful color photographs of the production. The volume ends with a general bibliography put together by José Ramón Díaz Fernández; it is comprehensive and well-organized into sections by source type, and it will prove an invaluable resource for scholars and students.

Overall, this volume offers a stimulating collection of essays that may appeal to a wide variety of readers with an interest in Webster's tragedy and encourage further exploration of the issues discussed and their ramifications. It clearly shows that *The Duchess of Malfi* has lost none of its edge and capacity to fascinate, and that the interpretive possibilities are by no means exhausted.

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Jennifer Drouin, ed. 2020.
Shakespeare / Sex: Contemporary Readings in Gender and Sexuality. London: Bloomsbury

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Jennifer Drouin begins her introduction boldly with the statement "Shakespeare is sexy" (1), in order to contrast critical, editorial and performative awareness of this sexiness with the experience of many a student who has studied Shakespeare without being allowed to enjoy such sexiness. Drouin also announces that the book itself "aims to be sexy" (2), so does it live up to its own promises? Is this a sexy book about a sexy Shakespeare? Or does the slash in the title indicate a continuing separation between Shakespeare and sex rather than the possibility of intersection?

After reading the twelve contributions, I would say neither one nor the other. There is certainly plenty of sex in the volume, though in keeping with new directions in critical work on gender and sexuality, it is more often enforced than desired, connected with contagion and death as much as with fulfilment and life and more often queer and non-procreative than heteronormative and future oriented. The sex is often non-reciprocal, as in Goran Stanivukovic's discussion of masturbation in Sonnet 4 (ch. 8) or in Drouin's focus on ocular excess in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (ch. 10) which enables male heteronormative glances while disavowing those that are queer, female or self-directed. Melissa E. Sanchez's chapter on asexuality and Protestantism (ch. 5) even advocates a turning away from "compulsive sexuality" and concludes that "in the case of *Measure for Measure*, to think about sex and Shakespeare may also require thinking about the queer significance of the *absence* of sex" (117) through a character such as Isabella. *Measure for Measure* is also the focus of Alison P. Hopgood's chapter (ch. 4) which mobilizes the non-normative force of crip sexualities to discuss risky sex in an atmosphere of sexual contagion which, as with the AIDS crisis or the 2020 pandemic, can lead to "kinship in contagion" (84). Her recasting of Lucio as a contemporary sex facilitator points to the paradoxes of his mediation of the encounter between Isabella and Angelo in the play. Both these chapters occur in a section on intersectional approaches which is the

largest section of this volume. Other chapters here are by Sharon O'Dair (ch. 3), who is characteristically on the button in her assessment that territorial squabbles between historicism and presentism fade into insignificance in the face of the magnitude of the ecological crisis. Her conclusion that Shakespeareans need to get down and dirty with the science of climate change is one way out of this impasse, but her main conclusion is that there needs to be a positive focus on non-reproductive sex so that it is not only Macbeth who has no children. This has the double advantage of not only stopping reproductive futurity in its tracks, but also representing the type of difficult thinking about sex that the volume only occasionally achieves. Non-normative reproduction in the form of parthenogenesis appears in Urvashi Chakravaty's chapter on *Richard III* (ch. 7) where Richard's fantasy of the rebirth of Elizabeth's dead children in "a cyclical repetition which will reanimate the past to secure the future" (153) links queer sex and the death drive in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to deny the "fair" reproductive future outlined in Richmond's final speech. Parthenogenesis also inflects an innovative trans reading of Sonnet 20 by Colby Gordon (ch. 12) where the "prick" of the final line is widened beyond the heterosexual and the homosexual to suggest the needle prick of craft and collaborative artistic creation and where binaries between the natural and the artificial are deconstructed in a vision of all bodies as technologically mediated. It is perhaps Kate Chedgzoy's chapter on Ovid's *Metamorphosis* as a text for children (ch. 6) that most fulfils the intersectional remit of the book, pointing to the ways in which it acted as a racialized, heteronormative script for learnt behavior, but also how it enabled children to shape themselves as sexual subjects.

Yet although each of these chapters is well-researched, cogently argued and indicative of new directions in the field, I wonder whether the necessary corrective to notions of sex and particularly queer sex as inherently transgressive has given way to a view of sex in Shakespeare as a place of suspicion and negation of pleasure. This seems particularly evident in the section of the book on the perils of heterosexuality. Kay Stanton's chapter (ch. 1) on rape culture, toxic masculinity and *Lucrece* rightly points out the ways in which rape culture persists 400 years afterwards and the ways in which teaching plays that focus on rape has been problematized in a context where teachers and students have themselves been rape victims. Jessica C.

Murphy's chapter (ch. 2) on the pathologizing of virginity and inadequate masculinities in references to greensickness in Shakespeare plays is similarly important but her conclusion that "greensickness might make us laugh, but it is no joke" (22), while unobjectionable, is also indicative of the volume's tendency towards suspicion of sex and heterosexual sex in particular. In a later chapter (ch. 11), Kathleen E. McCluskie does acknowledge that Shakespearean comedies offer some degree of pleasure in that despite the compulsion to perform one's gender correctly, the plays consistently produce figures who do not fit gender and sexual norms and her focus on Bottom's trans-lation and trans-formation reinforces this view. Similarly, Huw Griffith's "When Coriolanus was Hot" (ch. 9) in the Queer Shakespeares section does live up to the promise of its title in an analysis of Restoration adaptations by Tate and Dennis and stage and cinematic performances by Tom Hiddleston (2014) and Ralph Fiennes (2011). Griffith's astute analysis of the editorial closeting of the homoeroticism between Aufidius and Coriolanus which in turn prompts queer attempts to out them, exhibits what he refers to as "a variegated history of homoeroticism that dances, or wrestles, with homophobia" (208). Paradigmatically, the chapter acknowledges the realities of sexual repression, but also asserts the multiple pleasures to be found in critical and performative approaches to Shakespeare. Indeed, a greater focus on the performance of Shakespeare might have brought out such pleasures more as opposed to the rather bleak view of sex in the rest of the mainly text-based contributions. The contributors are also exclusively anglophone, with contributions from the US, the UK and Canada which, for someone reading outside these locations, at times makes them seem rather insular. Revealingly, Drouin comes to the end of her introduction with the somewhat lackluster "Shakespeare is indeed quite sexy after all" (8) which I think might not convince that bored and increasingly desperate student that Shakespeare is indeed sexy.

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White Kennett. 2018.
Etymological Collections of English Words and Provincial Expressions,
edited by Javier Ruano-García.
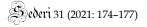## Oxford: Oxford University Press

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With this comprehensive and meticulous edition of White Kennett's monumental and hitherto unpublished *Etymological Collections of English Words and Provincial Expressions*, also known as MS Lansdowne 1033, Javier Ruano-García has produced a major work of scholarship which has rescued from relative obscurity a substantial landmark of antiquarian lexicography of the seventeenth century. As the editor observes, "Few early dictionaries and glossaries give credit to Kennett's glossary in the history of English dialectology" (80). Kennett is also absent from more recent discussions of the genre, such as Penhallurick (2009), despite his having been, along with the better-known John Ray, a major source of early dialect data for Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1896–1905) (henceforward *EDD*) and James O. Halliwell-Philips' *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (1847). It is now unlikely that this neglect will persist.

The volume is a very welcome contribution to lexicography and will be an important point of departure for anyone interested in regional dialect and early etymology. Kennett, a native of Kent, bishop, local historian and polemicist, conceived an ambitious project in the 1690s to compile a "universal English glossary or a *Thesaurus Linguæ Anglicanæ*" which would include not only "words obsolete and now of local use, but all other English words of most common acceptation" (41).

Writing of Robert Burton, like himself the fellow of an Oxford college but of an earlier generation, Kennett records that

> the author of The Anatomy of Melancholy is said to have laboured long in the writing of this book to suppress his own melancholy[...] In an interval of vapours he would be extremely pleasant, and raise laughter in any company. Yet I have heard that nothing at last could

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make him laugh but going down to the Bridge-foot in Oxford, and hearing the barge-men scold and storm and swear at one another, at which he would set his hands to his sides, and laugh most profusely. (Kennett 1728, 320–321)

Among the local vocabulary available for that scolding, storming and swearing was "prudgian" for which we have Kennett as our sole authority:

Prugian, Prudgan. Pert, Brisque, Proud.
as You look mighty prudgan. Oxf. Sax.
pɾunðlɪc, tumidus, inflatus. (135)

Wright includes the word, along with almost two thousand more of Kennett's, in *EDD*. Some 43 per cent of the glossary material (ca. 3,100 of the 7,111 entries) is devoted to dialectal forms and uses.

The extensive and informative introduction consists of the following sections: 1) White Kennett in the context of his time; 2) White Kennett in the context of historical antiquarian scholarship (overview; the recovery of the Anglo-Saxon past: glossaries and dictionaries; chorographies, local, and natural histories; and Kennett's glossary to Parochial Antiquities, 1695); 3) British Library, MS Lansdowne 1033 (description; compilation and method: headwords, definitions, senses, etymology, sources and citations, and cross-references); 4) the non-dialect material; 5) the dialect material (sources: printed documents and private correspondents; Kennett's varieties of English: dictionary treatment, northern words, midland words, southern words; and Scottish, Welsh, and Irish words); 6) the legacy of Kennett's dialect words (Bodleian MS Eng. Lang. D. 67; from Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* to Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*; and thereafter) and 7) notes on the editorial policy. The introduction is expertly done and constitutes a monograph in its own right.

The entry for the headword "swingle" will serve to illustrate some of the features of the work:

Swingle. In the Wire-works at Tintern in Mon. is a Mill, where a wheel moves several engines like little barrels, and to each barrle is fastned a spoke of wood wch they call a Swingle, wch is drawn back a good way by the calms and cogs in the axis ye wheel, and draws back the barrle, wch falls again by its own weight. Swingle in Yks. Is an instrument to beat hemp.[562]And in Ken. the shorter part of a flail in

in some parts a Swipple is calld a Swingle. A Sax. ᵹpınᵹan, ᵹpınᵹelan, verberare; ᵹpınᵹ, flagellum; ᵹpınᵹla, verbera. Island. suingl, vertigo. (390)

Footnote 562 records that this is the earliest evidence for Yorkshire in *EDD*. Kennett's sources are generally signaled in the footnotes, though, surprisingly, not in this instance (Ray 1691, 133–134). In addition to the conjectural etymologies, drawing on a range of Germanic languages, a high proportion of entries are supported by illustrative literary quotations (Gavin Douglas and George Meriton figure extensively), thus anticipating later developments in lexicography.

Ruano-García's editorial policy has sought to preserve scrupulous fidelity to the integrity of the manuscript, and this extends to the retention of Anglo-Saxon script and the Gothic alphabet, which will not be to all readers' taste. Questionable too is the decision to retain an aspect as adventitious as the manuscript word divisions while the potentially more meaningful authorial underlinings are omitted. Without access to the manuscript, it is impossible to assess the accuracy of the transcription, particularly when seeming mis-transcriptions (e.g. "upraid" for "upbraid") may conceivably be spelling variants. In the case of Latin, however, suspicions of error are on firmer ground, although simple misprints cannot be ruled out:

s.v. eddish: "quod post messem in campus relinquitur." For "campus" read "campis"? (180)

s.v. misknawis: "misknawing our estate, nostra conditionis ignarus." For "nostra" read "nostrae"? (288)

s.v. Nave or Body of the Church: "For primitive Churches in respect of their fabric, were supposed to be like Naves inversa, ships whose reel was towards heaven." For "inversa" read "inversae" (and for "reel", "keel")? (296)

s.v. nepe-tide: "i.e. recessus maris vel fluvis." For "fluvis" read "fluvii"? (298)

s.v. snivelard: "defluxio a capita in nares." For "capita" read "capite"? (365)

None of these shortcomings, however, seriously detract from Ruano-García's achievement. It is difficult to imagine how an edition of this fascinating glossary could have been better conceived and executed.

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Irene Montori. 2020. *Milton, The Sublime and Dramas of Choice. Figures of Heroic and Literary Virtue.* Roma: Edizioni Studium

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Irene Montori's *Milton, the Sublime and Dramas of Choice* is a contribution to the rapidly growing body of critical writing on the early modern sublime. In particular, though based on a doctoral thesis completed in 2015, the book's focus on Milton's self-inscriptions or fictions of sublime authorship is very much in the line of Cheney (2018), one of several works carrying a great amount of weight in its argument. Montori sets out her grand theme in the Introduction: "the sublime for Milton, among its various declinations, is also a key poetics for the formation of the subject's virtuous agency […] the sublime turns into a poetics of elevation and a deliberate, revolutionary practice of virtuous heroism for the character, the reader and the author alike. Milton's model of sublimity […] needs to be valued not only for its aesthetic import but also for its ethical, political, theological, philosophical, and social implications for all the subjects involved in the sublime experience" (16). Montori's emphasis on the sublime as experience is welcome, so, too, on its engagement not only of the characters in a fiction, but also of their author and whoever reads of their exploits. A general conclusion giving due consideration to all those alleged "implications" would have been welcome; as things are, "revolutionary" seems too strong a term for the "virtuous agency" as presented here.

The first two sections of Chapter 1 make the case for a reassessment of Milton's achievement in the light of the newly instated early modern sublime. According to Montori, Milton's is an essentially Longinian sublime supplemented with the requisite of chaste, Protestant authorship: England's self-appointed poet-prophet was obliged to combine literary and moral virtuosity if he was to earn literary fame and personal salvation, and if his works were to be exemplary. The greatest strength of Montori's book is the way it captures Milton's anxieties over agency, whether couched in the

doctrinal terms of providence/predestination/grace *versus* human responsibility/freedom, or in the literary terms of emulation/divine inspiration *versus* originality.

The mutual fertilization of doctrinal and poetic hang-ups is encapsulated in the parable of the talents, which, in Chapter 2, Montori argues is central to Milton's notion of self-authorship, not only because it broaches the issue of agency in its implicit contrast of God-given gifts with human hard graft but also because in "When I consider how my life is spent" Milton cast himself in the role of the third son, reprehended by his father for preferring patience to action. Patience, according to Montori, is the salient virtue of Milton's authorial sublime, offering a pretext for his slow-developing poetic career and paralleled in his dramatic heroes, who undergo the sort of trial favored in early modern reformation tragedy (dealt with in Chapter 4). Chapter 2 also discusses the skeptical and therefore dialectical nature of early modern tragedy, articulated, as many critics have claimed, around moral dilemmas with no secure basis for decision-making and portraying its heroes' incapacity to make the right choice and therefore achieve that progression, celebrated by William Blake, which in Milton's educational thinking accrues on the successful negotiation of contraries.

Dialectical tragedy is one of the main planks of Montori's argument; the other is the identification of Milton (and, perforce, his readers) with the two heroes she discusses. The first of these is the Lady in *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*, who in Chapter 3 is argued to represent Milton, himself nicknamed "Lady" at Cambridge and obsessed with his own chastity. That identification is somewhat arbitrary or partial, for aspects of Milton have also been found in the shepherd lad and the elder brother (Kerrigan 1983, 38; qtd. 124n56), while Montori herself sees some in Comus. Montori's argument needs the work to be a tragedy about the Lady's trial with masque elements tacked on, but it is not. The Lady has no moral qualms, nor in the central debate does she muster sufficient virtuous heroism to entirely parry Comus's attempts to sweet-talk her into turning her comely talents to his advantage. Only half-rescued by her inept brothers, she relies for full deliverance on Sabrina, who is the real heroine of the piece and, as Montori seems to realize (136–137), its genuine agent of sublimity. Furthermore, it is a moot point whether Milton intended to champion chastity—either militant or defensive—or the less heroic

compromise of Protestant marriage, while it is by no means inconceivable that the work's original participants positively reveled in the impious frolics of Comus and his crew. The chapter ends with a discussion of the work's dense weave of Shakespearean and Spenserian allusions in the light of the Longinian intertextual sublime. Here Montori is on firmer ground and her closing remark on Milton rewriting Spenser offers much food for thought.

Chapter 4 wheels backwards to reconsider tragedy, noting Milton's fascination with the form and examining reformation re-conceptions. Chapter 5 turns to Milton's closet drama, *Samson Agonistes* which, coming alongside *Paradise Regained* towards the end of the poet's career, Montori takes as his final and culminating statement on sublime authorship and virtuous action. *Samson Agonistes* has all the ingredients Montori's argument requires: the hero's dilemma over submission to providence or autonomous agency, the dialectical confrontations with his father, Manoa, and Delilah, and the sublime climax of the destruction of the temple of Dagon. Montori notes ingeniously how by pushing the pillars apart Samson performs sublimity as the supporting arch—architectural cognate of the lintel (*limen*) contained morphologically in the "sub*lime*"—comes crashing to the ground. However, her overall argument is damaged once again by her unconvincing identification of Milton with his tragic hero. There can be no certainty—and only little likelihood—that the poet conceived of himself as the highly ambivalent Samson, whose character owes more to medieval tradition than biblical text, whose culminating act of heroism is the morally dubious massacre of the Philistines, and who rages at the blindness which Milton accepted graciously as a sign of vatic appointment. It is not even clear whether Samson abandons his virtuously heroic patience to such calamitous effect for the Philistines entirely of his own accord or after prayerful communion with God. Montori comments puzzlingly, "Milton may have possibly decided to omit Samson's prayer [from Judges] to emphasise man's freedom to act heroically when receiving inner revelation" (180). But what is the nature and source of that "inner revelation"? If Samson is its beneficiary, who or what is the benefactor?

Montori's book amasses a wealth of interesting material on Milton's thoughts about education, drama and his own vocation and raises many issues that others, or Montori herself, might explore with

profit: the tensions between the complementary Longinian ideas of originality and emulation/intertextuality and their Protestant doctrinal counterparts of freedom and predestination/providence/grace; the aesthetic-doctrinal significance of Milton's own intertextual practice. Nonetheless, *Milton, the Sublime and Dramas of Choice* failed to convince this reader of its central thesis. Given what might be called the book's "ethical turn," the absence of any reference to recent Kantian postulations of a moral source of the sublime is somewhat surprising. More importantly, the argument is sometimes repetitive, sometimes awkwardly expressed—more thorough proof-reading is sorely missed. In places it rests on skewed readings, misprisions or both at the same time, a case in point being Montori's transmutation of the amphitheatrical architecture of Dagon's temple into that of a theatre, which building is then supposed erroneously to be the Longinian master-metaphor for the world. In fact, it was John Hall, Longinus's first English translator (1652), who put the "stage" into *Peri hupsous*. Moreover, much of Montori's argument is derivative. In respect of *A Maske*, she leans heavily, for example, on Shullenberger (2008), in respect of *Samson Agonistes,* on Urban (2018) and Fallon (2012). Indeed, one occasionally has the feeling that Montori's book does little more than apply to previously bottled critical insights the recently ratified label of early modern sublimity. Except that, as Montori states on the very first page, that label has been sticking to the poet of *Paradise Lost* ever since John Dennis and Joseph Addison helped to found the British discourse of the sublime less than three decades after Milton had ceased to invest his poetic talents.

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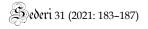
Ángel-Luis Pujante and Keith Gregor, eds. 2020. *Otelo en España. La versión neoclásica y las obras relacionadas.* Murcia; Madrid: Editum; Ediciones Complutense

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Racist or not racist, double-time crux or not, and African, Moorish or Morisco allusions aside, William Shakespeare's *Othello* has haunted the imaginations of millions of theatergoers and readers. The tragic and pathetic killing of a young and innocent Venetian woman at the hands of a murderous, deranged, dark-skinned man has become one of the epitomes of Shakespearian theatrical achievements, as much today as it was in the seventeenth century.

Actually, in the past decades we have started to examine and interpret *Othello* through a poststructuralist critical lens (mostly focusing on gender and ethnicity), and deeper concerns of a racial, political and, in general, ideological nature have become prominent for scholars, general readers, and audiences. But before this was possible, the play experienced a surge of popularity in the nineteenth century, the birth and growth of "Otelomanía" (Pujante 2007, xxv), which the present book examines and explains at some length. Ángel-Luis Pujante and Keith Gregor's *Otelo en España: la versión neoclásica y las obras relacionadas* is the latest contribution by the authors to an already impressive series of publications examining and editing the neoclassical Spanish versions of a number of Shakespearian plays. So far, Pujante and Gregor have produced monographs on the Spanish neoclassical versions and translations of *Hamlet* (2010), *Macbeth* (2011) and *Romeo and Juliet* (2017). Additionally, Prof. Pujante has co-authored two more books on Shakespeare in Spain, one encompassing texts between 1764 and 1916 (with Laura Campillo, 2007) and the second providing a bilingual, annotated bibliography on the subject (with Juan Francisco Cerdá, 2015).

The present book, unlike its precedent volumes, has only one classical version of *Othello* to examine and edit (the only one staged in nineteenth-century Spain), namely Teodoro de la Calle's 1802

translation of Jean-Françoise Ducis's adaptation of the Shakespearian original. Ducis's version was composed, in French, in 1792, significantly close to the French Revolution, and enjoyed considerable popularity, although it suffered some serious criticism. Together with this translation by La Calle (the first *Othello* a Spanish audience could experience), Pujante and Gregor also edit and annotate three other works of a different nature and relevance: the libretto of Gioachino Rossini's opera *Otello* by Francesco Berio (premiered in Naples in 1816, and in Barcelona in 1821); the mock play *Caliche, o el tuno de Maracena* (1823), of unknown authorship; and *Shakespeare enamorado* (1828), a comedy translated by Ventura de la Vega from the French original *Shakespeare amoureux* (1804), by Alexandre Duval.

In general terms what the volume offers the reader is, first and after the brief preliminary notes ("Nota preliminar", 11–12), a thorough and scholarly examination of these four texts ("Introducción," 15–48) with additional notes on the texts edited ("Notas complementarias," 51–54). Then, the edition of all four works follows (with editorial comments and content notes, 55–238), constituting the bulk of the volume. Finally, a select bibliography on the subject (241–243), and a list of Spanish translations and adaptations of *Othello* in Spain (carefully prepared by Jennifer Ruiz-Morgan, 245–246) complete the volume. The book is one of the fruits of a Research Project funded by the Spanish *Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades*.

The introduction to the four texts is both highly readable and scholarly. It should be essential reading for any understanding of what the authors aptly call "complejo sistema de filtros" [complex filter system] (16): the complex translation, adaptation, staging, and reception history of these four texts, and therefore it becomes essential to a good understanding of the vicissitudes of *Othello*/*Otelo* in Spain. Pujante and Gregor start by examining Jean-François Ducis's *Othéllo* (1792), the neoclassical French translation of Shakespeare's play, adapted to neoclassical tastes and with significant alterations of Shakespeare's original.

Ducis's text (itself an adaptation from earlier translations into French) changed the Shakespearian source significantly: Othéllo stabbed Hédelmone (Desdemona), the number of characters was reduced, and the tragic denouement was avoided through a happy conclusion that stage directors could freely adopt. This was the text

that liberal poet and playwright Teodoro de La Calle translated into Spanish in 1802, himself also introducing some changes. Thus, La Calle did away with the rhyming alexandrines of Ducis and employed hendecasyllables with alternate assonant rhyme instead (the authors do not clarify whether French 6 + 6 or Spanish 7 + 7 alexandrines are meant). While he retained Ducis's cast of seven characters, La Calle adjusted their names to sound more Spanish. Interestingly, he offered Spanish audiences a more truly Shakespearian Iago by reintroducing the monologues in which the Ensign expresses his evil intentions, which Ducis had excised from his French adaptation.

Premiered in Naples in 1816, and in Barcelona in 1821, Rossini (composer) and Francesco Berio (librettist)'s *Otello*, an opera in three acts, became one of the Italian composer's most memorable works. As Pujante and Gregor explain, Berio's libretto was almost unanimously criticized by no less than Lord Byron and Stendhal on account of the liberties it took with the Shakespearian original. As the authors argue, Berio's text was strongly conditioned by Rossini's composing demands, and hence the distance between the original play and the libretto. Berio (as had Ducis) diminishes the evil nature and relevance of Iago and sets all the action in Venice. The various performances of Rossini and Berio's opera, tremendously popular in Spain, are detailed by Pujante and Gregor, who specify the extant librettos. Most of them, they tell us, include a Spanish translation, although (in a too familiar note) none informs us of the name of the translator(s).

Caliche, o el tuno de Maracena (1823) is an anonymous comedy that could be considered a mock-*Othello*. (It was eventually titled *Caliche, o la parodia de Otelo*). The authors, who inform us that it was attributed without much evidence to playwright J.M. Carnerero, describe how this popular play became part of the European post-Enlightenment rejection of high drama, what we could consider a Nietzschean turn towards the hybridization of high and low culture. Pujante and Gregor provide us with an illuminating commentary on the links between this play, Shakespearian parodies, and Ramón de la Cruz's *sainetes*, as well as with an examination of how Shakespeare's tragedy was acculturated to fit the audiences of Granada and Madrid.

Finally, *Shakespeare enamorado* (1828), a translation by Ventura de la Vega of the French original *Shakespeare amoureux, ou La pièce à l'étude*, by Alexandre Duval (1804), dramatizes a (most likely) apocryphal

anecdote related to the playwright's love life and erotic exploits. This play, interestingly, includes Shakespeare as a character for the first time in Spanish theater history: in the play, Shakespeare is trying to seduce one of his actors, Clarence (Carolina, in the Spanish translation), with whom he is in love. This work introduces an interesting additional intertextual set of references that involves *Richard III* (which in the play is being rehearsed) and *Othello*. Pujante and Gregor also introduce a brief but fascinating political reading of Duval's play (which was staged in Barcelona, in French, for Napoleon Bonaparte) that shows how the play also dramatized a confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy.

The editions have been prepared from a number of base texts the editors identify, and editorial procedures are explained in the "Notas complementarias" section (51–54). For La Calle's *Otelo*, the 1802 text has been employed; however, the last four pages are missing, and the editors have used the 1803 edition to complete the play. Also, those parts originally censored have been added in italics. Berio's librettos of Rossini's opera present the difficulty of their inconsistency, a consequence of the various opera companies involved in the various performances. Because of this, the editors have also taken into consideration the first Italian librettos, all other known variations, and the librettos of 1822 and 1827 as well. *Caliche* has been edited following the first 1823 edition of the play, although editorial notes allude to the other two known texts, the manuscript of 1828 and the 1831 edition. Finally, the text of *Shakespeare enamorado* is based on the 1831 edition, without neglecting some annotations kept from 1828.

In all cases, spelling and punctuation have been silently modernized, and the text of the plays has been made reader-friendly. The textual notes, while generally limited to illuminating editorial problems and clarifying issues of lexis and content, establish insightful comparisons with the original French and Italian sources as well.

In short, Pujante and Gregor have provided a volume essential for an understanding of Shakespeare's prominence in nineteenth-century Spain. This "Othellomania" cannot be explained without reference to the varying fortunes of the four texts the authors have edited and insightfully explained.

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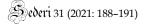
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Rocío G. Sumillera. 2019. *Invention: The Language of English Renaissance Poetics.* Cambridge: Legenda

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Published by the Legenda imprint of the Modern Humanities Research Association, Rocio G. Sumillera's *Invention: The Language of English Renaissance Poetics* is an important contribution to Renaissance and early modern literary studies. Remarkable for its daring, scope and clarity, it boldly takes on a fundamental yet unduly overlooked and difficult concept, ranges widely in time and space, and presents its findings in lucid, cogent prose. Sumillera's ambitious goal is to chart invention's expansion from classical rhetoric, through tentative arrival in late medieval poetics, to subsequent consolidation and enthronement in sixteenth-century poetic theory, a position of pre-eminence from which it would gradually be usurped by the mental faculty which had enabled it, namely, the imagination. Thus, what had acted in the process of poetic composition as intermediary between the senses and the reason eventually bypassed the latter in a long-term historical dialectic which would establish the imagination as literature's presiding genius.

"Invention" is one of a cluster of related terms including "wit," "fancy," "imagination" and "*phantasia*" which are all readily understood as having to do with the creative end of the writing business but are sometimes difficult to distinguish. To attempt dogmatic definition would be unproductive. What Sumillera offers instead is a family history whose main protagonist is invention, but which traces sibling connections and/or rivalries (invention and wit; invention and imitation; invention, imitation and emulation; invention, imitation, emulation and translation) as well as either incest or gemmation (invention and imagination). To do so she examines many of the major classical, medieval and Renaissance rhetorical, dialectical, grammatical and poetic treatises and adduces instances of related discourse in poetic texts in English, French, Italian and Spanish. From Aristotle's *Rhetoric* to John Dryden's *Annus mirabilis* (1667), her book compacts the best part of two millennia of relevant literary-rhetorical theory and practice into its relatively

modest span, being further remarkable in its judicious combination of synopsis and texture, which affords its readers a panorama of the wood and close-ups of many of its trees.

Chapter 1 sifts standard classical (Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, Quintilian) and medieval (John of Salisbury, Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, John of Garland, the *artes dictaminis*, the *progymnasmata*) texts on rhetoric, dialectic, grammar and poetics for conceptual definitions and functional delimitations of invention. Boethius, interestingly, is argued to have been pivotal in the transmission of topical theory, but the chapter's main contention is that invention's late medieval assimilation into poetics via the *artes poetriae* was due to school instruction in versification as part of the *ars grammatica*, the necessary prelude to a university education in logic and rhetoric. Chapter 2 traces the history of invention from the fifteenth century to the first half of the seventeenth with a more particular focus on English developments in their European contexts. Sumillera argues that while in the schools and universities invention was largely associated with the finding of ideas in rhetoric and/or dialectic (John Seton's *Dialectica* [1545], Thomas Wilson's *Rule of reason* [1551], Peter Carter's *Annotationes* [1563]), continental influence (Julius Caesar Scaliger, Joachim Du Bellay, Thomas Sébillet, Pierre de Ronsard, Jacques Peletier) gradually led to its assimilation into poetics, where its relationship with imagination and *phantasia* soon began to cause theoretical headaches. Chapter 3 introduces imitation and emulation as mirrors in which invention was able to scrutinize itself in order to sharpen its self-definition. Too dogged imitation might cramp one's style and in Petrarch's mind raised the specter of Bloomean "anxiety of influence"; in contrast, emulation provided greater freedom to create, to outstrip models and to assert one's own originality. Sumillera also discusses the theoretical grey area of plagiary, literary imitation taken to an extreme, as well as Sidney's rapprochement between imitation and invention in the poet's ability to set in writing his privileged insight into ideal worlds.

Chapter 4 describes the consolidation of invention as "the trigger of poetry-writing and as a renewing force that is believed to revisit traditions and encourage innovation" (80). Proof of invention's apogee is found in the eulogies of poetic treatises and its adoption as the benchmark of poetic achievement in substitution of imitation: Castelvetro's *Poetica d'Aristotele* (1579) is pivotal, the Homer-Virgil

comparison epitomical. Sections on translation and Protestant anti-poetic sentiment might appear digressive but actually underscore the basic issue of original creation which imitation and invention brought to the fore even as they sometimes struggled to brush it under the carpet. Chapter 5 charts the reputation of the imagination from antiquity and its emergence in English poetical theory and practice just as invention was enjoying its heyday. As the mental faculty that processed sense-data for intellection in the reason, the imagination was fundamental to the thinking process, yet its avowed capacity to mislead made it and its poetic effluvia untrustworthy. Predictably enough, in England the moral controversy attaching to the imagination was in some quarters confessionally signed; that might account in part for Sidney's "cautious" (119) use of the term, which otherwise fluctuates uncertainly between a strictly psychological meaning and the God-like imagination-invention fudge/reconciliation mentioned above. Sumillera's Conclusion notes how the rise of the imagination in poetic discourse was in tandem with the rise of the empirical mode of modern science, the implication being perhaps that, thus circumscribed, it would not interfere with intellectual progress; also, how a foot-sore invention still managed to limp along as far as Mary Shelley's 1831 preface to *Frankenstein*.

Sumillera's praiseworthy ambition to prosecute her underlying case leads occasionally to a well-intentioned tendency to serve as a dish of meat and three vegetables what was actually a thick soup of mixed and indistinct ingredients. In Chapter 1, she is not quite right to claim that "neither Cicero, Quintilian, nor Horace employ *invenire* or *inventio* to refer to the process of poetry-writing" (13). The former pair's prescriptions and descriptions would have been of application to poetry, which was merely rhetoric in verse, the only differences being that poetry needed no basis in matters of fact and that its conclusions were not subjected to vote or resolution. What is more, with the demise of political and judicial oratory in Imperial Rome, rhetoric took refuge in the schools from where its principles, particularly those of epideictic, radiated outwards and "became the common denominator of literature in general" (Curtius 1979, 70). Thus, the medieval teachers may not have been so innovative in their poeticization of invention, as Sumillera tacitly recognizes in her later quotation from Jaques Peletier (*Art Poétique*, 1555) and discussion of Richard Rainoldes, Wilson, Puttenham and Sidney (40, 41–42).

That by no means detracts from the tremendous value of the book, for what it offers along the way is of such intrinsic interest and importance that to ask for more were to be ungrateful. Not only does it present a taut history of invention, but it takes us into the medieval and Renaissance schools and universities, glosses the rhetoric-dialectic debate, introduces and helps us to contextualize the major, and some of the minor, figures of Renaissance philology, provides useful précis of the Ramus affair and the Ciceronianism controversy, and unpicks key aspects of Renaissance translation theory. What is more, Sumillera impresses throughout for her enviable command of difficult sources in a variety of languages.

It occurs to this reader that in view of the recent resuscitation of an early modern sublime (largely post-dating the doctoral dissertation which is the origin of Sumillera's book), Longinus might have been adduced as an authority on emulation and the paradoxically intertextual nature of originality (Cheney 2018, 16–18); also, that Quintilian's distinction between *invenire* for rhetorical invention based on fact and *fingere* (feigning) for poetical invention of things untrue or improbable (2001, 266 [10.1.29]) might have been examined with profit. This is not to criticize, but to attest to the intellectually stimulating force of Sumillera's book, which will serve its readers not only as an excellent guide to its subject but also as a suggestive platform for further research.

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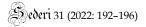*Author's contact*: jonathan.sell@uah.es

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Rémi Vuillemin, Laetitia Sansonetti and Enrica Zanin, eds. 2020. *The Early Modern English Sonnet. Ever in Motion.* Manchester: Manchester University Press

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Far from enclosing itself in the tight space of the sequence, the early modern sonnet enjoyed an enviable freedom of movement: it was, indeed, a travelling form, recklessly migrating from one genre to the other. As Vuillemin, Sansonetti and Zanin state in the introduction to this volume, the early modern English sonnet cannot be classified as a manifestation of "lyric poetry": the variety of contexts to which it adhered deserves a deeper study of this form. With the aim to illustrate this kaleidoscopic reality, *The Early Modern English Sonnet: Ever in Motion* has been divided into four sections. The first one, "Shaping the sonnet, from Italy and France to England," explores the relationship between the English sonnet and its continental precedents. The second section, "Performing the English sonnet," seeks to uncover the intertextuality between page and stage. The ubiquitous nature of the sonnet is analyzed in the third section, "Placing the sonnet: sonnets isolated or sequenced." Finally, the fourth section, "Editing the sonnet," addresses the problematics of modern editorial policies.

In the first chapter of the volume, "English Petrarchism: from commentary on poetry to poetry as commentary," William John Kennedy outlines the well-known history of this vogue, from the early philological commentaries on the *Canzoniere* in the mid-1500s to the rewriting of Petrarchism in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1609). After Wyatt's and Surrey's translations and adaptations of the Italian model, Sidney's and Spenser's sequences reshaped the predominant vogue. Both poets, indeed, resort to Petrarchism to defy it: in *Astrophil and Stella* (1591), Sidney exposes the Petrarchan lover's foolishness through the construction of a ridiculed alter-ego, Astrophil, whereas in Spenser's *Amoretti* (1595) marriage redeems the nameless lover's

lust. Finally, Shakespeare contests the rewritings of Petrarchan motifs and structures by Sidney, Daniel, Spenser and others.

In order to complete the early itinerary of the sonnet, a second chapter, "Early modern theories of the sonnets," written by Carlo Alberto Girotto, Jean-Charles Monferran and Rémi Vuillemin, explores three of the most important vernacular theories on sonnet writing. The first renovation of Petrarchism took place in Italy, where the sonnet was perceived "as an enclosed world," and valued as a poetic form of great difficulty and harmony (34). The later French adaptation of the form demonstrates that "each national appropriation of the poetics of the sonnet left its mark on it, producing a new model" (40). During the 1590s, sonnet sequences bloomed in England, where the sonnet faced "a perilous course between didacticism, seduction and provocation" (42). The three traditions share the canonization of Petrarch as a model to be acknowledged and surpassed and the relevance of the sonnet as "an element of a larger ensemble" (50). Regarding Petrarchism, it is important to underline that the reshaping of this fashion was not limited to the Petrarchist and anti-Petrarchist teams—Vuillemin himself has argued, in a more recent article on Michael Drayton's *Ideas Mirrour* (1594), that "the intricacies of Petrarchism" (2021, 73) deserve a more in-depth examination.

Before situating the sonnet in its most obvious environment, lyric poetry, the second section of the book explores the relationship between sonnets and drama. In chapter three, "Sonnet-mongers on the early modern English stage," Guillaume Coatalen points at Caroline comedies as a reservoir of literary criticism: sonnets were exposed, in the performance of dramatic texts, as perpetrators of vanity, idleness, and moral distraction (63). Coatalen finds in the sonnet "a miniature play" (69), a dramatic potential that favored the transition of anti-Petrarchist motifs from sequences to comedies. Individual sonnets could also literally migrate. In chapter 4, "In and out: Shakespeare's shifting sonnet," Sophie Chiari focuses on "transgeneric circulation" (78): the printing of sonnets that had been previously performed made the same lines acquire new connotations. Chiari illustrates the consequences of this shifting context through a detailed commentary on the sonnets addressed by the lords to their French ladies in *Love's Labour's Lost*, where parody is intrinsic to the

very utterance of these ridiculous love poems. Once printed in William Jaggard's religious miscellany, *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599), the sonnets lost their original satiric overtones. English Renaissance sonnets participated, indeed, in a complex "'collaborative poetics'" (Chiari 2020, 89) which involved transcription, shortening, compiling and rewriting. These changes were not only due to the movement from stage to page: sonnets adhered to a variety of editorial genres, some of which are analyzed in the third section of this companion. In the fifth chapter, "'Small parcelles': unsequenced sonnets in the sixteenth century," Chris Stamatakis defends the claim that, from their very introduction into the English literary tradition, sonnets were read as self-sufficient compositions: in *Tottel's Miscellany*, they are labelled "small parcelles"; in their theoretical treatises, Gascoigne, Puttenham and Scott confirm the definition of the sonnet as a self-enclosed form. However, if it is true that any English Renaissance sonnet can be read independently from its "encasing framework" (100), it cannot be denied that the authorial grouping of a number of sonnets in the same sequence points at a subtle structure (Neely 1978), built upon an "horizontal axis" or "chronological narrative" and the "vertical axis" of the lover's "ongoing situation" (Bates 2001, 118). The small parcels are, therefore, more or less carefully interconnected parts of a larger construct.

The placement of a group of sonnets in an early modern volume should indeed be considered as part of that volume's possible interpretations. In chapter 6, "Gabriel Harvey's sonnet therapy," Elisabeth Chaghafi applies the previous hypothesis to her commentary on Harvey's sonnets, placed after four epistles in his *Foure Letters and Certaine Sonnets* (1592). The inner *dispositio* of this pamphlet plays a very specific role: Harvey's sonnets are part of his strategy to soften his tone. From the second to the fourth letter, the author's aggressiveness against Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe diminishes, and the sequence is placed as a self-healing coda to the previous angry epistles. The interpretation of a given early modern sequence can also depend on its location in the author's literary career. In the seventh chapter of the book, "Barnabe Barnes's sonnet sequences: moral conversion and prodigal authorship," Rémi Vuillemin studies the relationship between Barnes's two sequences, *Partenophil and Parthenophe* and *A Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets*. Vuillemin argues that the link between both works, which share a

number of topics and images, is one of strategic recantation, "to insist on Barnes's moral reform and construct the image of a maturing poet" (134).

The original placement of the early modern English sonnet should therefore be taken into account as a relevant criterion for any current edition of sonnet collections. In chapter eight, "*The Muses Garland* (1603): fragment of a printed verse miscellany," Hugh Gazzard offers this fragmented verse miscellany as an example. What Gazzard finds most interesting about this work is that, contrary to the monothematically pastoral *Englands Hellicon*, which is "a record of public taste in print" (147), *The Muses Garland* gathers a variety of compositions, most of which derive directly from manuscript texts. In the last chapter, "The sonnet sequence as speech sound continuum," Andrew Eastman proposes an approach to Shakespeare's *Sonnets* that substitutes the original version of the text for contemporary editions. According to the author, current interpretations of Shakespeare's sequence ignore the "poetics of the Quarto" (185), where "the basic unit is not the sonnet but the sequence" (185). Eastman's remedy implies a rigid faithfulness to the original spelling and punctuation, even though each degree of modernization presents its advantages and disadvantages (Loffman and Philips 2018).

The Early modern English sonnet is a refreshing approach to what Marotti called "the social character of lyric poetry" (2007, 185), with specific emphasis on the relationship between different vernacular traditions, the different literary contexts to which the sonnet adhered, and the genre's editorial idiosyncrasies. Some of the chapters are perhaps unnecessarily atomized into several minimal sections, adopting a loose structure that endangers the overall proposal's solidity. However, this volume offers essential keys for the understanding of what the subtitle wisely reminds us: the sonnet was an itinerant form, and as such it marked new reading experiences as it adhered to different, sometimes unexpected, literary contexts.

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